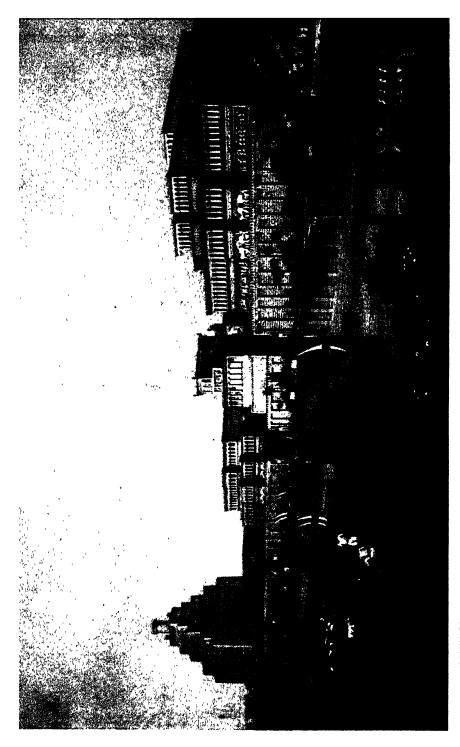




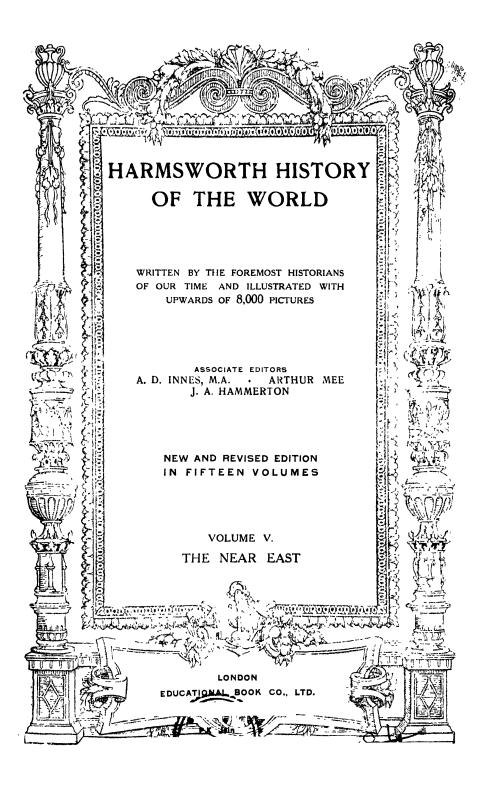
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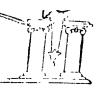
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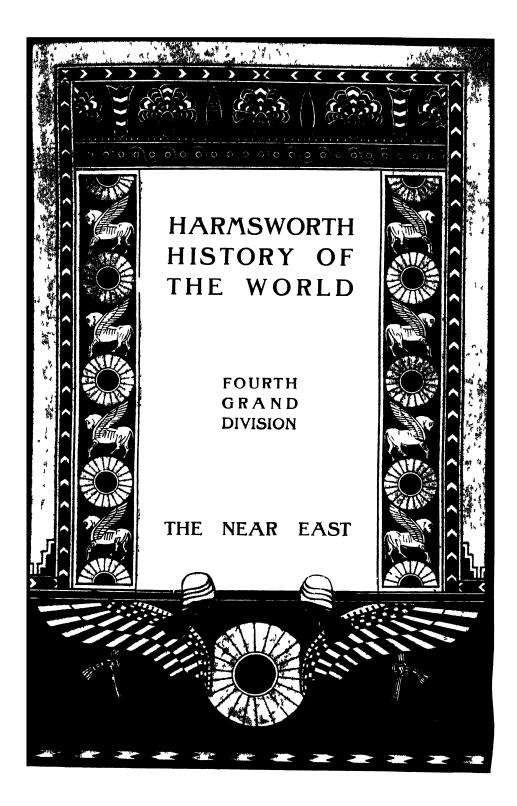




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FOURTH GRAND DIVISION THE NEAR EAST

With the Near East we enter upon the regions whose history is in continuous connection with that of Europe from the time when European records begin. Our division covers Persia and all of Asia that lies west of Persia. Geographically, this area is much smaller than that of the preceding divisions; but it has been the scene of still more tremendous and world-shaking events.

For here the Semitic races developed—the races which gave to the world the religion of the Hebrews, and its offspring, the Christian Faith, and Islam. Here was the cradle of those civilisations of the Tigris and Euphrates, the oldest of which we have record, save Egypt.

Here the Chaldæan learnt the secrets of the stars, Babylon and Nineveh rose and fell; Solomon raised his Temple; Aryan conquerors from the East, led first by Cyrus the Persian, fell under the Semite spell; Aryan conquerors from the West, led first by Alexander of Macedon, yielded to the same enchantment.

Thence the Phoenicians set forth, the pioneers of the greater navigations appeared the Gospel which turned the world upside down; issuing from them, the successors of the Arabian Prophet made conquest of half Asia and North Africa, and crashed in a thousand years' struggle against the nations of the West. The glory of the Near East is no more; but it has played a majestic part in human history.

PLAN

THE ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS AND THEIR VANISHED GLORIES
Professor Archibald H. Sayce

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA Dr. Hugo Winckler, Leonard W. King., M.A. EARLY NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA Dr. Hugo Winckler, Leonard W. King, M.A., Dr. K. G. Brandis, H. R. Hall, M.A.

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THE NEAR EAST

THE ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS AND THEIR VANISHED GLORIES

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

EARLY EMPIRES OF MESOPOTAMIA & EGYPT

Egypt, as regards its early civilisation, is so intimately associated with the ancient empires of Western Asia that in any general survey considerable attention must be devoted to it, but the geographical plan of this History requires that he main treatment of that country should come into the Fifth Grand Division, which deals with the continent of Africa

LESS than a century ago the history of the ancient East could have been compressed into a few pages, and even these few pages would have been a mixture of history and romance. The scanty accounts of the great empires of Oriental antiquity which had drifted down to us from the writers of Greece and Rome were intermingled with myth and fiction, and what the Old Testament had to tell us about them was meagre and fragmentary. A single case was sufficient to hold all the monuments of or Babylonian civilisation possessed by the British Museum, and the mummies and other objects of Egyptian antiquity scattered through the museums of Europe were merely so many curiosities the nature and age of which were unknown.

In no department of science has so complete a revolution taken place in our knowledge during the last half-century as in that of Oriental archæology. Thanks to the excavator and decipherer, the ancient world of the East has risen, as it were, from its grave, and has become almost as familiar to us as the European

world of the Middle Ages. We can follow the daily life and read the inmost thoughts of the men who lived before Abraham was born; can study the actual letters written by the Babyloman king against whom he fought; can examine the handwriting of Egyptian litterateurs who flourished centuries before him; and handle the jewellery and articles of toilette which once belonged to the ladies of the same distant past. The Oriental past, in fact, has ceased to be distant; like a landscape which the telescope brings near to us, the age of Moses or even of Abraham is being unfolded to us in all its minutest details.

The excavator was at work in Egypt before he invaded the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. Tombs were ransacked with merculess activity, and the museums of Europe filled with their spoils. But it is only recently that excavation has been conducted with that scientific care and precision which alone can yield satisfactory results. Much of the carrier work was mere spoliation, which ended in destroying material of priceless value to the archæologist of

to-day. But there was also much which helped to build up our present knowledge of the history of the past. The artistic skill and patient labour of Sir Gardner Wilkinson recovered for us the life and manners of ancient Egypt, while the Prussian Exploring Expedition, under Professor Lepsius, revealed the extent of Egyptian influence in the Revealers Sudan, and carried to Berlin of the Vanished Ages the materials for reconstructing the history of the Mariette's excavations comcountry. pleted the work of Lepsius on the historical side, and, with the foundation of the Cairo Museum, closed what may be termed the older period of excavation and prepared the way for the more scientific work of to-day.

Meanwhile the ancient cultures of Assyria and Babylonia were also being brought to light. The Frenchman Botta and the Englishman Layard revealed to an astonished world the palaces of Sargon and Sennacherib and other Assyrian kings whose names were new to history. Other expeditions followed; the sites of the forgotten cities of Babylonia were explored, and the libraries of clay books contained in them were sent to Europe and America. Year by year the wonder has grown; year by year, whether it be Egypt or Babylonia, fresh discoveries are being made, each more startling and unexpected than its predecessor, and bringing us into ever closer contact with the culture of the past.

Hand in hand with the work of the excavator has gone the work of the decipherer. From excavation alone we could have learnt only the more material side of ancient Oriental civilisation. The decipherer has given us its history and spiritual side. This is especially the case with Assyria and Babylonia, where so large a proportion of the objects discovered consists of inscribed tablets of clay.

Antiquity
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the great antiquity of the art of writing. The art of writing was coeval in the ancient East with the rise of civilisation. It formed an integral part of early Oriental culture, with which it continued to be closely entwined. It was used for literary purposes ages before Abraham was born in "Ur of the Chaldees," and libraries and archive-

chambers were established on the banks alike of the Euphrates and the Nile.

One of the earlier fragments of Egyptian literature that have come down to us is a treatise on ethics which was composed in the time of the third dynasty, and some of the epics of Babylonia go back beyond the time of Hammurabi, the contemporary of Abraham. In the age of the eighteenth dynasty the historical novel was already flourishing in Egypt, and Babylonian scientists had written upon astronomy and mathematics before Sargon of Akkad founded the first Semitic empire at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. postal service had been organised along the roads that intersected Western Asia, and some of the clay seals which took the place of stamps, and bore the name of Sargon's son, are now in the Museum of the Louvre. Many of the original letters of Hammurabi and mediate successors are preserved in the museums of Europe, and testify to the minute care with which the king attended to the affairs of an empire that extended Postal Service From Elam on the east to Palestine on the west. All Refore classes and both sexes took 3000 B.C. part in a correspondence which went on increasing in activity as the centuries passed, until in the age of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, about a century before the Exodus, it included not only Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt and Canaan, but Asıa Mınor as well.

The script and language of the correspondence were those of Babylonia, which had become the literary and diplomatic script and language of the day. The Egyptian Government itself had to use them when corresponding with its own officials in Palestine. Even at Boghaz Koi, the capital of the Hittites in distant Cappadocia, the foreign characters were. employed, though the language they were called upon to express was the native language of the country whenever home affairs were discussed. But even among the Hittites all subjects of an international nature were written in Assyro-Babylonian. The fact bears witness to the long continuance and profound influence of the Babylonian empire in the West in days which until recently we had been taught to consider "prehistoric."

The culture of Babylonia grew up under similar conditions to that of Egypt.

Both alike developed on the banks of great rivers, whose annual overflow was regulated and directed by engineering science. Both alike rested on the agriculture which was thus made possible, as well as upon a climate with regular seasons and sufficient warmth to allow of social intercourse out-of-doors. The farmer thus knew beforehand what weather to expect, while

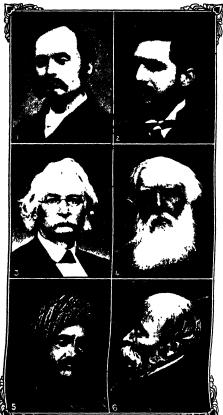
the people were not separated one from another in isolated households or small communities. In the great plain of Babylonia or the Egyptian delta, there were not even mountain chains to keep them apart. As soon as the rivers had been embanked, and their waters directed over the fields, or diverted into canals. struggle of man with Nature practically ceased: thenceforth he could settle down to a life of orderly method and leisure. But the regulation of the rivers implied organisation and a directing brain; here, therefore, as in later days in China, organised states first arose, at the head of which was the king.

It is difficult to believe that the engineering science which transformed the trackless swamp into the cultivated could have grown up independently ın two different parts of the ancient world. And

since the problem that faced the engineers of Babylonia, where the annual inundation occurred after, and not before, the period of sowing, was more complicated than that with which the irrigation engineers of Egypt had to deal, it is natural to suppose that Egypt would have derived its engineering knowledge from Babylonia.

That there was a close connection between the culture of Babylonia and that of primitive Egypt is now known. The Egyptians of the early "dynastic" era made use of the Babylonian seal-cylinder and impressed the characters engraved upon it on soft clay; in a land of stone they imitated the Babylonians in constructing their buildings of brick; they reckoned

time in the Babylonian fashion, and carved vessels of hard stone of Babylonian shape. Even the composite strange monsters of Babylonian invention were reproduced by the artists of Egypt. The Egyptian language itself bears testimony to its Asiatic origin; it belongs fundamentally to the Semitic tamily of speech, though it has been subjected to a strong African influence. This African influence must be due to the fact that the "dynastic' Egyptians — the Egyptians, that is to say, who drained the marshes, established organised states, and founded what mean by Egyptian culture — found population of African origin already existing in the valley of the Nile. Recent excavations have brought the remains of this early population to light, and have allowed us to reconstruct mode of life. In three



REVEALERS OF THE PAST A group of the most notable archæologists, to whose labours so much of our knowledge of the ancient empires is due 1, Professor A H. Sayce; 2, Professor W M. Flinders Petrie; 3, Professor Lepsuns, 4, Sir A. H. Layard; 5, Hormuzd Rassam, the chief assistant and the state of the same successor to Sir A. H Layard; 6, Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

Photos by Filiott & Fry and Maull & Lov

essential respects they differed from the Egyptians of history. They were unacquainted with the use of metals, their tools and weapons being of stone; they did not practise the art of writing; and they were herdsmen of the desert rather than agriculturists. But they had attained to a considerable amount of civilisation of their own. Some of their flint implements are exquisite works of art, their vases of hard stone are well made and of artistic shape, and their pottery was of a high order.

There had been a stone age in Babylonia, as in Egypt; but at this early period the greater part of the Babylonian plain was still under water, what settlements A Land there were being on the rocky plateaus to the east and west in the of the Tigris and Euphrates. Making The plain, called Edina, or the land of Eden, by its inhabitants, was formed by the silt brought by the rivers from the mountains of the north, and it was while it was in course of formation that the discovery of the use of copper was made, and a picture writing was introduced. The copper was imported from abroad, thus carrying back the commercial relations of Babylonia to the very dawn of history, while a running hand or cursive script developed out of the pictorial hieroglyphs. Wood and stone were alike scarce; clay was plentiful, and it was accordingly employed as a writing material. The written characters were impressed upon it by means of a reed pen or metal stylus, the result being that they assumed a wedge-like shape, and became what is known as cuneiform.

The stone age had been of very long duration. At Susa, in Elam, the strata representing it are of great depth, and the pottery that characterises it had time to make its way westward to the Mediterranean, and even to the shores of Spain. But, as in Egypt, so, too, in Babylonia, it is prehistoric; history begins in each country with the use of metals and the art of writing.

In each country, also, history begins with a number of independent states. In Egypt these gradually coalesced into two kingdoms, those of the north and south. The capital of the southern kingdom was at Hieraconpolis, north of Edfu; its kings regarded themselves as Deification the successors and vicegerents of the of Horus, the hawk-god, and Monarcha divine honours were paid to them. In Babylonia, also, the king was a god. How far back this deification of the Babylonian monarch may go, however, it is at present impossible to say. The first kings of whom we have evidence that they were worshipped during their lifetime were Sargon of Akkad and his son. It has, therefore, been thought

that the belief and custom originated among the Semites, and that the deification needed the sanction of the priests of the great sanctuary of Nippur.

Nippur and Eridu were the two sacred cities of primeval Babylonia. Nippur, now Niffer, stood in the northern part of the Babylonian plain, to the south-west of the later Babylon. The city grew up round the temple of Enlil, the "lord," or Bel, of earth. Here American excavators have been patiently digging year after year. They have made their way through the vast mounds of ruin in which the past history of the temple is recorded down to the virgin soil. But everywhere there is the same tale to tell. Even the lowest strata contain written monuments which show that the primeval hieroglyphs had already passed into the cursive or cuneiform stage. Babylonia was already a land of culture; it possessed organised states under kings or high-priests, and had already reached a comparatively high level of art. Hard stones were cut into seals in the form of cylinders and covered with delicate Art and Culture engravings, and at Tello—the ancient Lagash in Earliest in Southern Babyloma, Babylonia explorers French

French explorers have brought to light a large vase of silver, dedicated in early days by the priest-king Entemena and richly chased with figures of two-headed eagles, heriters, and hons [see tenth illustration on page 1587].

The primitive inhabitants of the Babylonian plain belonged to a beardless, roundheaded race, usually termed Sumerian [see pages 266 and 1594]. They spoke an agglutinative language, like that, for instance, of the modern Turks or Finns, which is called in the native inscriptions "the language of Sumer," or Southern Babylonia. To them were due all the elements of Babylonian civilisation. It was they who had drained the marshes, had built the great cities of the country, and invented the cuneiform system of writing. Later ages believed that their culture had come to them from the Persian Gulf. Tradition told how Ea, the culture-god of Eridu, once the seaport of Babylonia, had risen morning by morning from the waters of the sea, bringing with him a knowledge of all the arts and industries of life. The tradition points to intercourse with the incense-bearing lands of Southern Arabia. and the culture that follows in the track

of maritime trade. For just as Nippur in the north was the cradle of agriculture and the reclamation of the Babylonian plain, so Eridu was the birthplace of Babylonian navigation. In the days when it was founded-some seven or eight thousand years ago-it was on an inlet of the Persian Gulf; now the growth of the land through the silt Babylonian annually deposited by the Account of Good and Evil Tigris and Euphrates has made it more than a hundred miles distant from the shore. Even in the historical age of Babylonia it had ceased to be a seaport [see map on page 260].

But its religious influence continued to the last. It was the home of the spells and incantations to which the Babylomans trusted for protection against the demons who were believed to surround them on all sides. While the darker side of Babylonian religion was represented by Nippur, its brighter side was reflected in Eridu. Enlil of Nippur was lord of the demons, whose habitation was in the dark places of the earth, whence they issued to terrify and plague mankind; it was the office of Ea of Eridu and his son "Asarı, the good being," to discover how to counteract their malice and communicate the knowledge to man. At Babylon, which seems to have been originally a colony from Eridu, Asari passed into Marduk, the Sun-god who, when his city became the capital of Babylonia, superseded and abolished the older gods of the country, including Ea and Enlil themselves. But long before this happened a new

race had entered the land. nomads and settlers poured in from the Arabian side of the Euphrates, and established themselves securely in Akkad, the northern half of Babylonia. Thence they made their way northward into the later Assyria, and even into the mountains of Elam to the east. They soon adopted the higher culture of the Sumerians, and gave it a fresh development Origin of and a new impulse. Out of Babylonian fusion of the Semite the Civilisation and the Sumerian arose the culture and civilisation known to us as Babylonian, which made so profound an impression upon Western Asia, and through Western Asia upon the world. In Akkad the culture, like the language, became predominantly Semitic; in Sumer, on the other hand, the older population succeeded better in holding its own and in retaining its language down to comparatively modern times.

For a while it seemed as if the Semitic race were to be the ruling power from the shores of the Mediterranean to the deserts of Persia. Like the Arabs in the early days of Islam, they spread in a resistless stream from east to west. Recent excavations in Palestine have shown that at least as early as the third millennium before our era they had dispossessed the older Neolithic people of their territory and were filling Syria with cities surrounded by massive walls. The older people had not been acquainted with the use of metals; they were a longheaded race who lived in caverns, and buried their dead. The Semites brought with them a knowledge of copper, which had long been employed in Babylonia, and it was doubtless the superiority of their weapons of war which enabled them to conquer and hold their new possessions in the west. They burned their dead instead of burying them, and the caverns of the earlier race were replaced by houses of brick and cities built in imitation of those of the Babylonian The First To the Babylonians

Semitic these Semites of Palestine and Syria were known as Amorites, and, as trade developed along the high-roads that ran between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, Amorite

Euphrates and the Mediterranean, Amorite merchants passed to and fro between Canaan and Babylonia, and Amorite traders settled in the Babylonian towns.

The time was ripe for the rise of a Semitic empire in Western Asia, and this came with the conquest of Sargon of Akkad. The date of Sargon is given as the beginning of the third millennium B.C. by Nabonidus, who was an antiquarian as well as a Babylonian monarch, and had at his disposal innumerable records which have now perished. Sargon's capital was at Akkad, a suburb of Sippar, north of Babylon, which is mentioned for the first time in the annals of his reign. His first work was to unify Babylonia itself; next he led his victorious army across mountains and deserts, subduing Elam on the one side and the provinces of Syria on the other. His campaigns in "the land of the Amorites" occupied him for three years; then, we are told, he formed his widespread dominions into "a single empire," and assumed the proud title of "King of the Four Zones." Nearly the

whole of the known world acknowledged his rule. His policy and conquests were continued by his son and successor Naram-Sin, who marched as far as Magan, or Western Arabia, and there wrenched the copper mines of Sinai from Egyptian hands. The empire was knit together by a system of roads and posts; at home, literature was en-Semitic Power couraged, and libraries of at its Greatest Height clay books were collected together. The cunerform The cuneiform script was modified and perfected, and the gem-cutter's art attained a degree of excellence which it never reached again in later ages. Sculpture also made similar progress, and a broken bas-relief of the king found in Mesopotamia is one of the finest examples that have come down to us of the sculptor's art in Babylonia.

But the empire of Sargon and his son represents the apogee of Semitic power in Western Asia. The wave of Semitic progress had already begun to ebb, and it never overpassed the bounds to which it had already attained. In Elam Semitic governors were replaced by native kings. and the language of its capital, Susa, ceased to be Semitic Babylonian and became agglutinative. The provinces of the west regained their independence, though the memory of the empire of Sargon was never lost, and was again and again invoked in later times to enforce the claims of Babylonian supremacy. Babylonia itself, at all events in the southern part of the country, Sumerian princes once more held rule, and the brilliant epoch which had witnessed the union of Semite and Sumerian was succeeded, as is generally the case in the East, by a long period of stagnation.

Meanwhile, Egypt also had been passing through a period of high attainment in culture, to be followed by stagnation and Here, too, there had been a decay. fusion of two races. But whereas in Babylonia it had Civilised been the non-Semitic race from which the civilising impulse was derived, in Egypt it was the invaders from Asia who had brought with them the elements of a higher civilisation. tradition ascribed their conquest of the Nile valley—without doubt, justly—to their possession of metal weapons, and traced their gradual progress from south to north. Near Edfu they had first

reached the Nile after their passage across the eastern desert, and thence they made their way northward, erecting a sanctuary at each spot where they had been victorious over their foes.

For several centuries Egypt was divided into two kingdoms. It was during this period that the so-called "dynastic" civilisation was matured; the land was drained and canalised, cities were built, the hieroglyphic script was evolved, and the government organised. Eventually, Menes, the hereditary king of This, in the neighbourhood of the modern Girga, succeeded in uniting "the two lands" of the south and north, and founding the first dynasty of the united monarchy. His own tomb has been discovered at Negada, north of Thebes; those of his successors close to the reputed sepulchre of the god Osiris at Abydos, the sanctuary of This. The objects disinterred from the tombs prove to how high a level Egyptian culture had already advanced. was trade with the Red Sea on the one side. and with the Ægean on the other, the obsidian of Melos being worked into The Bloom exquisitely shaped vases; the art of the goldsmith and Civilisation jeweller had attained to high perfection, and household furniture was wrought into artistic forms. A cursive hand had been evolved from the hieroglyphic signs, and massive blocks of granite were hewn out of the quarries of Assuan and floated on rafts down the river to This, there to be shaped for architectural purposes. In the age of Menes Egyptian civilisation was already nearing its bloom.

It was in the schools and workshops of Memphis, however, the capital of the united monarchy, that this bloom displayed itself in all its fulness. Memphis had been built on an embankment won by Menes from the Nile, whose original course he had diverted into a new channel some seventy miles in length. Egyptian history thus begins with a stupendous work of engineering, the reality of which has been verified by modern English engineers. It was no wonder, therefore, that under the fourth dynasty, some four thousand years before our era, the development of mechanical science went hand in hand with that of art. The huge granite blocks used in the construction of the great pyramid of Gizeh were cut with tubular drills fitted with points of a stone

hard as the diamond—an instrument which was rediscovered only when the Mont Cenis tunnel was half completed. The hardest of hard stones were carved into statuary instinct with life and portraiture; indeed, one of the finest statues in the world is that of Khafra, the builder of the second pyramid at Gizeh, which is of a greenish diorite. The king is seated on his throne with the imperial hawk behind his head, and the face—speaking likeness though it clearly is—wears the divine calm of an omnipotent god. So far as the sculptor's art was concerned, its history in Egypt after the age of the fourth dynasty was that of a continuous decline.

A hawk's head of gold, with obsidian eyes, found at Hieraconpolis, shows that the goldsmith's art was equally advanced. A statue of King Pepi of the sixth dynasty, more than life-size, and made of hammered copper, which was found at the same place, bears similar testimony as regards work

in other metals.

But with the sixth dynasty the Old Empire of Egypt comes suddenly to an Memphis became the scene of revolution and struggles for Egypt power; the political organisain the tion of the country, which had Feudal Stage rested on the divinely-derived autocracy of the king, was broken up, and Egypt passed into its feudal stage. great landowners became a feudal nobility, who acknowledged the authority of the Pharaoh in name, but ignored it in fact, and even the old line of kings ceased to The ninth and tenth dynastics belonged to the provincial city of Heracleopolis; but they possessed neither the power nor the prestige of their predecessors, and after carrying on war for several generations with the rival princes of Thebes, they too passed away. Henceforward, Thebes, which had grown up around the ancient sanctuary of Amon at Karnak, became the leading city in the valley of the Nile.

In the strong and capable hands of the three Theban dynasties which constituted "the Middle Empire," Egypt again took its place in the front rank of history and civilisation. The artistic impulse which in the time of the Old Empire had found expression in statuary, now turned to architecture; stately temples of stone arose all over the country, adorned with sculpture and painting, the execution of which, if we may judge from the recently excavated

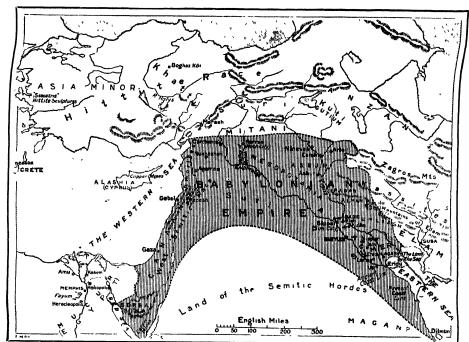
eleventh dynasty temple of Mentu-hotep at Thebes, was exceptionally fine. Great engineering works were undertaken for regulating and distributing the waters of the inundation and for improving the system of irrigation which the political disturbances of the last few centuries had allowed to fall into decay. The Fayyum was reclaimed and a large The First additional acreage of cultivable Egyptian land given to the Egyptian Conquests agriculturists. But the control of the river necessitated the control also of the regions in the south through which it flowed. Egypt consequently became, for the first time, a conquering power; the Sudan was added to the dominions of the Pharaoh, and the cataracts were guarded by strongly built fortresses. The armies which had been trained in war with the negroes of the south, were used for service in the north also. The desert, which had hitherto separated Egypt from Asia, was crossed, and the Amorites of Southern Palestine were forced to send tribute to

Scarabs and stone vases of the twelfth dynasty have been met with in the excavations at Gezer, west of Jerusalem Here, too, the tombstone of an Egyptian of the same age has been discovered in the "high-place" of the city—a line of nine great monoliths, surrounded with a platform of stone, under the pavement of which have been found the bones of infants who had been burnt or otherwise sacrificed to the gods of Canaan. The high-place was that of the second city built by the Semitic settlers on the site, the huge stone wall of which was intersected with towers. Objects of bronze occur among the ruins of this second town in harmony with the fact that the earliest bronze of Egypt belongs to the epoch of the twelfth dynasty. A knowledge of the metal, it is probable, had come alike to Egypt and to Canaan from Asia Minor,

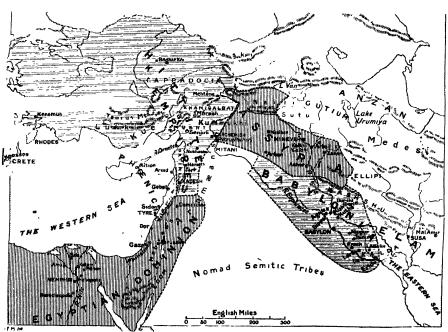
to which the first use of it has been traced. Was it from Arts from that the tin was Britain Asia Minor brought with which the alloy was made? The gold of Asia Minor had already been transported to Egypt in the

age of the sixth dynasty.

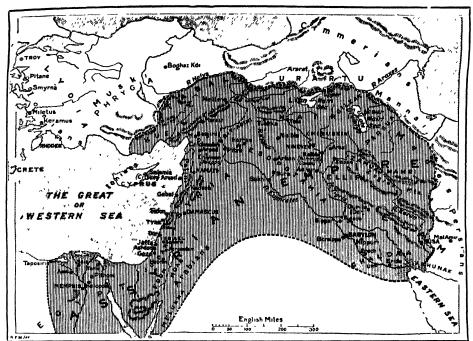
The pottery of Asia Minor followed in the wake of the metal trade. Before the second Amorite city at Gezer came to an end, the polychrome pottery of the Hittites, north of the Halys, had not only



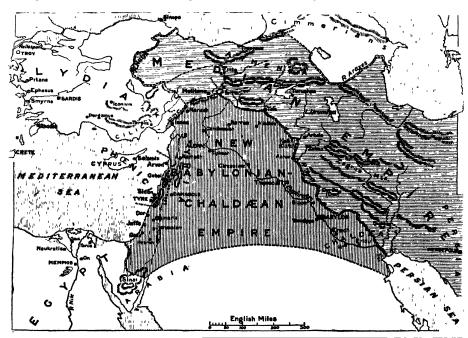
The centres of civilisation in the third millennium B C., and the Babylonian Empire of Sargon of Akkad, Hammurabi and his successors, until the eve of the Kassite and Hittite domination in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.



In this map we see the territories of the different empires that developed out of the first Babylonian Empire between B.C. 1500 and 1000, showing the balance of power between the twelfth and tenth centuries B.C.



The development of the Assyrian Empire and of the peoples and towns absorbed by its growth, from the tenth century BC. to the time of its greatest expansion in the seventh century, is illustrated in the above map.



The empires that rose on the fall of Assyria, and its division between the Median and New Babylonian Empires, the whole constituting the Persian Empire until the rise of Alexander, covering the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.

THE LATER EMPIRES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

made its way to Palestine, but had to a large extent superseded the native pottery of the country. It is possible that it had also influenced the arts of the islands in the Greek seas. At all events, excavation in Crete has brought to light vases of egg-shell faience, exquisitely decorated in various colours with flowers and other conventionalised emblems. The faience is generally known as "Kamares ware," from the name of the place where it was first found, and it characterises the period called by Dr. Evans, "Middle Minoan II."

The discovery of the highly developed culture of early Crete is one of the most revelations of archæological science. There, as elsewhere in the Levant, a neolithic age of long duration was succeeded by one in which copper took the place of stone. The copper was in great measure derived from the mines of How early the latter were worked is shown by the fact that innumerable seals of cylinder shape, made in imitation of those of Babylonia, have been found in Cyprian graves of the early copper age, and that these seals go back to the period of Sargon of Akkad. One of the commonest symbols engraved upon them is the picture of a copper ingot, often accompanied by a bull's head, which in Crete represented a weight. We may thus see in them the signets of the Cyprian exporters of the metal.

The conquest of Sargon of Akkad had carried a knowledge of Babylonian culture to the shores of the Mediterranean. Of this culture, the use of the seal-cylinder and of clay as a writing material formed an integral part, and wherever they are found their presence is a sure witness of Babylonian influence. The Cretan tablets of clay, which have been discovered in such abundance in the ancient palaces of the island, thus point unmistakably towards Babylonia. They make Babylonian their earliest appearance in Influence what Dr. Evans has termed the in Crete

first stage in the Middle Minoan period, though the strange hieroglyphs incised upon them go back to the third and last stage of an earlier epoch. This epoch, which followed the neolithic age, is itself divided into three stages, to the last of which belong the seals of button shape, whose original home was in Asia Minor, and which in the time of the

sixth dynasty replaced the older seal-cylinder in Egypt. To the same stage belong also the geometric designs which distinguish the early Ægean pottery, and which, thanks to recent discoveries, can now be traced back through Asia Minor to Elam on the east of Babylonia. Here, M. De Moigan has found abundance of pottery of exactly the same character which was manufactured in the neolithic ages long before the epoch of Sargon.

The second and third stages in the

Middle Minoan period represent the highwater mark of Cretan civilisation. was then that the splendid palaces of the Cretan kings were first built, with their spacious halls, their frescoed walls, their elaborate dramage, and their luxurious bath-rooms. The absence of walls or forts to protect them proves plainly that those who built them were lords of the sea, with no fear of the invader before their eyes. The beautiful "Kamaies" pottery, with which they were filled, was imitated from vessels of gold and silver, while porcelain like that of Egypt was moulded into realistic figures of fish and animals and Cretan Kings plants, and a linear or cursive script makes its appearance by as Lords the side of the hieroglyphic of the Sea writing. But the palaces in which all this magnificence and luxury had been displayed were sacked and burned, and for a time Cretan culture passed under eclipse. It revived again at the beginning of the "Late Mmoan" period; the palaces rose once more in their former splendour, and in the south a summer villa was erected whose walls were decorated with the choicest specimens of the painter's art. A change had, however, come over the face of Cretan culture. The old hieroglyphics had made way for linear characters similar to those used in Cyprus and at Troy; bronze was taking the place of copper, and the long sword was substituted for the dirk. The pottery, moreover, had assumed the form known as "Mycenæan," and was already beginning to degenerate. But wealth was still abundant; at Cnossos the ruler sat in state on an elaborately fashioned throne and watched the bullfights and boxing matches in the arena of the theatre where slaves and captives made sport for their Cretan masters. A sword has been found with its pommel formed of translucent agate, and its hilt plated with gold and engraved with delicate designs, while the royal draught-

board has been disinterred from its grave of centuries still brilliant with gold and silver, ivory and crystal, and the blue glass paste of which we read in the Homeric poems. The art displayed in some of the objects that have been brought to light was never surpassed, even in the later Greek world. The ivory figure of a diver, Grecian Art exquisitely carved on a vase of Renaissance black steatite, declares in no uncertain tone that the art of classical Greece was but a renaissance. The lords of Minoan Crete, however, were no Greeks; that is made clear by their portraits on the Egyptian monuments as well as by the strange composite figures of their religious art—combinations of a man and bull, of an eagle and a woman, or a winged cherub with a hon's legs.

The Middle Minoan period of Crete was coincident with a period of decay and foreign tule in both Babylonia and Egypt. The Semitic empire of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin was succeeded by a revival of Sumerian power and influence. The Sumerian princes of Southern Babylonia made themselves independent or founded dynasties which claimed rule over the whole valley of the Euphrates. When the curtain rises once more, it is, however, again a Semitic dynasty, which claims to have inherited the empire of Sargon. But the dynasty has its seat not in Northern Babylonia, but in the south, in "Ur of the Chaldees," on the western bank of the Euphrates, where bodies of Amorites from Canaan and Bedouins from Arabia had long been settled. The dynasty extended over five reigns and lasted for 117 years. Numberless legal documents dated in the reigns of its kings have come down to us, and have made us well acquainted with the social life, the law and commerce, and religious beliefs of the time. The old supremacy of Babylonia inWestern Asia, which had once belonged to Sargon, was again asserted, and Syria

Again and Canaan were again land under tribute. Gudea, the Sumerian high-priest of Lagash, who, vassal though he was of the king of Ur, nevertheless exercised an almost independent authority, ransacked the whole known world for the materials for his buildings. Blocks of limestone and alabaster were brought from Palestine and the Lebanon, beams of cedar from the

Gulf of Antioch, gold-dust and acacia

from the deserts of Northern Arabia, and diorite from the peninsula of Sinai, while other costly stones were quarried in the Taurus Mountains and floated down the Euphrates on rafts. About 2300 B.C. Gudea was viceroy of Dungi, the second king of the dynasty of Ur, who, like his father, the founder of the dynasty, covered Babylonia with his buildings and restorations. The provinces of the empire were carefully organised and taxed, and part of a cadastral survey made by Urimelech, the governor of Canaan, for the purpose of taxation is still in existence. But the dynasty went down in disaster. Its last representative was captured in battle against the Elamites, and the lordship of Babylonia passed to the kings of Isin, whose dynasty lasted for 225 years.

Then evil days fell upon Babylonia. City tought against city, the Elamites raided it from the east, while Amorite invaders attacked it from the west. The Amorites eventually possessed themselves of the northern half of the country, and made Babylon their capital. For the first time in history it became the leading city in Baby-

The Holy
City of
Civilised Asia

lonia, and, eventually—when the kingdom of the Amorite dynasty grew into an empire—the capital and holy city of

the civilised Asiatic world. Marduk, its patron-god, followed the fortunes of his city; he, too, became the supreme Bel, or "Lord," of the Babylonian deties in heaven, as his vicegerent and adopted son, the king of Babylon, was the supreme lord of their worshippers upon earth.

But it needed a long struggle before the new dynasty succeeded in overcoming all rival claimants to the throne of Western Asia, and in re-establishing the empire of Sargon. At one time it seemed as if Elam were destined to take the place of Babylonia, and the wave of Semitic influence which had been rolled back from the Elamite mountains would retreat from the Babylonian plain itself. Babylon was taken and plundered by the Elamite monarch, and Esagila, the temple of Bel-Merodach, was burnt with fire. Its king, Sin-muballit, disappears from history, and his son, Hammurabi, or Amraphel, a mere boy, was set on the vacant throne as an Elamite tributary. At the same time Southern Babylonia was transformed into another dependent state and given to an Elamite prince, Eri-Akucalled Rim-Sin by his Semitic subjects

—who fixed his capital at Larsa. Eri-Aku's father was appointed governor of Syria and Palestine, which had passed to Elam with the conquest of Babylonia.

Hammurabi grew up and proved to be one of the ablest rulers that have ever lived. In the thirtieth year of his reign he felt himself strong enough to rise in rebellion against his Elamite suzerain. The forces of Elam were overthrown in a decisive battle, and Larsa forced to surrender. Once more Babylonia was united under a Semitic king, whose authority was acknowledged as far as the shores of the Mediterranean. Indeed, Hammurabi seems never to have forgotten his Amorite descent, and on one of his monuments found in Northern Mesopotamia the only title he bears is that of "King of the land of the Amorites."

With the restoration of peace and the consolidation of his power, Hammurabi set himself to the work of reorganising and administering the provinces of his empire. Nothing seems to have been either too great or too small to escape the notice of the king. Numerous letters of his, written by his own

Hammurabi of his, written by his own hand, have survived to us, Law-giver and they show that he took as and King much pains to investigate a complaint of bribery or oppression on the part of a petty official as he did to inquire into the administration of the Crown lands or the discipline of the standing army. The compilation of the great code of laws, which was henceforth to be obeyed throughout Western Asia, was his work. Babylonian law, like English law, was "judge-made," and its codification was at once a desirable and a difficult task. One of the most remarkable points about the code is its purely secular character; the gods may be invoked in the introduction and peroration, but in the code itself it is the civil law as laid down by the judges and sanctioned by the authority of the king that is alone regarded. Equally remarkable is the way in which the old law of blood-revenge is superseded in it by a system of fixed legal penalties, which can be inflicted only by the judge after full and impartial trial.

The publication of the code was doubtless suggested by the efforts Hammurabi was called upon to make for the suppression of crime, and more especially the acts of brigandage, to which the intestine troubles of Babylonia had given

rise. But it was also part of a literary revival which characterises the age of Hammurabi as it had characterised the age of Sargon. The great Chaldæan Epic of Gilgamesh was composed, embodying older poems or traditions, other literary works were re-edited or published for the first time, astronomical and medical treatises were compiled, com-Literature mentaries were written upon 4.000 Years Ago the earlier literature of the country, and grammars, dictionaries, and reading books were drawn up to facilitate the study of Sumerian. Learned men as well as poets and lawyers were welcomed at the court, and the libraries of Babylonia were again stocked with books on clay. For emost among these were collections of the letters which passed between the king and his high officials.

The long reign of Hammurabi was followed by that of his son, Samsu-iluna, who, like his successor Abishu, made vain attempts to suppress a revolt which had broken out in the marshy lands at the head of the Persian Gulf, where the Aramæan tribe of Kaldå, or Chaldæans, afterwards settled. Here an independent dynasty established itself which, on the fall of the house of Hammurabi, may have succeeded in making itself master of the whole of Babylonia. This did not happen, however, until the death of Sainsu-ditana, the third successor of Abishua. His power had been weakened, if not shattered, by an invasion of Babylonia by the Hittites from Cappadocia, when it seems probable that Babylon itself was captured and its temple despoiled.

The kings of "the sea-coast" did not long enjoy their possession of the disunited and tottering kingdom. Wild Kassite hordes poured down upon the Babylonian plain from the mountains of Elam, and eventually founded a dynasty at Babylon, which lasted for 576 years. But the spell of Babylonian culture soon passed Barbarians over the semi-barbarous conquerors; the Kassite kings in became Babylonian in manners Babylonia and customs, even in language Their foreign origin, howand names. ever, was never forgotten, and in spite of intermarriages with the Semites of Assyria and of Babylonia itself, their right to the inheritance of Sargon of Akkad was never fully recognised. Like the Hanoverians in England, their "right

divine" was rejected, and with the rise

of the Kassite dynasty the deification of the Babylonian monarch comes practi-

cally to an end.

One result of the fall of the Hammurabi dynasty and the Kassite conquest was the loss of the Babylonian empire in the west. It is true that Babylon still claimed to be mistress of western Asia, and the Tell el-Amarna letters are Babylon witness that even when Ca-Foreign Power tian province, Babylonia was Loses its still ready to intrigue with its inhabitants against their new masters. But, politically, Syria and Palestine were never again to be Babylonian until the day came when Nebuchadnezzar restored the old glories of his fatherland and created the second Babylon, indeed, Babylonian empire. continued to be the sacred city of Asiatic civilisation; it was revered as the venerable fountain-head of Asiatic culture and theology, but its political supremacy was gone. Babylonian influence ceases to be a living principle outside the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Babyloman culture of Western Asia and in the lands of the Mediterranean becomes

merely the inheritance of the past. In Babylonia itself the Kassite conquest completed the work of unifying the Semitic and Sumerian elements in the population which had been begun under the Hammurabi dynasty. Thenceforward there is only one people, the Babylonians of later history, outwardly Semitic, though inwardly Sumerian. The language is Semitic, but, like English, profoundly modified by the foreign element; the religion is also Semitic, but its roots lie far back in Sumerian animism. The spirits of the ancient cult pass into human deities, in accordance with the Semitic belief that man was made in the image of the gods, and conversely the gods revealed themselves in the image of man. changes that thus passed over the map of Western Asia were reflected Barbarians in the valley of the Nile. The Pharaohs of the Middle Empire Egypt had shown how the desert which separated them from Asia could be crossed, and the lesson was soon learnt by their enemies. The Semites of Canaan and Arabia descended upon Egypt and founded the three successive dynasties known as Hyksos, or Shepherd, which lasted for more than 500 years. Like the Kassites in Babylonia, they were rude

warriors armed with the bow and unskilled in the arts of life when they first poured over Egypt like a flood. Its cities were sacked and destroyed, and its temples profaned; but, like the Kassites, they, too, soon passed under the spell of a higher civilisation. The Hyksos court became outwardly Egyptian, the kings assumed the old titles, and even gave themselves Egyptian names. Science and literature were patronised, and one of the Egyptian works on mathematics that has come down to us was written for a Hyksos Pharaoh; but, as in Babylonia, so also in Egypt, the foreign origin of the new line of kings was never forgotten. Up to the last they were compelled to garrison it like a foreign country; and their court was fixed in the Delta, where they could be in touch with their kinsmen ın Asıa.

As long as the Hyksos rule lasted Egypt was an appanage of Canaan. The desert ceased to be a dividing line between the two countries, just as in Norman days the English Channel ceased to be a dividing line between Normandy Why Joseph and its English province. The Semites of Canaan passed to Ruled and fro across it, and, like in Egypt Abraham, found a welcome at the court of their Hyksos kinsfolk. That a Hebrew like Joseph should rise to be Vizier was no marvel; nor was it strange that he should reduce the native population to a state of seridom, and thereby strengthen the power of their Hyksos masters.

But through all the centuries of Hyksos domination the Egyptians were awaiting their opportunity for revolt. Tradition averred that the opportunity was given by an attack on the native religion. The religious passions of the people of Upper Egypt were aroused, and the Prince of Thebes headed the insurrection. For five generations the struggle was carried on; it ended in the expulsion of the native eighteenth dynasty by Ahmes I., about 1600 B.C.

The war which had been begun in Egypt was carried into Asia. Under Ahmes and his successors Canaan was made an Egyptian province, and the boundaries of the Egyptian empire were fixed at the banks of the Euphrates and the ranges of the Taurus. The campaigns of Thothmes III. brought boundless spoil

and numberless captives to Egypt, while the gold-mines which were opened in the eastern desert made it the California of the ancient world. Maritime trade was encouraged, and Cyprus and Crete paid tribute to the Pharaoh. Even at distant Mycenæ, on the mainland of Greece, plaques of porcelain were imported from Egypt Realises.

the Dangers of Empire its rulers. Gifts came from the king of Assyria which the Egyptian courtiers construed into tribute. In the south the Sudan was once more conquered, and Egyptian temples were erected on the banks of the

Upper Nile.

But the Asiatic empire of Egypt brought with it the destruction of the dynasty to which it owed its origin. The court became Asiatised. The Pharaohs married Asiatic wives, and filled the high places of state with Asiatic officials. Eventually a king arose who attempted to overthrow the national faith of which he was the official guardian, and to substitute for it a kind of pantheistic monotheism. He changed his own name from that of Amon-hotep to Khu-n-Aten, "the brilliance of the solar disc"—the visible symbol of the new deity-and for the first time in history there was persecution for religion's sake. But the priesthood of Thebes were too powerful for the king. He was forced to quit Thebes and build a new capital further north, at Tel lel-Amarna, where he gave daily lectures on the articles of his creed, and crected a temple to Aten, as well as a palace for himself, gorgeous with statues and frescoes, and glittering with gilded bronze.

The archives of Thebes were moved at the same time to the foreign office of the new city, where their discovery in 1887 brought about a complete revolution in our conceptions of ancient Oriental history. They consist of letters and despatches written in cuneiform characters and the

Education in the Babylonian language on tablets of clay. They prove that the culture of Western Asia was so thoroughly Babylonian that even the Egyptian Government had to correspond with its own officials in the foreign language and script. They also prove how widely diffused education must have been. Not only were the educated classes of Canaan, including ladies, able to read and write in Babylonian cuneiform; it was also the common medium

of educated intercourse throughout the eastern world. Not only the kings of Assyria and Babylon, but the kings of the Hittites and Cappadocia, of Mesopotamia and the coast of Asia Minor used it as well. The roads must have been kept in good order, for the posts were constantly passing to and fro along them. So, too, were the commercial travellers, for whose benefit a system of international law had been organised.

Canaan was governed much as India is governed to-day. There were protected states as well as cities under Egyptian governors. From time to time Egyptian high commissioners traversed the country, which was garrisoned partly by native troops, partly by a small force of Egyptians. Bodies of Bedouins were in the service of the petty princes and governors, together with numbers of Hittite freelances, who sold their services to the highest bidder. In later days when the authority of the home Government was growing weak, these hired troops and their paymasters fought with one another, and endless were the complaints brought before the Canaan Egyptian king by one governor a Parallel against another. The vassal to India king of Jerusalem, who seems to have been of Hittite origin, was especi-

ally clamorous, and also especially urgent

that Egyptian troops should be sent to

his help.

But the Egyptian Government was already involved in difficulties at home. Civil and religious war was breaking out in Egypt itself, and when Khu-n-Aten died, leaving only daughters behind him, the doom of the eighteenth dynasty was scaled. A few short reigns followed, and then the nineteenth dynasty was founded in the person of Ramses I., about 1350 B.C. It represented the national reaction against the Canaanite and the foreigner who had captured Khu-n-Aten and his court. The Asiatic strangers were driven from the country or reduced to serfdom, and the high offices of state were again held by native Egyptians. The Asiatic provinces of Egypt had been lost, and it was necessary to reconquer them. To this task Seti I., the son of Ramses I., accordingly set himself, and when he was succeeded by his son, Ramses II., Canaan was once more a province of Egypt. North of Canaan, however, the Syrian province had

fallen into the hands of the Hittites, who

had established their southern capital at Kadesh, on the Orontes, and were threatening Canaan itself. The struggle for its possession was long and strenuous, but at last, in the twenty-first year of Ramses, the two antagonists, weary and exhausted, agreed to come to terms. A treaty was drawn up, offensive and defensive, recognising the existing boundaries of the two empires, and providing for the pardon and return from exile of all political offenders.

The rest of Ramses' long reign of sixty-seven years was mainly spent in covering Egypt with his buildings or in restoring and usurping the monuments of his predecessors. Of all his own monuments, the most famous is Abu-Simbel, in Nubia, where a temple has been carved out of a mountain. Among the cities built by him were Ramses and Pithom in the Delta, at which the Israelites were compelled to toil.

Ramses II. was succeeded by his son Meneptah. The death of the "Grand Monarque" of Egyptian history was the signal for attack on the part of the surrounding nations. The Libyans from the west overran the Delta, while ships filled with Achæans and Lycians and other tribes of

the eastern basin of the Mediterranean invaded the coast. But in the fifth year of Meneptah the threatened destruction of Egyptian civilisation was averted by a decisive victory which he gained over the invading hordes. The Libyans and their allies were practically exterminated. It was under the cover of this Libyan invasion that the Israelites—called Israelii on a monument of the Pharaoh--would seem to have escaped from their Egyptian taskmasters; the land of Goshen was deserted, and three years later we find its pasturage handed over to Edomite herdsmen.

But neither the Egyptian monarchy nor the dynasty that ruled it recovered from the blow which the barbarians from the west and north had dealt it. Its Asiatic empire was lost for ever, and the frontier cities of Canaan which guarded the entrance to Asia fell into the hands of Philistine pirates from Crete. The nineteenth dynasty perished from decay, and after a short interval of anarchy was followed by the twentieth.

Once more Egypt was called upon to repel an attack of the northern tribes. But it was a more formidable confederacy

that Ramses III., the second king of the dynasty, had to face than that which had invaded Egypt half a century before. While the Libyans again entered the valley of the Nile from the west, the Philistines of Crete, the Danaans of Asia Minor, and other Greek and Asiatic tribes, forced their way through the Hittite terri-Egypt's Wars southward, partly on land, at the Time of the Exodus partly by sea. After defeating the Libyans, Ramses marched into Canaan; the invaders were overthrown in battle, and pursued northwards to the harbour where they had stationed their Here a great maritime struggle took place, which ended in complete victory for the Egyptians. The ships of the enemy were destroyed and vast numbers of prisoners taken. On its way back to Egypt, various Canaanitish towns surrendered or were captured; among them were Hebron and Jerusalem. The entrance of the Israelites into Canaan cannot have taken place long after this

Ramses III. was the last of the native Egyptian conquerors. His immediate successors became little more than puppets in the hands of the high-priests of Thebes, and when a strong Pharaoh again appeared on the throne it was in the person of Sheshonk or Shishak I., the founder of the twenty-second dynasty and chief of the Libyan bodyguard. But for many centuries Egypt ceased to be a factor in international politics; its influence did not extend beyond its own natural confines. and it needed all its strength to protect itself against the negro princes of the Sudan. One of them eventually overran Egypt, and plundered Memphis, while another succeeded in permanently occupying the country, and establishing a dynasty of Ethiopian kings. The Ethiopian conquest was followed by the Assyrian conquest: for a time Assyrian satraps collected tribute in the cities Egypt of Egypt and Assyrian armies Under ruthlessly suppressed revolts Eclipse against the foreign rule. In 662 B.C. Thebes-the No-Amon of the Old Testament – was sacked and burnt, and the ancient capital of Egypt lived thenceforward upon its past fame. When Egypt recovered its independence under Psammetichus and his successors of the twentysixth dynasty, the seat of power was transferred permanently to the north.

leadership had passed to other lands and younger races. At first it was the Hittites who promised to become the Rise leading people in Western Asia. of the With their yellow skins, protru-Hittites sive jaws, and beardless faces they descended from Cappadocia and the Taurus Mountains upon the fertile plains of Syria, and at an early date had possessed themselves of Carchemish, which commanded the ford over the Euphrates and the high-road of commerce from east to west. A kindred race founded a monarchy—that of Mitani—in Northern Mesopotamia, where in the age of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty they became so powerful as to be allowed to marry into the Royal house of the Pharaohs. Long before this the Hittites had invaded Babylonia, and helped to overthrow the dynasty of Hammu-rabi, but it was not until the fitteenth century before our era that they founded an empire, which extended to the coasts of the Greek seas, and bid tail to make Canaan what the Assyrians called it, a "Hittite land." Under Khattu-sil I. and his successors the larger part of Asia Minor was transformed into a confederacy of vassal states; Hittite soldiers poured southward through the passes of the Taurus, and the possession of Syria and Palestine was disputed with the Pharaohs of Egypt. The way had already been prepared by the Hittite freelances, who had hired their services to the Egyptian Government and the petty princes of Canaan; as the power of Egypt declined the regular forces of the "great king of the Hittites" followed in their rear, and Kadesh on the Orontes was made the southern capital of his empire. The old Hittite capital at Boghaz Koi, Dominance north of the Halys, became one of Hittite of the chief cities of the world; Empire strong walls of stone, wide in circuit, enclosed stately palaces and temples, which contained libraries of clay books inscribed in cuneiform characters, and written sometimes in the Assyrian language, sometimes in that of the Hittites themselves. A knowledge of the cunciform script had doubtless been communicated to the Hittites by the Assyrian

For five centuries—from the age of

Ramses III. to that of the Ethiopian

Tirhakah—Egypt thus remained outside the sphere of international politics, in a

sort of backwater of the world's history.

Babylonia was in like condition; the

colonies which had been planted in the heart of Cappadocia as early as the age of Hammurabi, the ruins of one of which have been found at Kara Eyuk, near Kaisariyeh. It was the mineral wealth of Asia Minor that had attracted the colonists and raiders of Assyria and Babylonia; the gold of the sixth Egyptian dynasty was already derived from its mines.

For a time the Hittites dominated the civilised world of the East. Their armies marched to Lydia, and carried their art and culture to Greek lands. The culture itself was of Babylonian origin, but had been modified in a peculiar fashion. Just as the cuneiform signs of Babylonia superseded the native hieroglyphs, except for monumental purposes, so, too, the native art had to give way before the artistic conceptions of the Babylonians, and even the old fetish worship of the country was replaced by the anthropomorphic divinities of Babylon. The Greek centaur and the winged horse Pegasus came from Babylonia to the West through Hittite intermediaries. A treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittite king marks the extreme limit of the Hittite Fall of

Grete and the Hitties advance. It is probable that the irruption of the northern tribes, which overthrew the foreign power of Egypt and sapped its internal forces, also broke up the Hittite empire. Isolated tragments of this empire alone survived, there was never again a "great king" who could summon his vassals from the furthest bounds of Asia Minor, and treat on equal terms with one of the mightiest of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

It was to the movement of the northern tribes that the downfall of Cretan civilisation seems also to have been due. maritime supremacy of Crete was lost; pirates landed from the north destroyed its palaces, and the dynasty of Minos passed away. The period at which this took place is coeval with that known as "Mycenæan," when a peculiar class of pottery was spread over the Ægean world, and when artists from the Greek seas made goblets and vases for the Egyptian Pharaoh Khu-n-Aten, and painted the floors of his palace at Tell el-Amarna with naturalistic scenes. A century or two later half-civilised Dorians, speaking the Greek language, streamed southward from their northern homes; Mycenæ, Sparta, Crete, all alike were overwhelmed, and the old Minoan culture was lost and forgotten.

THE NEAR **EAST**



ANCIENT CIVILI-SATIONS-II

THE LATER EMPIRES

PHŒNICIA, ISRAEL, ASSYRIA AND PERSIA

Tvre.

the

THE break-up of the powers that had so long been supreme in the Oriental world was the opportunity of Canaan. At first it seemed as if Canaan, the battlefield of the nations, would itself be swallowed up in the cataclysm. The Israelites, tresh from their desert training, and moulded into a compact nationality by the legislation of Sinai and Kadesh, after an unsuccessful endeavour to invade Canaan from the south, overran the country east of the Jordan, and then forced their way into the plains and mountains of the West. The Canaanites, weakened by intestine feuds and the long war between Egypt and the Hittites, were in no condition to resist them; city after city fell into the hands of the rude desert tribes, and for a while became a deserted ruin. The native Canaanites retreated into the north or to the coastland of Phœnicia, Phoenicia or else made terms with the invaders, and, as time went on, Becomes intermarried with them. a Power population of the coast had always been more maritime than agricultural; now they turned entirely to their sea trade. There were no longer either Cretan or Egyptian fleets to bar their enterprise, and the Greek seas soon passed into the possession of the Phænician merchantmen. The murex was discovered with its purple dye, and Tyre and Sidon, with their companion cities, grew rich with the development of their trade. Phœnicia became the centre of the carrying trade of the civilised world, the intermediary between East and West. The art and culture of Asia was carried as far as Spain and the Straits of Gibraltar, Phænician colonies were founded on the shores of Africa and Europe, and a new art arose in which Assyrian, Egyptian, and Asiatic elements were mingled together, without, however, any attempt at originality. The old amber trade from the Baltic to the

head of the Adriatic passed into Phœnician hands; so, too, did the trade in British tin, which travelled overland to Massilia, the modern Marseilles.

Tyre, secure in its insular position, took

Hiram I., its temple of Mel-

the lead among the Phœnician cities.
Under Abibal and his son,

Island City karth, its royal palace, and its fortifications, were rebuilt and enlarged, and the simpler Phœnician alphabet replaced the cumbrous cuneiform. Along with the change of script went a change in the literary language; the native language of Canaan -- Hebrew, as we should call it—was substituted for Assyrian, and papyrus and parchment for the clay tablet. The development of Israelitish power was synchronous with that of Phænicia. An abortive attempt to establish an Israelitish monarchy had been made by Abimelech, but the tribes were not yet ripe for organised union. This was forced upon them by the Philistine conquest of the country; resistance to the "un-circumcised" foreigner from Crete developed first a feeling of common origin and worship, and then of the necessity for a leader in war. The destruction of the national sanctuary at Shiloh, with its priesthood and archives, removed what might have been a rival to the royal authority; Saul, indeed, fell in the struggle with the enemy, but under David and his able general, Joab, the Philistines were not only driven back, but compelled to acknowledge the supremacy David, of the Hebrew king. With an army behind him, composed Emperor of Israel partly of foreign mercenaries, David found himself strong enough not only to weld the Israelitish tribes into a monarchical state, but to create an empire which extended as far as the Euphrates. There was no other power in Western Asia to dispute his progress; Egypt and the

Hittites were alike effecte; so were the Babylonians; and the Aramæans of Mesopotamia had successfully blocked the Assyrian advance.

The consolidation of the kingdom, begun by David, was completed by his son Solomon. Jerusalem had already been made a capital; now a new central

Israel's
Short Dream
Ended
Short As in Assyria, the king

took the place of the high-priest. Alliance was made with Tyre, and the Israelitish treasury was replenished with the wealth which Tyrian trade helped to pour into it But the extravagance of the king knew no bounds. Taxation was increased until the freemen of Israel began to murmur, and the subject territories to rebel. Expenditure was for the most part on palaces and similar luxuries, which brought the state but little profit, and foreign loans were as yet unknown. When Solomon died, the empire was already breaking in pieces, and discontent was seething at home. Without his prestige and experience, his son Rehoboam failed to meet it; the northern tribes burst into revolt, and from thenceforth a kingdom of Israel stood by the side of that of Judah. Of the empire of David all that was left were Edom, which was kept by Judah, and Moab, which went with Israel. Five years later, the Egyptian Pharaoh Shishak invaded Judah; Jerusalem was taken, its palace burned and its archives destroyed. Its short dream of political power was gone for ever, thenceforward it was in the world of religion, and not of politics, that its influence was to be felt.

The political stage was thus cleared for the advent of Assyria. And for many centuries Assyria had been preparing itself for its future work. At first it had been merely the district surrounding the deified city of Assur, now Kala Sherghat, on the western bank Military of the Tigris. The names of Empire of the early kings and high-priests Assyria who had founded or repaired the Temple of Ashur were remembered down to later days, and from the first it had been a stronghold of the Semite. For many centuries it had been included in the Babylonian empire, and a letter of Hammurabi refers to the troops who were stationed there. With the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, Assyria recovered

its independence and the high-priest became a king. The sources of his power lay in the north; there Nineveh had been built at the junction of the Tigris and the Upper Zab, and communication was kept up, not only with Southern Armenia, but even with the colonies in distant Cappadocia. Bronze, of which the earliest known examples have been found in Asia Minor, was imported into Palestine and Egypt on the one side, and into Assyria on the other, and the horse followed in the wake of bronze.

From the outset, the Assyrian was a rather than an agriculturist. Circumstances forced him to be a soldier as well. The need of keeping the road to the north open obliged Assyria to be from the first a military kingdom, and the neighbourhood of the Kurdish mountains, with their wild and thievish population, the Assyrian troops constantly kept The power of the Assyrian employed kings, like that of the kings of the northern kmgdom of Israel, rested on the army; they were, in fact, military commanders who owed their authority to a successful

Assyria Independent of Babylonia Babylonia Babylonia Babylonia Babylonia Babylonia, the god, while the Babylonia Babylonia, the god, while the

Babyloman monarch was subordinate to the priesthood, the Assyrian monarch was himself the high-priest. I like Jahveh in Israel, Ashur in Assyria was a "Lord of Hosts"; without wife or child, he led the Assyrian armies to victory, and destroyed those who would not acknowledge his name.

Babylonia was long reluctant to recognise the independence of its rebellious vassal. Burnaburiash, the Babylonian king, in his letters to the Egyptian Pharaoh, still claims sovereignty over the northern kingdom. But facts were too strong for theories, and finally, in the thirteenth century before our era, Tiglath-In-aristi, or Tukulti-Ninib I., king of Assyria, took the sacred city of Babylon by storm and had himself crowned king of Babylonia. His father, Shalmaneser I., the builder of Calah near Nineveh, about 1300 B.C., had carried on campaign after campaign against the Aramæans and Hittites, and had brought Northern Mesopotamia under his rule.

For seven years, Tiglath-In-aristi was lord of Babylon. Then a conspiracy was formed against him at home; he was



IN THE DAYS OF ASSYRIA'S GREATNESS: A KING ISSUING FROM HIS PALACE

assassinated in his palace, and one of his sons seized the crown. A Babylonian king of the Kassite dynasty once more sat on the Babylonian throne. But the political prestige of Babylonia had departed. From thenceforth Assyria, and not Babylonia, was the ruling power in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. The sceptre had passed from the mixed people of Babylonia to the purer Semites of Assyria.

Under Tiglath-pileser I., in 1100 B.C., Assyria resumed its career of foreign conquest. The nations of Northern Asia Minor were driven back from the Assyrian provinces which adjoined Cappadocia, the Armenian highlands were harassed by Assyrian armies, and the command of the high-road from Mesopotamia to Palestine was transferred to Assyrian hands. From the Phænician coast the Assyrian king sailed out to sea in a ship of Arvad, and there he received presents from the Pharaoh of Egypt, which included a crocodile and a hippopotamus. Perhaps these were intended for a zoological garden, since the king had established botanical gardens at Ashur The Assyrian and Nineveli, planted with the trees and shrubs of foreign Wakes

lands. An attempt to invade Babylonia was unsuccessful, and the immediate followers of Tiglath-pileser do not seem to have been gifted with high military qualities. At all events for several generations the armies of Assyria remained at home, and by the capture of the Assyrian fortresses at the fords of the Euphrates the Aramæans once more barred the way to the West. Palestine, accordingly, which had been threatened by the Assyrian advance, was allowed a respite; opportunity was given for the founding of David's empire, and the merchants of Nineveh were compelled to leave the trade of the Mediterraneau in the hands of the Phœnicians.

Under Ashuinasirpal II., who ruled B.C. 883-858, the Assyrian lion again awoke. Year after year the Assyrian army marched out of the gates of Nineveh, carrying ruin with it wherever it went. The campaigns were largely of the character of raids; their chief object was plunder. But they not only filled Nineveh with the wealth of other lands and made the name of Assyria one of terror; they also trained the Assyrian army itself so that it became well-nigh

irresistible. East, west and north it made its way, and the ruthlessness of its king—the cruellest of a cruel race—marked its track with fire and blood.

Ashurnasirpal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II., who reigned B.C. 858-823, maintained the military traditions of his father. But, unlike his father, he aimed Shalmaneser at something more than mere raiding. The conquered lands Establishes were placed under Assyrian an Empire governors and required to pay tribute, which was also exacted from the vassal princes who had submitted to the rule of Ashur. We can thus speak once more of an Assyrian empire, which had a more permanent character than that of Shalmaneser I. or Tiglath-pileser I. And with the establishment of the empire was associated a commercial policy. Every effort was made to open and keep the high-road to the Mediterranean; the Phœnician cities were made tributary, and for the first time Palestine became an Assyrian battle-ground. Its possession meant the supremacy of Assyria in Western Asia, and therewith its commercial supremacy in the civilised world.

In B.C 853 Shalmaneser met at Karkar a confederacy of the Syrian states, which had been formed against him by the king of Hamath. Damascus was represented in it as well as "Ahab of Israel"; Arabs, Ammorites and Phonicians had also sent their chariots and infantry. The battle ended in favour of the Assyrians, but Shalmaneser found lumself too much weakened to pursue his advantage. Four years later he returned to the attack, and once more the Hamathites and their allies were defeated. conquest of Syria, however, proved more difficult than he had anticipated, and even when he led 120,000 picked troops of Assyria against Ben-Hadad of Damascus, in B.C. 845, the result was a drawn battle. But events fought for him in the West. Ben-Hadad Ben-Hadad Assyria was murdered by Hazael, and Gains the throne of Ahab usurped Syria by lehu. When the syrian forces again appeared, in B.C. 841, there was no longer the formidable league of a few years earlier to oppose it. Hazael was besieged in Damascus; Jehu paid homage, and sent tribute by his ambassadors, whose portraits are sculptured on an obelisk of black marble now in the British Museum [see page 1664].

The other campaigns of Shalmaneser were directed partly against the Armenian highlands of the north, from which it was always possible for the invader to swoop down upon Assyria, partly against the Hittites on the Orontes and in Cilicia, who stood in the way of his schemes for creating an Assyrian province in Syria. But Shalmaneser's before the schemes could be realised the old king grew too Son Revolts infirm to take the field. The and Reigns command of his armies was entrusted to a general, and intrigue and conspiracy began at home. First Ashur, the ancient capital, then Nineveh and the neighbouring cities, revolted under his son Ashur-dan-pal, and for five years a fival prince reigned the divided monarchy. Thanks, however, to the military abilities of another son, Samsi - Raman (Shamshi - Adad), and the veteran soldiers who followed him, the revolt was at last put down; Nineveh was taken and the rebel king perished in the ruins of his palace. Shalmaneser died shortly afterwards, and Samsi-Raman IV, was proclaimed his successor. He reigned for thirteen years, the earlier of which were occupied in campaigns against Armenia and the Medes, who for the first time appear on the horizon of Asiatic history, while the later years were distinguished by a successful invasion of Babylonia.

His son Adad-nirari IV. once more turned his attention to the West. The policy of Shalmaneser was resumed, and an Assyrian army again entered Syria. Damascus surrendered, and its king, Marih, purchased safety by submission and tribute.

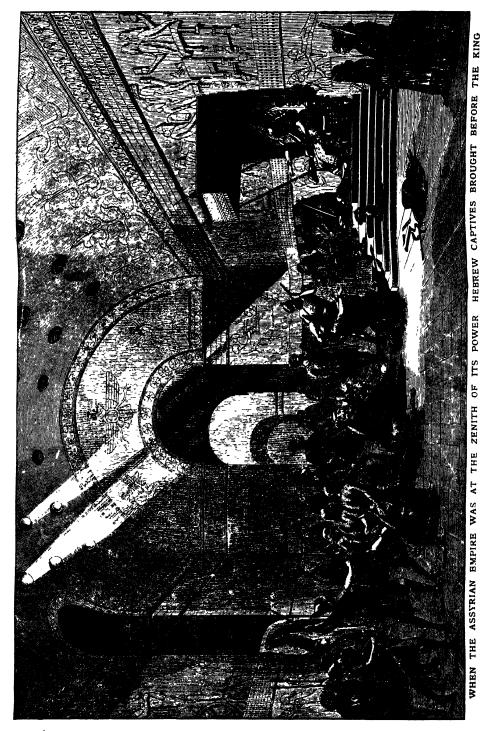
But a new power had risen out of the north. While the Assyrians had been engaged in repressing the raiding tendencies of the semi-barbarous Aryan Medes on the eastern side of their territories a new dynasty had established itself in Armenia, on the shores Imitation of Of Lake Van, full of life and Armenian energy and eager to adopt all Assyria the arts and habits of Assyrian civilisation. The cuneiform script of Assyria was introduced in a modified torm; cities and palaces were built in imitation of those of Assyria; Assyrian art was adapted to the older art of the country; above all, an army was formed modelled after that of the Assyrian kings. From their capital, on the site

of the modern Van, the Armenian sovereigns went forth to conquer and to establish an empire which extended from Lake Urumiya on the east to Cappadocia on the west, and robbed Assyria of its fairest provinces in the north. descendants of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser were in no position to resist the new force that had thus suddenly grown up beside them. They became feebler every year, and the revolt of Ashur in B.C. 763 brought matters to a crisis. The revolt spread to the provinces of the empire, and an expedition against Arpad in B.C. 754 was the last expiring effort of the old régime. Eight years later the army itself rebelled; the reigning king, Ashur-nirari II., disappeared from the scene, and on the 13th of Iyyar, or April, B.C. 745, a military adventurer, Pulu, or Pul, seized the crown and assumed the name of Tiglath-pileser IV.

Tiglath-pileser, the founder of the later Assyrian empire, was a man of unusual ability and military skill. His first task was to reorganise the kingdom, his next to create an army which, by the

help of superior discipline and Pul arms, should become an irrean Empire sistible engine of war. Assyria Founder was in a perilous condition. In the north it was threatened by the Armenians; westward its road to the Mediterranean had been cut off; to the south, Babylonia was restless and menacing; while the Medes on the east took advantage of its weakness to recommence their raids. The new ruler of Assyria had not even the prestige of birth and descent; his title had not been legitimised by the priesthood of Babylon, and the Assyrians had just tasted the pleasures of a successful revolt.

The Aramæan nomads of Northern Arabia and the Median raiders were the first to learn that order had been restored in Assyria. They were driven out of the Assyrian territories, and an expedition which reached the Caspian taught the Medes to respect Assyrian power. Then Tiglath-pileser turned to the Armenians and their northern allies. A hard-fought battle, not far from Malatiya, decided the fate of the campaign. Sarduris, the Armenian king, fled from the field, where 72,950 of his soldiers, with his state carriage and a vast amount of spoil fell into the hands of the victors. The Hittite and Phœnician princes hastened to pay



homage to the conqueror, and the mechants of Nineveh found themselves once more able to share in the profits of the Mediterranean trade.

Tiglath-pileser, however, was not content with the almost nominal ties which had hitherto connected the conquered provinces of the Assyrian empire with the governing state. For the first time he introduced into politics the conception of a centralised government. Thenceforward the provinces of the empire were to form a single organism, strictly controlled by a bureaucracy, at the head of which was the king. The amount of taxation each should contribute was carefully defined, and the royal residence became an imperial city into which the wealth of its dependencies was poured. The empire was extended and maintained by a standing army, in the wake of which followed the civil function-The army itself was provided with new weapons and instructed in new tactics. Thoroughly disciplined, and consisting as it did of conscripts raised partly in Assyria, partly in the dependent provinces, it soon became practical master of Western Asia.

Centralised disposal, Tiglath-pileser undertook what he determined should Begun

be a lasting conquest of the West. The king was as keen as his meichants to direct into the coffers of Nineveli the trade of the world, and for this the subjugation of the Phænician cities was essential. But campaign after campaign was needed before the spirit of the Syrian states could be finally broken, and Tiglathpileser was forced to have recourse to the new expedient of transporting a troublesome nationality from its home. Hamath vainly tried to preserve its independence by alliance with Azariali of Judah and other Syrian princes; it was taken by storm and reduced to the condition of an Assyrian satrapy. In B.C. 732 the same fate befell Damascus.

Rezon, the Damascene king, and Pekah of Israel had endeavoured to dethrone the young king Ahaz of Israel, and to substitute for him a creature of their own who would join them in the defiance of their Assyrian suzerain. Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser, who, nothing loth, soon made his appearance upon the scene. Samaria and its king were crushed, Rezon fled to his capital, where, after a siege of two years, he was starved out and put to death. Meanwhile, a pretext was found for exacting a heavy fine from Tyre, and the expenses of the wars in Syria were paid for with the 150 talents of gold-about £400,000—which the merchant princes of that city were compelled to provide.

In B.C. 735 a campaign into the heart of Ararat had effectually put a stop to all immediate danger from that quarter. The Armenian king was forced Syrian and to retreat to his capital and there watch helplessly the Conquests wasting of his country by the Assyrian army. Leagues of fertile land were reduced to desert, and Tiglath-pileser added the insult of setting up a memorial of his successes just outside the gate of Van.

Tiglath-pileser had thus justified in deed his right to be king; it was now time that his title should be justified in law. In B.C. 731, accordingly, he marched into Babylonia, and two years later he was crowned king at Babylon, and his right to rule the empire of Sargon of Akkad acknowledged by the priests of Bel. The long struggle between Babylonia and its insurgent vassal Assyria was over; the vassal had prevailed, and the Babylonians, though with an ill grace, had to submit to Assyrian supremacy.

Tiglath-pileser IV. died in December, B.C. 727, and was succeeded by a certain Ulula, who took the name of Shalmaneser IV. While besieging Samaria, he died or was murdered in December 722 B.C., and the throne was seized by another general, who assumed the name of Sargon, "the legitimate king," and subsequently endeavoured to justify his title by claiming to be descended from the ancient kings of Assur. The army was now all-powerful; frequent revolution, as in the northern kingdom of Israel, had destroyed among the people all feeling of veneration for the ruling monarch, and the throne consequently was the prize of the ablest or most influential military commander. Sargon. however, proved that he had

Military the ability to conquer and Regime in govern, as well as to influence Assyria the soldiery, and he also succeeded in doing what his immediate predecessors had failed to accomplish handing on his power to his descendants.

The year after his accession saw the capture of Samaria. Its leading citizens, 27,280 in number, were carried into exile, and the country placed under an Assyrian governor. In B.C. 717 came the fall of

Carchemish, with which the history of the Hittites finds its end. The city became the seat of an Assyrian satrap, and the ford across the Euphrates was henceforth under Assyrian control. Trade had definitely passed into Assyrian hands.

But the northern kingdoms made one last struggle for resistance. Rusas I. of Van placed himself at the head of a great confederacy which included the Minni of Lake Urumiya and Midas the Moschian in Asia Minor. Year after year the war lasted with varying fortunes. At last the time came when the Assyrians were victorious all along the line; their armies penetrated the barrier of the northern mountains, and the strongest fortresses of the enemy fell into their hands. Even the Medic tribes had to submit to the conqueror. The power of Ararat was broken for ever; the Assyrian king had nothing further to fear from its rivalry.

Sargon was now free to turn his face southward. The revolution which had placed him on the throne had cost Assyria the possession of Babylonia. Merodach-

Babylonia
Swept with
Fire and Sword

baladan, the Chaldæan, had emerged from the marshes at the head of the Persian Gult, and with his Aramæan fol-

and with his Aramæan followers had made himself master of Babylon. When the fortune of war began to set against the nations of the north he did his best to prepare for the coming storm. Alliance was made with Elam on the east, and ambassadors were sent to Palestine in the west to stir up disaffection there and form a league against the common oppressor. All, however, was in vain. Before the confederates were ready, Sargon had struc't his blow. His tartan, or commander-in-chief, took the Philistine town of Ashdod by storm, while he himself swept Babylonia with fire and Merodach-baladan was driven sword. back to his ancestral marshes and the Assyrian conqueror crowned king at Babylon B.C. 709. Five years later he was murdered and succeeded by his son Sennacherib on the 12th of Ab, or July, B.C. 705. Brought up in the purple, Sennacherib had neither the ability nor the tact of his father. His reign was to a large extent a failure. From the first, Babylonia was in constant revolt, and the vassal kings he appointed over it were dethroned either by their subjects or by the Elamites as soon as the Assyrian

garrisons were away. Elam, after so many centuries of seclusion thus once more entered the political world of Western Asia. With its help Babylonia continued to resist the Assyrian domination, and though Assyria was apparently successful its strength was drained in the contest and Babylonia triumphed in Sennacherih the end. What Elam was to Babylonia, Egypt was to Palestine. Ethiopian princes had Jerusalem conquered the valley of the Nile and put fresh blood into the old kingdom of the Pharaohs. Lavish in their promises of help they induced the nations on either side of the Jordan to rise against the Assyrian. Hezekiah of Judah put himself at the head of the confederacy, secure in the strong walls of Jerusalem and the

expectation of Egyptian aid. In B.C. 701 a huge army marched out of Nineveh under the command of the king himself. Tyre, indeed, remained untaken, but Sidon was captured along with the other towns of the Phænician coast. Judah was ravaged up to the gates of its capital, but it was in vain that Sennacherib called upon the Jewish king to submit. At Eltekeh a drawn battle was fought with the Egyptian forces, and when pestilence soon afterwards descended upon the invading army, Sennacherib had no resource left but to return to Assyria. The rebellious vassal at Jerusalem remained unpunished, like Greece after the retreat of Xerxes.

For the next few years Sennacherib had more than enough to occupy him in Babylonia and Elam. The great battle of Khalulê in B.C. 689 brought matters to a crisis. According to the Assyrian annals the chariot of Sennacherib waded through pools of blood and rode over heaps of slain. Countless numbers of Babylonians and Elamites strewed the ground, and the Assyrian victory was complete. But the Babylonian records tell a different story, and claim the victory for The Sack Bel of Babylon. As a matter of of fact, the battle would seem Babylon to have been a drawn one, with the advantage on the side of the Assyrians. In the following year, when they appeared before Babylon, there was no force to resist them, and the holy city of Western Asia was taken and razed to the ground. Its temples and palaces were destroyed, and its ruins choked the canals. The act of sacrilege and brutality made a

of Sennacherib to execration. His right to rule was never legitimised, for it was never acknowledged by the Babylonian priesthood. When he was murdered by his two sons on the 20th Tebet, or December, B.C. 681, his death Heaven-sent was regarded as the righteous Vengeance on vengeance of heaven. Another son, Esarhaddon, was at the time commanding the Assyrian army on the frontiers of Armenia. For forty-two days the conspirators held Nineveh; then they fled with their followers to the Armenian camp, and a decisive battle took place in Cappadocia, on the 12th of Iyyar or April. The Assyrian veterans gained the day, and at the close of it saluted Esarhaddon as king. At once he set out for Nineveh, which had no choice but to confirm the decision of the soldiery.

profound impression upon the civilised

world, and more than a century afterwards

Babylonian historians held up the name

Esarhaddon, however, proved to be one of the best of the Assyrian kings. At once he entered on a policy of conciliation. One of his first acts was to go in person to Babylonia and there set about the restoration of Babylon. The temple of Bel-Merodach rose again from its ruins, the priests were recalled from exile, and Esarhaddon was acknowledged king of Babylon as well as king of Assyria. Babylon became the second city of the empire, where the king held court during part of the year.

But an unexpected danger threatened both Assyria and the whole fabric of Asiatic civilisation. One of Sennacherib's acts of folly had been to destroy the kingdom of Ellip, which formed a "bufferstate" between Assyria and the wild tribes of the east. Cimmerians or Scyths from Southern Russia crossed the Caucasus and settled in the devastated land, where they allied themselves with the Median tribes. Esarhaddon now found himself confronted by the World-rule northerners, who had overrun Armenia and attacked the bor-Assyria der cities of the empire. Public prayers were ordered to avert the danger, and finally a battle in Cilicia drove the invaders to the Greek and Lydian settlements on the coast of Asia Minor.

The supremacy of Assyrian trade was the next object of Esarhaddon's concern. All attempts at rivalry on the part of Phœnicia were suppressed for the future by the destruction of Sidon, and the building of a new Sidon, which was filled with Assyrian colonists; while the tranquil acquiescence of Palestine in Assyrian rule was secured by the invasion of Egypt. In B.C. 674 Egypt was conquered and divided into twenty satrapies, each of which was placed under an Assyrian governor. Of all the kingdoms of the civilised Oriental world Elam alone remained independent.

The Bedouins of Northern Arabia had been coerced into order by a punitive expedition which penetrated through the trackless and waterless desert into the very heart of the peninsula. The expedition was an amazing one, and is a remarkable proof of Esarhaddon's military capacities, and the excellence of the Assyrian commissariat.

The Egyptians, however, did not submit to Assyrian rule with equanimity. A revolt broke out, and while on the march to suppress it Esarhaddon died on the 12th of Marchesvan, or October, B.C. 667. His empire was divided between his two sons, Shamash-shum-ukin receiving Babylonia, and Ashurbanipal the rest. At first the arrangement seemed to work well, the Babylonians

Ambitions being flattered by this acknowledgment of their equality with Nineveli. But after a time Shamash-shum-ukin became more Babylonian than his subjects, and indulged in the dream of restoring the ancient empire of Hammurabi, while, on the other side, Ashurbamipal's claim to be his suzzerain became more and more articulate. With a restless Elam behind Babylonia, sooner or later a conflict was inevitable.

Ashurbanipal, however, was no lover of war. He was fond of ease and luxury; his desire was to be a patron of art and literature, and to be known as the founder of the greatest library in the world. The copy of an old book was the most precious spoil that could be sent to him from a conquered city, and his scribes were busily employed in re-editing the ancient literature of the country and compiling works for the use of students. If war broke out, he sent his generals to fight for him while he feasted—or fasted—at home.

Moreover, the earlier years of Ashurbanipal's reign were fully occupied in repressing the attempts of Egypt to recover its freedom. Time after time the Assyrian garrisons were withdrawn, only to be immediately recalled to put down another revolt. Eventually, Thebes, the centre of disaffection, was utterly destroyed; for days the Assyrian soldiers were employed in hewing in pieces its temple-fortresses; two of its obelisks were carried to Nineveh as trophies of victory, and the former capital of Egypt was reduced to a collection of mud-built villages. The city never recovered from the blow.

The Cimmerian hordes, taught by the lesson they had received in Cilicia, still respected Assyrian territory. But Armenia and Lydia were each suffering at their hands, and each accordingly applied for help to "the great king." The unwonted sight was seen at Nineveh of ambassadors from the Lydian Gyges and Sarduris III. of Van, for whom an interpreter was difficult to find. Assyria seemed to have reached the zenith of its power; the whole civilised world lay at its feet, and the will of its monarch was as the will of a god.

But the feet of the colossus were of Suddenly Babylonia burst into clay. revolt, with the armies of Elam behind it, and the other provinces of the empire in its train. For long the issue A Colossus trembled in the balance. But the disciplined veterans of of Clay Nineveh and the wealth of its merchants finally prevailed. Syma and Palestine returned to their allegiance, Babylon was invested by the Assyrian army and at last starved into surrender. The Elamite forces were driven back into their mountains, and Shamash-shum-ukin burned himself amid the ruins of his palace.

Egypt, however, was lost for ever. With the mercenaries he had hired from Gyges of Lydia, Psammetichus had succeeded in shaking off the Assyrian yoke and founding the twenty-sixth dynasty in B.C. 660. It was the St. Luke's summer of Egyptian history. An antiquarian revival dreamed of restoring both the art and the political power of the past, and for a while the imitation seemed successful. The runed temples were rebuilt, the masterpieces of ancient sculpture were closely copied, and the land once more enjoyed peace and prosperity. The later Pharaohs of the dynasty even grasped at the Asiatic empire of the past; Necho made Palestine again the tributary of Egypt, and, like Thothmes, so many centuries before, fixed the boundaries of his dominions at the Euphrates.

But the Egyptian revival was evanescent. It was effected with the help of Greek mercenaries, and the wealth which filled the coffers of the Pharaoh was derived in part from the Greek traders of The European had entered the land, not again to quit it; the valley of the Nile was ceasing to be either African or Asiatic, and was about to Europeans become European. The decline in B.C. 650 of Assyria had allowed Egypt in Egypt thus to claim once more its old position as a world power. The Elamite wars had ended in a barren victory for Ashurbanipal; Susa, the Elamite capital, was indeed levelled with the ground, the tombs of its kings had been descrated, and the Elamite monarchy had ceased to exist. But the struggle had left Assyria in a state of collapse. Its treasury was empty, and the bare mountains and ravaged fields of Elam were unable to replerish it; while its fighting-men had perished in the Babylonian revolt and the Elamite wars, and none were left to fill their places. When the Scythian hordes once more crossed the Assyrian frontiers there was none to resist them. lessly they poured over the rich plains and cities of the empire, and penetrated as far south as the borders of Egypt, where they were bought off by a bribe. Calah, the suburb of Nineveh, was taken and sacked Nineveh was saved only by the strength of its walls. When Ashurbanipal died his empire and with it the kingdom of Assyria itself were tottering to their fall.

The end came in B.C. 606. Sin-sariskun, the last Assyrian king, had vainly sought to check the growing power of his satrap in Babylonia, Nabopolassar. Cyaxares of Media led his legions against the doomed city; after a protracted siege Nineveh was taken, its ruler slain, its people carried into captivity, its palaces and temples burnt with fire. Assyria and its empire had passed for ever from the stage of history. Babylonia and

Assyria
Passes
Media divided the relics of its
for Ever
605 B.c. Nebuchadnezzar, the
son of Nabopolassar, overthrew the
Egyptian forces at Carchemish, and
put an end to the dream of an
Egyptian empire in Asia. The death of
his father shortly afterwards placed the
Babylonian crown upon his head, and
Babylon again became the capital of
the Oriental world. Great architectural

works were undertaken to make it a worthy successor of Nineveh, and it was surrounded by fortifications which made it well-nigh impregnable. Nebuchadnezzar showed himself as able in the arts of peace as he was in war, a patron of architecture and learning as well as a pious worshipper of the When he died, after a reign of gods. forty-three years, the sceptre The Rise dropped into feebler hands. The of priestly party intrigued against Persia the sovereign, and eventually the throne was usurped by Nabonidus, who seems to have represented the mercantile The heart of Nabonidus was in antiquarian pursuits rather than in the government of his kingdom, and the army was entrusted to his son Belshazzar, while no heed was paid to the growing disaffection in the country due to his attempt to centralise religious worship in Babylon.

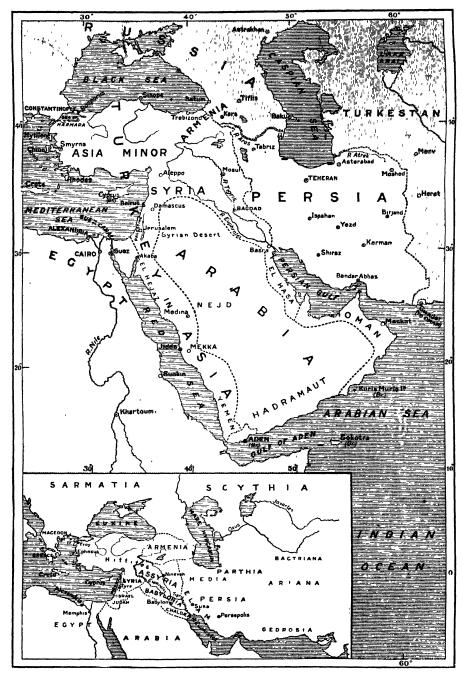
But a new power was rising in the East. In the closing days of the Assyrian empire the Aryan clan of Persians had settled in deserted Elam, and had there revived the ancient kingdom of Ansan. They yielded a nominal obedience to the Median king, but for all practical purposes were independent. Their princes intermarried with the native Elamites, and one of them, Cyrus II., proved to be a military genius of the first order—By his overthrow of the Median monarchy, in 549 B.C., he became the master of an empire which rivalled that of Nabonidus. The conquest of the Median empire was followed by that of Lydia, which placed Asia Minor at his feet, and for the first time brought Asia into direct collision with Greece.

Then, in 538 B.C., came the invasion of abylonia. The Babylonian army was defeated near Opis, and Babylon shortly afterwards opened its gates to the conqueior. Nabonidus surrendered, and the death of Belshazzar removed all further opposition to the invaders. They had, in tact, been welcomed by an influential party in Babylonia itself. Cyrus was Babylon regarded by the priests as the Passes instrument of Bel-Merodach's Under vengeance on the godless Nabonidus, and Cyrus was not slack in posing as the orthodox worshipper of the Babylonian god and the rightful successor of Nebuchadnezzar. The exiles from Judah and other countries equally welcomed the conqueror, in whom they saw a deliverer from their Babylonian masters. The later years of Cyrus were employed in bringing the lands eastward of Persia under his sway. When he fell in battle against the Scythians, his son Cambyses pursued his father's career of conquest and added Egypt to the empire. The twenty-sixth dynasty ended in Psammetichus II., and Egyptian independence was no more.

But the Nile cast a spell upon its con-He lingered in its warmth and queror. sunshine while revolt was beginning at Magian clan seized the The supreme power, and placed one of themselves, Gomates by name, upon the deserted throne. On his way back from Egypt Cambyses died by accident or design, and the line of Cyrus was extinct. An avenger was found, however, in Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who, like Cyrus, claimed descent from the Achamenian Teispes. Gomates was murdered, and Darius chosen king in 521 B.C. The earlier years of his reign were occupied in fighting against rivals and pretenders in various parts of the empire. But at last Darius prevailed and his rivals were over-

Darius ascribed his victories to Ahuramazda, or Ormazd, the Aryan god. And it was indeed the Λ ryans and their god Alexandria a to whom the empire of Cyrus had now passed. Its reconquest by Darius made it the Persian Civilisation empire, the complete organisation of which filled the latter years of his life. The new empire touched the borders of Europe, and Greek colonies sent tribute to Susa. At first the struggle lay between the Aryans in Asia and the Aryans in Europe, beween the Persians and the Greeks of Europe, who were destined to turn a fresh page in the history of the world. The struggle closed with the defeat of Asia. The heritage of the old civilisations, which Darius had united into a single whole, passed to Alexander the Macedonian, and Greek kings sat on the thrones of Hammurabi and the Pharaohs. The foundation of Alexandria was the mark and seal of the new order in human history; East and West, Asia, Africa, and Europe, all alike met and commingled there, but the founder came from Europe, and though the elements of its culture went back to the dawn of Oriental antiquity, the form which they received, the stamp which they bore, was that of Europe. In Alexandria the old civilisations of the Euphrates and Nile were reborn and became European.

ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE



THE NEAR EAST DIVISION OF THE HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD Our geographical plan brings us, in this division, to the countries of Western Asia—Persia, Arabia, Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Turkey in Asia. The inset map indicates the great ancient empires of Nearer Asia, whose history is here treated of, including Babylonia, Assyria, Eliam, the Hittite Empire, Phenicia, Israel and Judah, ancient Armenia. ancient Asia Minor, Media, Persia, and the Græco-Bactrian Empire.



ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER & LEONARD W. KING, M.A.

BABYLONIA AND ITS PEOPLES

OF the two civilisations developed in the two great river-basins of the Nile and of the Euphrates and Tigris, the Babylonian civilisation has unquestionably exercised the greater influence on the moulding of the conditions in Nearer Asia, though Greek civilisation, and in consequence thereof our own, has been less influenced by the latter than the former. It is not yet possible to discover all the threads that were woven indirectly between Babylon and Greece, and the paths are still unknown by which some of the ideas and thoughts of the earliest Babylonians reached the civilised nations, European as well as others, dwelling outside the immediate sphere of Babylonian culture. In order to characterise the connection of Greece with Babylonian civilisation, it is enough to point to the one Babylonian word borrowed by the Greeks, µıvâ, mina. As to the other aspect of the influence of the civilisation

along the Euphrates, let us call attention to one of its products, which we still carry with us in our pockets—the watch, with its twelve divisions, corresponding to the ancient Babyloman division of the day into twelve double hours. The paths on which the Oriental world, lying apparently so far from us, established these connections with Europe are up to the present still shrouded in complete obscurity. Thus, to take a single example,

it is still a matter for investigation to what extent and by what channels the laws embodied in the Code of Hammurabi may have influenced later systems of legislation. But in one striking instance the mythology of Babylon has survived in European beliefs, and the track of this connection may be followed; for it is now generally admitted that the biblical accounts of the Creation and the Deluge were in great part derived from a Babylonian source.

The decipherment of the cuneiform writing and of the Egyptian hieroglyphs has practically doubled the space of time which our historical knowledge covers—that is to say, the period we can survey by means of written documents in comparison with that which was regarded as history for the districts of Western civilisation. It is true that excavations on early Greek sites have yielded abundant remains of the Mycenæan and of pre-Mycenæan cultures, while recent discoveries in Crete have included hundreds of clay tablets inscribed in the writing and language of an early Mediterranean people. Further, through periods of pre-Minoan culture, the civilisation of the Mediterranean races may now be traced back to the Neolithic Age. But in a more restricted sense of the term it may be said that the history of Greece can be followed back

to the seventh or eighth century B.C.; while the oldest written records of Babylon and Egypt go back to the fourth millennium B.C. The interval which divides their first founders from the Dorian migration and the beginnings of Rome is therefore as great as that which hes between our own days and those of the Widespread Deginnings of Hellenic Instory.
The regions influenced by the civilisation and history Babylon of Babylon stretch far beyond the countries watered by the twe rivers. States which had reached so high a stage of civilisation as those of ancient Babylonia could not exist without laying under tribute the neighbouring countries, and bestowing on them in return their own achievements. Thus we see in remote antiquity that Babylonia encroached on Palestine, Armenia, Elam, even Arabia; trading, conquering, and depositing there her superfluous population and the products of her civilisation, but also exposed to the attacks of her barbarian neighbours, by whom she was often worsted. history, therefore, of the other states and nations of Nearer Asia, taken all in all, is grouped round that of Babylonia. It is not mere accident that we possess few or no accounts of these except the Babylonian, in consequence of which their history seems to us influenced by Babylonia; for all the surrounding nations looked and were drawn toward the seat of that civilisation, whether they were under its supremacy, or they imposed their own rule upon it. This is most clearly demonstrated by the widespread use of the cuneiform writing, the most conspicuous achievement of the Babylonian intellect, the development of which has already been traced and illustrated on page 265 by Professor Petrie. the vehicle of intellectual intercourse in all Nearer Asia. Everywhere, so far as our view at present extends, we meet it: in Elam, in

Cuneiform the French of the East of Asia Minor. In Palestine men wrote in cunciform letters,

and must accordingly have been acquainted with the Babylonian language and the Babylonian world of thought. Even in Egypt itself we shall find that the Babylonian writing and language were the means of intercourse with the countries of Western Asia. In fact, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Babylonian

was the language of diplomacy and commerce, and its employment at this period throughout the Nearer East resembled very nearly the use of French at the present day.

If a study of the development of Babylonia implies in itself a history of almost all Western Asia, the task will be still more complex when we consider that the history, comprising more than 3,000 years, of a civilised world surrounded by barbarians must show the most varied succession of nationalities. is not one people that meets us in Babylonia as the bearer of the "Babylonian" civilisation; it is a long series of most heterogeneous nations belonging to various races, which one after the other advanced into the great plain between the rivers, and lived out the rest of their existence under the dominion of that civilisation. The same holds good of the adjoining countries which were subject to its civilising influence, although, from want of information, we cannot trace the fact so clearly there.

Just as the great civilisations of Sources of antiquity have been developed on great rivers, the natural Babylonian Immigrants on adural migrations take their origin in wide regions of steppes. which supply nomadic man with food for the animals by means of which he lives. For, owing to the vast districts required by a nomadic life, these extensive plains can contain and support comparatively few inhabitants. Thus the overgrowth of the population, which is periodically felt, compels the wandering tribes to seek more productive lands. whither the simple but sturdy son of Nature is invited by the alluring splendours of civilisation, and by the prospects of an easy victory over more effeminate and civilised races.

Three such cradles of the human race have to be considered in connection with the region of Babylonian civilisation—the European steppes, from which the peoples migrated over the Caucasus or round the Caspian Sea, and in the other direction through Asia Minor; the Inner Asiatic steppes on the north-east; and Arabia on the south and south-west. Of these, the first district may be almost excluded from our inquiry, since the approach on this side is the most difficult. more important is the Inner Asiatic







CUNEIFORM, THE MOST CONSPICUOUS BABYLONIAN ACHIEVEMENT
These reproductions of Babylonian tablets illustrate the development of cuneiform writing. The first shows the
Sumerian picture writing with archaic cuneiform equivalents, the third is a memorial tablet of a governor of Lagash,
inscribed about BC 1500, while the second is an inscription of Xerxes, about BC 470, in the most modern form

region. With regard to this and the European district, it must be noted that each of the waves of peoples coming from that quarter first beat against the states that were posted in front of Babylonia and were subject to her civilising influence - namely, those of Asia Minor, Armenia, Elam and Syria. Babylonia thus presented against invaders from these directions a natural bulwark of buffer states, and could not, therefore, be so easily overrun by them directly.

On the other hand, the third district, Arabia, with its extensive steppes, from earliest times the home of robber nomads, immediately adjoins the territory of Baby-The only natural boundary lon itself. here is the Euphrates; and the nomads could roam unhindered up to the towns built upon the right bank, even when a strong power attempted to prevent their The Semites' crossing into the pasture grounds lying east of the river. Entrance to It is a long stretch of frontier, Babylonia running in places through wide steppes, which the Babylonian forces had to guard, and they were seldom able to defend the passage of the river against the nomads who pressed onward from Arabia. It was from this quarter that Babylonia was exposed to the most frequent and most lasting immigrations, and the nations who came from that side

took possession successively of the plam between the Euphrates and the Tigris. But Arabia, so far as our knowledge reaches, was the home of the nations which, according to a linguistic classification, we designate as Semites

The history of Babylonia itself is in great part Semitic; that of the adjoining nations, so far as they are subject to its Babylonian influence, is also largely Semi-Civilisation tic, or supplied in the manner stated from the two other storehouses of mankind. The Semites, in fact, attained their highest civilisation in Babylonia. It is true that in its origin much of this civilisation was non-Semitic Not only their method of writing, but much of their art and many of their religious beliefs, to say nothing of less important elements of culture, were derived from the Sumerians, who at a very early period occupied the whole of Southern Babylonia. But the Sumerian culture was adopted by the Semitic population to meet their own needs, and they brought to its development all that their natural gifts could produce. Even in the earliest times of which we have knowledge we may trace results of Semitic influence, and during the later historical periods it gradually became the preponderating element in Babylonian culture.

So far back as we can survey the history of Babylonia, its actors were largely composed of Semites. Accordingly, the distinct Semitic character of the population comes out in the language, however much other elements of population were mixed with the Semites. It is, however, obvious that our historical knowledge The Lack of the Babylonian culture. The Babylonian growth of the means to hand Prehistory down history, the introduction of a written language, must indeed presuppose a long course of development in culture. It is a long cry from the picture-writing of savages to the written reports of campaigns and of the building of temples, such as the earliest Babylonian inscriptions give us, and to the official records drawn up according to set forms belonging to the same period; and it may be that the nations which reached that stage of development worked longer at perfecting their inventions than the three thousand or more years during which we know that cuneiform writing was employed.

We shall see that the oldest records with which we are yet acquainted come both from Sumerians and Semites. These records show very clearly the influence of both the peoples who had settled in the valley of the Tigns and Euphrates. On the one hand, the inscriptions of the earliest Sumerian rulers which have been recovered show linguistically numerous traces of Semitic influence. On the other hand, the earliest Semitic rulers of whom we have knowledge employ not only the Sumerian method of writing, but also in great part the Sumerian language, for their inscriptions. Of a time when there were no Semites or no Sumerians in Babylonia we have as yet no knowledge, and it is still a matter for conjecture which of these two races was first settled in the country. All that we can say with certainty is that Sumerians Southern Babylonia was the bas centre of Sumerian influence, Semites

lonia that the Semites were first settled. It has recently been suggested that the Semites may have been the earlier of the two races to inhabit the country, and that they succeeded in establishing themselves in Northern Babylonia, and possibly also in the south, where they lived a primitive and agricultural life in an undeveloped

while it is in Northern Baby-

state of civilisation. According to this theory the Sumerians were the conquering race, who, before their invasion of the country, had already attained a high level of culture, and brought with them into Babylonia not only the art of writing, but also the method of fighting in close battalions of heavily armed men; and that, in virtue of their better weapons, they imposed their own higher civilisation upon the Semitic peasant population, whom they found in possession of the country. Their conquest of Babylonia might, on this theory, be compared to the Dorian invasion in Greece or the Norman conquest in England. On the other hand, it is possible that the Sumerians preceded the Semites in their occupation of Babylonia, and in that case the conquering race was the less civilised of the two. Pressing into the country in overwhelming numbers, they would gradually have gained the upper hand in the northern districts, and have absorbed the higher civilisation of the conquered race. present we have not sufficient evidence available for deciding definitely between these conflicting views. The Latin

earliest remains that have yet been recovered exhibit the Sumerians settled chiefly in the south, while in the north we find a Semitic population preponderating, and borrowing for their written records both the script and language of their southern

neighbours.

The first records which we possess are composed in the non-Semitic Sumerian This language is one of language. the principal characteristics of the creators of the Babylonian civilisation, the inventors of the cunciform characters. It is also the most valuable testimony to their racial importance. For, long after men ceased to speak Sumerian; when the most heterogeneous nationalities had occupied Babylonia, and had gone the same way as the ancient Sumerians themselves; when the various Semitic peoples in the valley of the Euphrates had played their part; when Persians, Macedonians, or Parthians ruled there, down to the age immediately preceding the Christian era-Sumerian was still used in Babylonia as a sacred religious language. It played, therefore, a similar part to Latin, which has been the language of the learned world and of the Church in the Middle Ages and modern



TRIUMPHS OF THE EARLY BABYLONIAN ART

Some of these beautiful objects, found at Tello, and now in the Louvre, were executed over 6,000 years ago. The earliest are the copper votive figures (5 and 7) dating from the reign of the first Babylonian king, before B.C. 4500. The beautiful vase (10) is of silver, richly chased and engraved (11 and 12), and was made in the time of King Entemens, about B.C. 4500. Somewhat later are the copper figures of an early Chaldæan god (2) and a bull (6), the descoration for a sculptured vase of Gudea (8), and two gods in terra-cotta (3 and 9). These are all about B.C. 2500 The other objects are a finely-sculptured woman's head from Tello (1) and a Chaldæan bull in stone (4).

times; only, its survival in this form extended over a period nearly twice as long.

For considerable periods of their history the Sumerians speak to us in inscriptions of their own, and thus the past of this remarkable people, from the close of whose era the tradition of civilisation descends A Language in an unbroken line to our that Lasted own times, has been in some 3,000 Years degree revealed. Moreover, by the preservation of the language, inscriptions and religious texts in the Sumerian tongue are in our hands, extending over a period which comprises more than three thousand years. The most ancient of the native Sumerian records are the inscriptions of the kings of Lagash, and Sumerian continued to be used as a living language under the later kings of Sumer and Akkad.

With the rise of Babylon under the first Western Semitic kings of the dynasty a great impetus was given to the increased employment of the Semitic tongue in the inscriptions of the period, and Sumerian gradually dropped out of general use. It can easily be imagmed that in the succeeding ages the language, which was now only artificially preserved, must have gone through stages like those of Latin in the Middle Ages; for a revival in the spirit of classicism, like that of Latin by the Renaissance, was quite foreign to the Oriental character. Sumerian became, therefore, more and more corrupt when used by later ages. The texts are filled with Semiticisms: the later the period, the more the texts give the impression that they were composed of words merely adapted and declined according to Sumerian; that is to say, the originally quite distinct syntax had been given up. This Sumerian exhibits the same teatures not merely as the monkish Latin, but even as the Macaronic burlesques;

Sumerian
Pronunciation
Unknown

We add the fact that the more ancient the inscriptions are, the more ideographic they are—that is, each separate word is written with a special hieroglyph—we shall realise that our information as to the pronunciation of the old Sumerian is still very unsatisfactory. We know the meaning of the old inscriptions indeed from the signs which are familiar to us

from their significance in Semitic texts, but we learn the Sumerian pronunciation of the words only from the statements of later centuries.

Notwithstanding the numerous texts that have been recovered, we can therefore arrive at no certain conclusion as to many features of the language; but we may establish enough to show roughly the character of Sumerian, one of the oldest civilised languages of the world. It is an agglutinative language, whose construction is not dissimilar to that of the Turkish languages, and therefore completely different from that of the Senatic tongues Let the following construction serve as an example, egal Ur-Engur lugal Uri galu e-Anna m-ru-a-ka-ta palace + Ui-Engur + king + Ur + man + e-Anna + he built + genitive particle + in in the palace of Ur-Engur, the king of Ur, the builder of the (temple) e-Anna. connecting genitive, which in Semitic, as in English, stands between palace and Ur-Engur, goes to the end of the whole expression, which therefore composes a connected whole, something like a German Construction compound word. In the same way that which is the most of Sumerian important word, and therefore Language placed at the beginning of our sentences, the designation of place "in" (- ta) comes at the end. We must notice also the periphrasis of a Semitic participle

by galu....m-ru-a, man.... + he built. All attempts to establish an affinity with any language of the ancient world, even with the various languages of the neighbouring nations or of those still living, are precarious. Phonetically, Sumerian had already become to some extent corrupt, even as exhibited in the earliest inscriptions that have been recovered. Most words show only simple syllables of vowel and consonant, or consonant-vowelconsonant, the last of which has usually been lost; and a great number of originally distinct words are again phonetically assimilated. Sumerian has thus been worn smooth in the same way as Chinese.

We know nothing of the history of Babylonia before we already find Sumerians and Semites both settled in the country, and both split up into groups of independent city-states. One conclusion, however, can be drawn with perfect certainty from the analogy of similar relations and of later times. The development of civilisation was not possible in an

BABYLONIA AND ITS PEOPLES

idvllic and peaceful twilight on the fertile banks of the Euphrates. The same relations of hostility and friendship which we find later between the populations of different districts, and which exist between all civilised peoples not separated by insuperable difficulties of communication. must have existed even in the still dark ages of Babylonian history. Even then there must have been trade between the different places; the kings of separate cities must have exchanged communications, and have made war on one another.

Where the dark yell is lifted by means historical documents—that is, by inscriptions to be reckoned among the most ancient monuments of mankind which speak to us in words—Semites meet us as rulers of the northern districts in the

plain of the Euphrates and Tigris. By the term Semites, designate, m accordance with the table o f nations in Genesis, chapter x., the group of races which spoke same tongue as the Hebrews, there included in the posterity of Shem. It may be noted that since the intro-

duction of this term the fact has been established that some of the nations there classed among the descendants of Shem did not speak Semitic; however, the designation is now universally accepted.

We may regard Arabia as the home of the Semites; indeed, on geographical grounds, no other land can be taken into consideration. Arabia is, up Arabia the Home of the where Semites have kept their Semites purity of race, and where they live under the same conditions and in the same stage of civilisation as their kinsmen who, in the fourth millennium before the Christian era, attained the object after which their descendants sigh; they won the rich civilised lands, which were certainly richer and better cultivated then than they are now. The only roads on

which nomadic nations could migrate from Arabia led to Syria and Palestine. On the other sides the country is surrounded by the sea, and a migration westward or eastward presupposes that the people possessed ships, and had therefore passed from the stage of nomadism on the steppe to that of a settled life, or at least had taken up fishing, although this

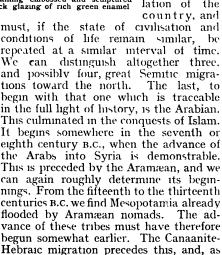
The Tide of Semitic Migration

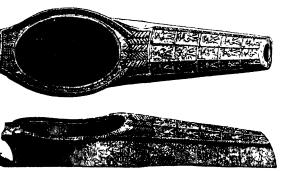
industry can support only a small people No emigration on a large scale took place then

from the south of Arabia; but when the kingdom of Saba and the nations in alliance with it had produced a sort of civilisation, there was emigration to Africa and Abyssinia. The real tide however, of Semitic migration set toward the north.

We are in a position to determine

roughly course and the date of the later migrations, for we can fix then beginning and end with tolerable accuracy: for those of the first we depend to a great extent upon conjecture. They result d۶ natural consequence of the over-population of the





SEPULTURES OF EARLY BABYLONIA

Glazed clay coffins discovered in the ruins of Warka, the ancient Erech, where they were found in amazing abundance. They were covered with elevated ridges forming panels containing embossed and sculptured figures, and were finished with a thick glazing of rich green enamel



BABYLON AS IT APPEARED AFTER TWO THOUSAND YEARS
This picture of ruin and the uttermost desolation reproduced by permission from The Struggle of the Nations (5 P C K) shows the ruins of Babylon in the first half of the nueteenth century before they were disturbed by excavations

result we find that shortly before 2000 be a population to be described as West Semitic of Carrantic was in possession of Babyloma. I astly at the very dawn of Babyloman history as revealed to us by the remains that have been accovered we find Semites settled in Northern Babyloma and engaged in acquiring the element of Sumerial civilisation from their southern neighbors. It is not unlikely that the original home of these Semite Babylomans was also Arabia and that their settlement on the banks of the Luphrates was due to a migration similar

to those which took place at later times But, for fixing date ιt which this carbest migra tion in ity posibly have taken place, the CXCAVI tions in Baby long have as vet furnished no evidence

These are the four great groups of Se mitte peoples who have in succession produced great effects upon

the history of the Neuer List. It must be noted however that any calculation is to dates can give only approximate results and that obviously a sharply defined division of the several migrations is impossible. In the migration of races one wave pushes another before it and the list portion of a great group of nations may be still in movement when the vingual of the next is already drawing near As an example we may cate the case of the Hebrews and Aram ears about the middle of the second millen naum by the limiting Western

Semites of the second migra tion found existing in Babylonia highly devel oped civilisa tion, which they adopted like every bar barous people similai circum stances and its insti tutions were valid for them

Wherever our records speak to us, we find in Baby lonia a number of towns whose divine cult was

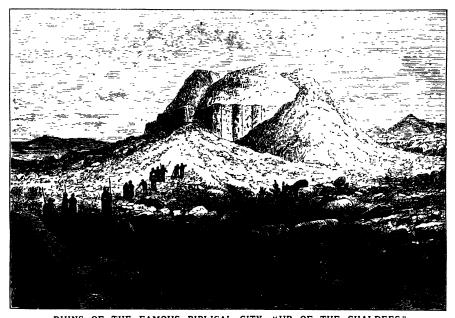


duced great ALI THAT REMAINS OF NIPPUR THE CITY OF ENLIL offects upon Nippur was the principal religious centre of the whole of Babylonia

BABYLONIA AND ITS PEOPLES

in high reputation, and whose importance as the centre of high-roads, and the focus of intercourse and civilisation, was maintained throughout all history. We shall mention here the most important, following the Euphrates upward from the south: Eridu, or Abu Shahrain, the seat of the Ea cult; Ur, or Mukayyar, the town devoted to moon-worship in Southern Babylonia; Lagash, also called Shir-pur-la, with phonetic reading of the ideographic style of writing, marked by the mounds of Tello, and known to us hy the excavations of the French consul, De Sarzec, and a town not far from Tello, on

known to have been the principal religious centre of the whole of Babylonia. In Northern Babylonia the most important towns are Babylon, the city of Marduk, which did not assume the chief rôle until later; Kish and Opio, in the neighbourhood of the later city of Seleucia; and Kutha, or Tell Ibrahim, the city of Nergal; and more to the north Sippar, or Abu-Habba, the Suntown of Northern Babylonia; and Durliu, with the cult of Anu, probably marked by the mound of Der. Further to the north begins the steppe of Mesopotamia, and we now meet on the banks of



RUINS OF THE FAMOUS BIBLICAL CITY, "UR OF THE CHALDEES"
Ur was an important city-state of Southern Babylonia, and, like others in the Mesopotamian valley, a town of
the most ancient past when first it appears in history. It was the seat of the worship of Sin, the moon-god.

the other bank of the Shatt el-Hai, whose name is expressed by the signs Gish-khu, but was probably pronounced as Umma. The rulers of this city waged a constant warfare with the early kings of Lagash, and their history is typical of that of the early Babylonian city-states. Further, Isin, which was later the seat of a Babylonian dynasty; Larsa, or Senkereh, where the South Babylonian sun-cult had its seat; Erech, Uruk, or Warka, the seat of Nanâ-Ishtar; Nippur, or Niffer, the city of Enlil, which has been examined by American excavators, and is now

the Tigris, going up stream, the important towns of Ashur, or Kala Shergat, Calah Kalkhi, or Nimrud, and Nimeveh, at a much later period of the greatest importance as capitals of the kingdom of Assyria. More easterly, toward Media, lies Arbail, or Arbela, now Erbil, which commands the East Assyrian country, the district between the Upper and the Lower Zab. Here the roads to Media and the places on Lake Urumiya converge. Returning to the district between the rivers, we find the Sinjar range of hills, certainly once occupied by towns, even if nothing has

hitherto been definitely settled on the point. The great steppe of Mesopotamia becomes again suitable for considerable settlements in the two valleys of the Khabur and Belikh. Here there are a number of hitherto unexplor d "tells"—that is, sites of towns now covered by earth, and rising in the form of rounded mounds above the surrounding plain. Harran, the moon-city in the upper valley of the Belikh, was the most important, and flourished until a late period.

These are by no means all the chief towns of the region of Babylonian civilisation. On the contrary, we cannot picture to ourselves the density of the settlements with which all the districts that come under our notice-if we omit the parts of the steppe where water was deficient—were then covered. Babylonia, at the time of her prosperity, was, like Egypt, cultivated in a manner which resembles gardening more than our notions of agriculture, and was proportionately covered with settlements. The towns which we have named are only those which have played a particularly prominent rôle through their political and religious importance, or of which we have considerable knowledge in consequence of excavations on their sites. There are besides countless other "tells" which are still awaiting the spade of the excavator.

On the assumption that the Sumerians first occupied the whole of Babylonia, their displacement by the Semites may be

described as follows. We may suppose that the Semitic immigrants occupied the country in the same way as at a later period their kinsmen who followed them, the Chaldwans and the Hebrews, can be shown historically to have taken possession of Babylonia and Canaan. They pressed into the open country, where they maintained their position, half on sufferance. half by force, and gradually gained possession of the towns; and thus their supremacy over the whole country was secured. Instead of nomads they were then settled townstolk, who adopted the civilisation of the country unconditionally. Politically, an important change was thus effected in The free nomads, under the headship of a sheikh, became the subjects of a king, for their leader turned the existing institutions to his own advantage more quickly than his "brothers" who followed him. We must, then, assume that there were gradually formed a series of separate city-states corresponding to the old Sumerian centres of civilisation in the districts which were occupied by the several

Sumerians
Displaced by Semites
nomadic era, so far as they were not connected by "blood relationship" - became natural rivals; and the struggle between them necessarily began and continued until it ended in the subjugation of the one by the other, and in the gradual formation of one or more great empires.



THE KHABUR, A HISTORIC RIVER OF MESOPOTAMIA
A tributary of the Tigris, at Arban, the site of Shadikanna, which was the capital of an Aramsean prince
1592

ANCIENT **EMPIRES OF** WESTERN ASIA



BABYLONIA

EARLY STATES BABYLONIA

WE should naturally expect to find as the carliest monuments of Babylonia inscriptions of kings of the various great towns which were at war with one another. This expectation has been fulfilled by the most recent discoveries. Small as they are in comparison with what may still be won from the soil, they are amply sufficient to give a picture of the political conditions of the period.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto known are those of kings of Lagash in Southern Babylonia, of Kish, and of the city of Gish-khu, or Umma, whose rulers we find at war with each other and alternately gaming the upper hand. There is no object in following them minutely, or in attempting to arrange in chronological order all the names of rulers that have been recovered. But a sketch may here

be given of the principal facts The that have been established. The result of these wars is the Priest-Kings development of larger kingdoms; for the king of the victorious town is reckoned the lord of the subjugated princes, who call themselves "Patesi," or priest-kings. In the earliest period we know that Lugal-shag-engur, patesi of Shirpurla, or Lagash, was the contemporary of Mesilim, king of Kish, for a mace-head has been discovered at Tello, bearing an inscription of the latter king, which records his rebuilding of the temple of Ningirsu at Lagash at the time Lugal-shag-engur was patesi of that city. We may see in this fact evidence that Me-silim exercised suzerainty over Southern Babylonia, and it was in consequence of his position as over-lord that he was called in as arbitrator in a dispute between the cities of Lagash and Gish-khu, or Umma.

The history of the rivalry which existed at this period between these two neighbouring cities may be summarised, as it is typical of the relations existing between the early city-states. After a treaty of delimitation between their respective territories had been drawn up under the direction of Mesilim, a stele was set up to commemorate

the fixing of the boundary, and peace ensued between the two cities for several generations. But at length an ambitious patesi of Gish-khu, named Ush, removed the stele and invaded the plain of Lagash, where he succeeded in conquering and holding a fertile district named Gu-edin. But he was defeated by the men of Lagash,

and his successor, a patesi Rivalry Enakalli, concluded named City-States with Eannatum, patesi of Laof the gash, a solemn treaty concerning the boundary between their cities, which is still preserved upon the famous "Stele of Vultures" in the Louvre, of which an illustration is given on page 262 of this work. A deep boundary ditch was dug, the old stele was restored and a new one set up beside it, and Enakalli agreed to pay heavy tribute in grain for the supply of the great temples in Lagash. Again there was a period of peace, but on Eannatum's death, Urlumma, the successor of Enakalli, broke the treaty by destroying the frontier ditches and breaking the steles in pieces; but he appears to have been defeated and kept in check by Eannatum I., the reigning patesi of Lagash. In the reign of Entemena, the son and successor of Eannatum, fresh trouble arose in consequence of raids on the part of the men of Gish-khu, and Beginnings peace was restored only after

a pitched battle and the of capture of the latter city by Empire Entemena, who henceforth ruled Gish-khu through a governor and administrative officers appointed by himself.

The history of Gish-khu and Lagash illustrates the independent position enjoyed by the separate cities of Babylonia at this early period, and it also enables us to watch the process by means of which the more powerful of two neighbouring cities in process of time succeeded in gaining the ascendancy. But the temporary character of these political combinations is also well illustrated by the sequel; for in the reign of Urukagina, who styled himself King of Lagash, Lugal-zaggisi, the patesi of

Gish-khu, succeeded in capturing Lagash, which he laid waste, destroying its temples and putting its inhabitants to the sword. In consequence of this victory and of his successes against other cities in Southern Babylonia, he claimed the title of "King of the land." Other rulers of this early time, whose period cannot be exactly stated, are Lugal-kigub-nidudu and Lugalkısalsı, kings of Erech and of Ur; Enshagkushana, a king of Southern Babylonia; and Urumush and Manishtusu, who reigned in Kish at a time when that city was at the height of its power.

The earliest empire in the proper sense

of the term was formed with its capital in the city of Agade, under whose kings the Semitic inhabitants of Northern Babylonia for the first time succeeded in enforcing their authority over the whole country. At this time the South Babylonian patesis were subject to the sovereignty of the North Babylonian kings, of whom Shargani-shar-ali, usually called Sargon, and his son Naram-Sin are known to us by a number of inscriptions. The first of the two styles himself King of Agade, in North Babylonia, and had therefore conquered the south from there; and accounts of his reign and that of his son prove that they extended their victorious career over Nearer Asia, so far as it ever came under the influence of Babylonian culture.
They ruled not merely age of Lagash, an important city-state.

Babylonia and Mesopotamia, but Syria and Palestine. Sargon, indeed, is said, in a late copy of an inscription, to have sailed out into the Mediterranean, and an attempt has been made to prove that in Cyprus are to be found traces of the influence of Babylonia from the most ancient times. But, although this theory is now disproved by recent discoveries, it is certain that he extended his conquests to the Syrian coast. Wars with the northern barbarians necessarily followed, as well as expeditions Babylonian empire was founded, embracing the whole of Nearer Asia. The names

of Sargon and Naram-Sin mark, therefore, the zenith of the power attained by the earlier Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia. This is shown by purely external evidence, for their inscriptions are, in distinction from those of Southern Babylonia, composed in Semitic.

Of the later patesis of Lagash, Gudea [see illustration on page 270 of this work] may be specially mentioned, owing to the number and length of his inscriptions, which bear witness that the dominion of Babylonian civilisation was as wide as all accounts make out. He had the materials for his buildings brought from distant

countries cedar from Amanus, stone for his statues from Arabia or Sinai. This is a proof of the extent of peaceable intercourse at that time. It is noteworthy that Gudea did not assume the title of king, so that we may probably regard him and his immediate predecessors as still acknowledging the suzerainty of the northern kingdom founded by Sargon of Agade. The tame of Sargon and his political achievements was handed down to the latest times even when men were not altogether clearly informed about him. Sargon of Agade became a legendary hero, and when the last king of Babylon. Nabonidus, found an inscription of his son Naram-Sin, and asked his learned men for information as to its date, they could give him no correct answer,



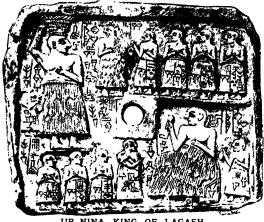
and finally reckoned an age of 3,200 years before Nabonidus himself—that is, about 3800 B.C., a figure which they considerably overestimated. In arriving at this very early date, it is probable that the scribes of Nabonidus reckoned as successive many of the early local dynasties of Babylonia which had ruled contemporaneously. If, as is now certain, we must reject this very early estimate of the period of Sargon's rule, it is difficult to ascertain his date with accuracy. It is probable, however, that no very long period separated the empire which he founded in Northern Babylonia from that of the kings of Sumer and

BABYLONIA-THE EARLY STATES

Akkad; in these circumstances we may conclude that he did not live at a period earlier than 2800

B.C. or 2700 B.C.

Within the sphere of the Babylonian civilisation, at one time fighting with the rulers of Babylonia, at another submitting to them, as can be best realised by the testimony of the Assyrian era, there were then Elam, with its border state of Ernutbal, and the tribes inhabiting the mountainous districts extending from Media to Cappadocia. To the north-east of it lived the barbarians of the Umman - Manda. the Manda hordes, the Babyloman "Seythians," and the inhabitants of Gutium, or the district of the "Kuti." We possess an inscription Bet. 4500, performing a religious ceremony in the temple of Ningirsu. of one of the kings of the lastnamed country, in the language and style of the Naram-Sin period, about a votive offering in Babylonia, probably in Sippar, similar to the dedications of foreigners to the Greek oracles. Toward Asia Minor, beginning in Cappadocia, lies the district of the "Khatti" and "Hittites," who were soon to make themselves felt in Babylonia, and were to change the course of Babylonian history by bringing the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi to
The dwinty of the city-state
of Lagash. From a sculpmeets us as "the western

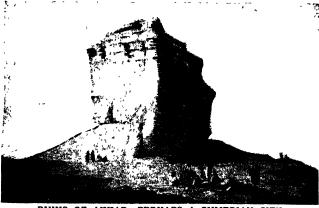


tured fragment in the Louvie

land," and formed an integral part of the empire founded by Sargon of Agade. Arabia may have been more accessible to the earlier Babylonians than later to the Assyrians or even to In the south there must have been navigation on the Persian Gulf, for Dilmun, the island of Bahrein, was situated within the sphere of Babylonian interests, and has left monuments in cunciform characters. It is also hardly imaginable that Gudea obtained his stone from Magan except by sea.

The numerous monuments of this period display a high techni-

cal perfection. The first inscriptions and monuments of the kings of Lagash are indeed very rude, but later a stage is reached which is comparable to that of the old empire in Egypt. The inscriptions Sargon and Naram-Sin, written in a peculiar ornamental script, and the statues of Gudea great display Countless, documents concerning the management of temples and estates dating from this period have been discovered on the site of



RUINS OF AKKAD, PERHAPS A SUMERIAN CITY The kings of Sumer and Akkad gained the supremacy in Babylonia about B.C. 2500.

Lagash. Such is Babylonia, its range and its civilisation, in the third millennium B.C., when it reached, perhaps, a higher stage in the development of art and culture than was attained for many centuries later.

The last inscriptions of the patesis of Lagash known to us, the direct descendants of Gudea, partly contain dedications to new kings, of whom many in-The Kings scriptions are extant from of Sumer towns in Southern and Northern and Akkad Babylonia. These rulers term themselves "Kings of Sumer and Akkad," and their inscriptions, at least the South Babylonian, like those of Lagash, are composed in Sumerian. We have therefore to notice a great alteration since the preceding era. North Babylonia has yielded the supremacy to South Babylonia. The kings of Ur rule Babylonia in the place of those of Agade; for even the north belongs to them, as inscriptions found there prove clearly enough.

We have in this kingdom of "Sumer and Akkad" to distinguish generally between three dynasties. The first, of which the kings Ur-Engur and his son Dungi are best known to us, was termed the Dynasty of Ur, after the title and seat of government. The numerous inscriptions of the two kings tell us only about the erection of temples in all the important towns of Babylonia, but do not contain information as to their political activity and power. It follows, however, from the dispossession of the Semitic sovereigns of Northern Babylonia that they must have largely encroached upon their territory, and a recently-discovered chronicle definitely proves that such was indeed the case. We learn from this document that Dungi, who succeeded his father, Ur-Engur, the founder of the dynasty, undertook active operations against the north and finally broke the power of the Semitic rulers, who had inherited the empire built up by Sargon of Agade and Dynasty of his son, Naram-Sin. We learn

"Ur of the ing and sacking the city of Babylon, and he is recorded to have laid hands upon the treasures which had been accumulated in Esagila, the temple of Marduk, the city-god of Babylon. Moreover, it is related that Dungi cared greatly for the city of Eridu, which is described in the chronicle as having still stood at this period "upon the shore of the sea"—that is to say, upon the Persian

Gulf, whose waters had not yet receded owing to the detritus carried down by the Euphrates and deposited at its mouth.

In Dungi's care for Eridu to the detriment of Babylon, we may see evidence of the Sumerian reaction inaugurated by the dynasty of Ur in Southern Babylonia against the Semitic supremacy of the north. This new record proves that Esagila, the temple of Babylon, had already begun to rival the more ancient shrine of Nippur, the seat of Enlil, as the most sacred temple of Babylonia. The Semitic rulers of Sargon's dynasty had doubtless lavished their offerings at the shrine of Marduk, which had consequently gained in prestige and importance, and had acquired the sanctity and influence of a national shrine. The blow which Dungi struck at its very existence was thus the outcome of a consistent policy, for, by sacking Babylon, and carrying off the treasures of its temple, he demolished the existing symbol and sanction of northern rule. The revolution which Ur-Engur and Dungi carried out was thus not only political, but was also based upon a racial and religious movement.

Moreover, Dungi did not confine himself to a destructive policy, for he at once set about the task of substituting a

national shrine, which should A Rival furnish a counterweight to the to former influence of Babylon, Babylon and by its position and associations should assist the transference of power to the Sumerian districts of the south. For this purpose he selected Eridu, the oldest and most sacred shrine of the Sumerians, which was situated in the extreme south of Babylonia. Here we may conjecture he deposited the temple treasures from Esagila, and, by reviving the splendour of the ancient Temple of Enki, he furnished Southern Babylonia with a shrine which he hoped would rival the fame previously enjoyed by that at Babylon.

The building inscriptions of Ur-Engur and of Dungi which have been recovered are evidence of the extent of the empire founded by these two carliest kings of Sumer and Akkad, for they prove that their influence was not confined to Southern and Northern Babylonia, but extended also to Elam. Moreover, the date-formulæ which have been recovered upon tablets and date-lists of the period prove that Dungi undertook other military expeditions, after his subjugation

BABYLONIA-THE EARLY STATES

of Northern Babylonia, in the effort to extend the boundaries of his kingdom. The fragment of a dynastic chronicle, which has recently been identified among the tablets from Nippur, proves that the dynasty of Ur lasted for 117 years, and, in addition to Ur-Engur and Dungi, comprised the reigns of Bui-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, these five rulers following one another in direct succession.

The dynasty of Ur was directly succeeded by that of Isin, which took its name from the city forming its capital.

The new dynastic chronicle states concisely that "the supremacy of Ur was overthrown, and that Isin took its kingdom." We may therefore infer that Isin obtained the hegemony among the Babylonian cities as the result of a war with Ur, in which Ibi-Sin was overthrown by Ishbi-Ura, who tounded the dynasty of Isin, and reigned for thirtytwo years. He was tollowed in direct succession by Gimil-ilishu. Idın - Dagan, Ishme-Dagan, and Libitlshtar. We possess short inscriptions of the two last kings named in the above list, but they throw no light apon the history of the period. From the fact that Libit-Ishtar was succeeded by Ur-Ninib, who is not stated in been his son or brother.

we may possibly infer that the latter usurped the throne. About this period we know that another son of Ishme-Dagan, named Eannatum, held the office of high-priest in the temple of the moon-god at Ur, which was then under the protection of a certain Gungunu, king of Ur, who also claimed the titles of "King of Larsa" and "King of Sumer and Akkad." It has therefore been suggested that at the end of Libit-Ishtar's reign an invasion of Babyloma took place, possibly from Elam, which

overthrew the direct line of Isin. Eannatum, who would naturally have succeeded his brother in the event of the latter dying without issue, may have sought reliige with Gungunu, who had taken advantage of the political disturbance to set up an independent kingdom in Ur and Larsa. However this may be, it is clear from the chronicle that Ur-Ninib occupied the thione of Isin, and after a reign of twenty-eight years was succeeded by his son Bur-Sin II., and his grandsons, Iter-Kasha, and a brother

whose name has not been recovered. Of the five succeeding rulers. the name of one only, Enlil-bani, is known with certainty, and none of these since rulers are recorded in the chronicle to have been related, it is possible that each was a usurper, and that a period of trouble and unrest tollowed the reign of Ur-Nimb's last descendant.

Enl:1-bani reigned for twenty-four years, but his predecessor ruled only for six months, and the reigns of his three successors lasted altogether tor twelve years, which may be cited in favour of the view that it was a period marked by palace revolutions and political unrest. The last two kings of the dynasty were Sinmagir and $_{
m his}$ Damik - ilishu, who

reigned for eleven and twenty-three years respectively. In an inscription of the former, which has been recovered, the king claims dominion over the whole of Babylonia, so that we may conclude that he succeeded in establishing his throne upon a firm basis. Thus the dynasty of Isin endured for 225 years and six months, and comprised no fewer than sixteen kings. During this period it is probable that the hegemony of Isin was disputed by other great cities of Babylonia. We have already noted the



who is not stated in GUDEA, THE PRIEST-KING the chronicle to have Gudea was the most famous patesi of Lagash, and layer his conver by other under his rule early Babylonian art reached its zenith.

ruler of Ur, soon after the reign of Ishme-Dagan, and we may probably assign to the same period another king of Ur, Sumu-ilu, whose name has been found upon a votive model of a dog which was offered to the goddess Nin-Isin, Lady of Isin," on behalf of Sumu-ilu, by The Last a high official of Lagash. Two rulers of Erech, named Sin-King of gashid and Sin-gamil, are also Sumer to be set in this period, or in that of the dynasty of Larsa, the city which probably succeeded Isin in obtaining the lead among the great cities of the land.

appearance of Gungunu, an independent

We thus come to the third and last independent dynasty of the kings of Sumer and Akkad, which had its seat in Larsa, the town of the Sun-god Shamash. From the times of these kings—up to the present are known Nur-Adad, Sin-idinnam, Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, who probably followed each other—as of their predecessors, we have a great number of records of business life, the dates of which are mostly fixed by great events, and thus supply us with much information as to wars and other important undertakings. There are absolutely no royal unscriptions with historical announcements; only the usual inscriptions as to buildings and dedications. The last two kings of the dynasty, Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, were not Babylonians, but They expressly style them-Elamites. selves in their inscriptions sons of the Elamite Kudur-Mabuk, who seems to have conquered a considerable portion of Southern Babylonia, and established his son Arad-Sin in the cities of Larsa and Ur. We learn from the accounts of the earlier times that Elam was the mightiest opponent of Babylonia. A vigorous blow must at this time have been struck which made Southern Babylonia a dependency of Elam for a time. Arad-Sin was succeeded by his brother Rim-Sin, Elam who was the last of the "Kings in ot Sumer and Akkad." Babylonia wars which he carried with Hammurabi, the most famous king of the first dynasty of Babylon, and his final defeat and death at the hands of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son, will best be narrated when we have described the rise of Babylon to power under the West-Semitic kings of its first dynasty. Coincidentally with the South Baby-

lonian kings of Larsa, and partly with their predecessors, the dynasty of Isin, there reigned in Northern Babylonia, in the city of Babylon, a succession of princes which, in accordance with the lists of Babylonian kings, we designate the First Dynasty of Babylon. We have seen that after the days of Sargon and Naram-Sin, when the north had the supreme power, kings were again ruling in the south, in the dynasty of Ur, who styled themselves kings of Northern Babylonia. But now in the numerous business documents of that time and region the rulers of Northern Babylonia, up to the subjection of the south, which we shall soon mention, are not called "kings," although in point of fact they conducted the government. The conclusion may be drawn that we have to deal with the vassal kings of those South Babylonians. The South Babylonian kings of Isin accordingly had vassal kings in Babylon who exercised independent government within their own district. The same conditions continued under the several kings of the house of Larsa. The last king of this dynasty, Rim-Sin, the Elamite, was signally defeated by the fifth of these kings, after the relation of vassal had long been merely formal, and his power was finally broken

Dynasty of Babylon

by his successor. It has hitherto been assumed that when once the Elamites were driven from the cities of Southern Babylonia the independence of the south was ended for ever. We shall see, however, that a new toe was to arise, who succeeded in forming another independent kingdom in the south. But, in spite of the rise of this new kingdom on the shores of the Persian Gulf, it may truly be said that Babylonian history from this time becomes really a history of Babylon.

The dynasty under which the sovereignty was for ever transferred to the city, and which, in consequence, gave the name to the country, and thus to the whole civilisation, was not "Babylonian-Semitic," but West Semitic or Canaanite, for meanwhile the second of the great Semitic migrations mentioned above had been completed. This migration flooded Babylonia also. The advancing nomads forced their way from the open country into the towns, and Babylonia received another ruling population in place of that which had lived its day, and this in turn assimilated the Babylonian civilisation.

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA



BABYLONIA III

THE RISE OF BABYLON THE HAMMURABI AND KASSITE DYNASTIES

THE founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, named Su-abu or Sumu-abu, came to the throne shortly before 2000 B.C., and a recently-discovered chronicle proves that he waged war, not with Southern Babylonia as we might expect, but with Assyria, whose existence as a kingdom is thus proved to have been far older than has hitherto been supposed. Su-abu's opponent in Assyria was Ilu-shuma, one of the earliest priest-kings of Ashur whose names have been recovered, and it is not unlikely that he seized the opportunity of a change of dynasty at Babylon to make a bid for his country's independence. Of the result of this early conflict between Babylon and Assyria we know nothing, and our information is equally scanty with regard to the foreign relations of Babylon under Su-abu's four successors, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, and Sin-muballit, for the date-formulæ of the period record building operations and the like, and do not reflect the history of the period. Under Sin-muballit's son, Hammurabi [see illustration on page 266 of this work], a change took place, for by signally defeating Rim-Sin, he expelled the Elamites from Babylonia, and extended the authority of Babylon over the southern portion of the country. He thus succeeded in Hammurabi's welding together a mighty empire with its capital at Baby-Empire lon. It is true that Rim-Sin Welding was not finally defeated until the first years of the reign of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son. But it was Hammurabi who practically put an end to the empire of the southern kings of Sumer and Akkad, and raised Babylon to the position of the principal city in the land. So far as her external influence was concerned, we may conclude that Babylonia kept at this period also the supremacy over the West. The Nearer East is still Babylonian, and the conception that we have to form of the importance of Babylonia for the rest of Western Asia at that time corresponds in

all main points with the earlier period. The East, which was in the possession of the "Canaanites," resembles on the whole that of the "Semitic Babylonians."

Upon the social condition of Babylonia during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon considerable light has been thrown by the discovery of Hammurabi's famous Code of Laws. This invaluable inscription is engraved upon a huge block of black diorite, which was discovered by De Morgan during excavations carried out in the "tell," or mound, of the acropolis at

Hammurabi's
Code
of Laws
The laws, together with introductory and concluding texts, were engraved upon the monolith in forty-nine long columns of writing, of which forty-four are still preserved; and at the head of the stone is a sculptured representation of Hammurabi receiving the laws from Shamash, the Sun-god.

It would be out of place in the present work to attempt any discussion of the question as to how far the laws of Babylonia, as embodied in this document, have influenced other ancient legal codes, and in particular the Mosaic legislation. We are here concerned only with Hammurabi's code, as an important and recently discovered source of information concerning early Babylonian life and custom. It was drawn up and published by the king for the guidance of his people, and it regulates their duties and their relations to one another in all the pursuits and occupations of their daily life. It defines the responsibilities and privileges of the various classes of the population, and, since it formed an exhaustive set of regulations, it enables us to construct a fairly complete picture of Babylonian society during this early period.

The numerous contracts and letters of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon which have come down to us, and in particular the series of royal despatches of Hammurabi

himself, which are preserved in the British Museum, abundantly prove that the code was no dead letter, but was actively enforced under the personal supervision of the king. It may thus be employed as a trustworthy and accurate witness to the conditions which existed in Babylonia during the period at which it was drawn up.

From the code we learn that the population of Babylonia was composed of three Babylonian principal classes, each of which occupied a separate and well-Society in defined position in the social **B.C. 2000** community. The lowest of these three classes were the slaves, who must have formed a considerable proportion of the population. The class next above them in the social scale consisted of free men, who were possessed of some property of their own, but were poor and humble people, as was implied in the name they bore-mushkenu. The highest, or upper class in the community, comprised the owners of large estates and landed property, the higher officials and servants of the State, and all the officers and ministers of the Court. The privileges and responsibilities which the two classes of free men in the Babylonian community respectively enjoyed are well illustrated in the code by the scale of payments as compensation for injury which they were obliged to make or were entitled to receive.

The penalties enforced upon a member of the upper class were far heavier than those his humbler free neighbour had to pay, but the latter's privileges in this respect were counter-balanced by a corresponding diminution of the value at which his injuries were assessed. Slaves could be owned by both classes of free men, though they were naturally more numerous in the households and on the estates of members of the upper class. The slave was the absolute property of his owner, and could be bought sold, and deposited as Rights security for a debt; but on the whole his life was not a haid Slaves one, for he was a recognised member et his master's household, and was a valuable piece of property, which it was to the owner's advantage to keep in good condition. Moreover, the slave had rights and privileges of his own which the code explicitly sets torth. Thus, under certain conditions, it was possible for a slave to acquire property of his own, and by so doing he was entitled, if he obtained his master's consent, to purchase his own

treedom. Marriage between a male slave and a tree woman was also possible, and the children of such a union were free, and did not become the property of the slave's master; while it the owner of a female slave had begotten children by her he could not use her in payment for a debt. Thus it will be seen that the law afforded protection even to the humblest members of the community.

The code also supplies considerable information concerning the family life of the early Babylonians. We here have detailed regulations concerning marriage and divorce, the giving of marriage portions, the rights of widows, the laws of inheritance, and those which regulated the adoption and maintenance of children. It is unnecessary to describe or discuss these regulations in detail, but one striking fact which they emphasise may here be pointed out—the recognised status occupied by the wife in the Babylonian household. Evidence of the extremely independent position enjoyed by women at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon may also be seen in the existence of a special class

Independence of women, who followed the profession of religious votaries. of though their duties were not Women strictly sacerdotal. women of this class, who are mentioned in the contract-tablets of the period, were attached to the temple of the sun-god at Sippar or to that of Marduk at Babylon, but it may be interred that all the important temples in the country had similar classes of female votaries in their service The duties of these women do not appear to have resembled in any way those of the sacred prostitutes in the service of the goddess Ishtar, at Erech. On the contrary, they occupied a position of considerable influence and independence. While they generally lived together in a special building, or convent, attached to the temple, they were free to leave it and to contract marriage. Their vows, however, entailed the obligation to remain virgins, and though a married votary was thus precluded from bearing children herself, she could provide her husband with a concubine for this purpose, while she still retained her position as the permanent head of the household.

Even when unmarried, however, the votary enjoyed the status of a married woman, and was protected from slander by special regulations. In return for these

privileges, she was obliged, under severe penalties, to maintain a high standard of moral conduct and was precluded from any occupation or act which was derogatory to her high position. She could possess property of her own, and on taking vows was provided with a portion by her father which, on her death, did not pass to the

temple, but returned to her own family, unless her father had assigned her the privilege of bequeathing it. The social prestige enjoyed by the votaries is attested by the fact that they included within their body many women of good family, and even members of the royal house; while the rules of the order and the high repute which it enjoyed may be taken to indicate a very enlightened conception of the position of women at this early period.

The large body of regulations which deal with the duties of debtors and creditors are evidence of the extent to which the early Babylonians engaged in commercial pursuits and undertakings, and we learn that an active interchange of commodities was carried on between distant cities. Thus, a wealthy merchant would extend his business and obtain large profits by trading with other towns, and for this purpose he would employ agents, who may thus be regarded as the forerunners of the modern

sort of goods he had to deal in, and he gave to his employer a properly attested receipt for the same. So far as his trading was concerned, he acted independently, and on his return he would pay to the merchant a fixed share of his profits, retaining the remainder as payment for

his own services and the dangers he had incurred.

In the event of the caravan with which the agent travelled being attacked by robbers or by enemies in a foreign country, the loss of the goods was borne by the merchant at home; the code, however, regulates the procedure to be

followed in such circumstances, while at the same time it attempts to protect the agent from any risk of being defrauded by his employer. mense profits were obtained by merchants and agents who engaged in this foreign commerce, and we may conclude that at the period of the first dynasty, and for many centuries earlier, the great trade routes of the East were even more crowded with caravans than they are at the

present day.

Water-transport was, however, usually employed for the carriage of grain, wood, and other bulky or heavy materials, wherever it was available, and the code contains detailed directions concerning the fees to be paid to boatmen engaged in the carrying trade upon the rivers and large of Babylonia. canals Other regulations sought to ensure good work on the part of boat-builders by fixing on them the responsibility for faulty or unsound work, while the boatmen were responsible for the loss or damage incurred through their own carelessness to goods entrusted to their charge. A still more

important function of the rivers and canals in Babylonia was the irrigation of the cultivated lands, and the code contains detailed regulations for the repair of the channels and dykes and the right to the use of the water. A large body of legislation deals, in fact, with the agricultural life



THE CODE OF HAMMURABI commercial traveller. The agent received from the merchant the money, grain, wool, oil, or whatever

D

of the early Babylonians, and regulates all cases of dispute which were likely to arise between owners of land and their farming tenants, owners and hirers of cattle and asses, or between shepherds and herdsmen and their employers; while fines were levied in cases of damage or injury arising through carelessness in looking after cattle.

It is of interest to note that Hammurabi's code attempted to protect the public from carelessness on the Penalties for Careless part of two important classes of the community—doctors and Doctors builders, and it was singularly just that death or injury arising from bad work on the part of either was held to merit punishment in kind. Thus, if a doctor through unskilful treatment caused the death of a member of the upper class, or inflicted a serious injury upon him, such as the loss of an eye, the doctor was hable to have both his hands amputated—a drastic, but certainly an effective method of preventing other unsuccessful operations on his part. Similarly, if his unfortunate patient had been the slave of a member of the middle class-of poor free men-and had died under his hands, he had to give the owner a new slave, or, in the event of his patient merely losing an eye, he had to pay the owner half the slave's value.

The penalties attaching to jerry-building were even more severe. For if a builder built a house for a man, and his work was so unsound that the house fell and killed the owner, the builder himself was put to death; and if the owner's son was killed by the fall of the house, the builder's son was put to death. If one or more of the owner's slaves were killed, the builder had to restore him slave for slave, and besides compensating the owner for any damage to his goods, he had to rebuild the house

Death to the Jerry-builder an eye and a tooth for a tooth prove that in the medical profession and the building trade, as practised by the early Babylonians, the payment of compensation alone had not been a sufficiently strong deterrent to prevent bad work.

From the brief discussion that has been attempted of some of the most striking enactments of Hammurabi's code, an idea will have been formed of the extent to which the administration of law and justice had been developed in Babylonia

the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. The laws, however, were not the invention of Hammurabi himself, who merely codified them. They were based upon centuries of tradition, and were the result of innumerable judgments drawn up upon tablets and carefully preserved in the legal archives of the State. discussing the enactments of the code therefore, we have not been dealing with a temporary phase in the life of ancient Babylonia. On the contrary, its enactments reflect the spirit in which justice had been administered in Babylonia for a long period anterior to the rise of Babylon under her West-Semitic kings, and we may conclude that it continued to influence the administration of the country during its subsequent domination by successive dynasties of foreign origin.

In the native list of kings the first Babylonian dynasty is followed by a second, consisting also of eleven kings. Their Sumerian names, many of which are ingeniously interpreted, and the lengths of their reigns are preserved for us by the lists. Until quite recently we knew nothing

more, since other information Second about this period was strangely Dynasty of deficient. Its total duration Babylon was 368 years, according to the list, but of the events which took place at this time we knew absolutely nothing. It seemed strange that so long a period of Babylonian history should have left no trace behind it on the sites of the ancient Babylonian cities which had been already excavated. If a dynasty of kings had occupied the throne of Babylon during this protracted period, how did it happen that among the many thousands of contract tablets which had been recovered, none had been found dated in the reigns of these eleven kings?

The answer to this question has recently been supplied by a newlydiscovered chronicle which is preserved in the British Museum. From this invaluable document we now learn that the second dynasty of the list of the kings never in reality occupied the Babylonian throne. In fact, the eleven kings of which the dynasty was composed ruled only in a district of limited extent in the extreme south of Babylonia on the shores of the Persian Gulf. This district was known as the mat tamti, or "Country of the Sea," taking its name from its position on the littoral of the gulf, to which the

THE RISE OF BABYLON

Babylonians gave the name of "The Sea in the East," or the Eastern Sea. From the newly-discovered chronicle we learn that the territory of the eleven kings, who formed the so-called "Second Dynasty," was confined to this strip of coast, and was never extended so as to include the northern and central districts of Babylonia proper. We further learn from the chronicle that the rulers of this little state did not live in the period between the first dynasty of Babylon and the Kassites, as has hitherto been assumed on the evidence of the kings list; but that their reigns were contemporaneous with those of the later kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, and of the earlier Kassite rulers.

The exact date at which Iluma-ilu, the founder of this kingdom on the shores of the Persian Gulf, declared his independence

Under the reigns of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-zaduga, the successors of Abeshu upon the Babylonian throne, we know little of the foreign policy of Babylon, with the exception of the fact that Ammizaduga inflicted a defeat upon the Elamites. It may be inferred, however, that Babylon had trouble upon her eastern border from the Kassites, who already in Samsu-iluna's reign had begun to make raids on Babylonian territory, and from the kings of the Country of the Sea in the south. When, therefore, under Samsu-ditana, the last king of the dynasty, Hittite tribes from Cappadocia and Northern Syria descended the Euphrates and attacked Northern Babylonia, the capital fell an easy prey to their onslaught. The great temple of Marduk, the city god, was destroyed, and the statue of the god himself was carried back by the Hittite



A BABYLONIAN SEAL CYLINDER AND ITS METHOD OF USE

A reproduction of an early Babylonian seal, showing the River-god, Sun-god, Ishtar, and other deities. Impressions of the seal were obtained by passing the cylinder, seen on the left, over soft clay, which was then baked.

is not certain, but we know that he waged successful wars with Samsu-iluna, the son of Hammurabi, and Abeshu, his grandson, who succeeded Samsu-iluna upon the Babylonian throne. From the narrative of the new chronicle it would seem that Samsu-iluna took the initiative in Babylon's struggle with the Country of the Sea. In his first expedition he succeeded in reaching the Persian Gulf, but he was defeated, and in a second campaign he met with no better success. His son Abeshu, after his accession to the throne, again attempted to conquer or curb the state upon his southern borders, but Iluma-ilu succeeded in eluding him. In fact, from this time forward the southern portion of Babylonia passed into the possession of the kings of the Country of the Sea.

invaders in triumph to their own country. In this manner we now know that the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi came to an end. How long a period elapsed between the Hittite conquest and the occupation of Babylon by the Kassites we can not at present determine, but it is unlikely that they would have long delayed their descent upon the city when once its defences had been reduced and it lay at the mercy of an invader.

The Kassites, who now occupied Baby lon as the dominant race, and whose rulers are reckoned as the third dynasty upon the list of kings, at first occupied only Northern Babylonia. They formed, in fact, the vanguard of an advancing tide, and they left many of their own tribes behind them in the mountains of Elam. Even in later times.

under Sennacherib, traces of them are to be found in the Zagros Mountains. We are compelled to account for their appearance by a great racial movement which poured itself from the east and northeast over the civilised countries, just as the Turks and Mongols did some thousands of years later. We know very little about

Appearance the past of that tide of nations which flowed on to Babylonia. of the Later discoveries will, per-Kassites haps, some day explain more clearly the form of its connection with Elam and the other neighbouring countries. The migration of these barbarians assumed in any case great dimensions. The mixture of races in Babylonia thus received a new component, and in the Babel-like confusion of tongues we hear the sound of Kassite, which is known to us only by a list of words and proper names. The scheme of the dynasties of Babylon reckons as Kassite its third house of thirty-six kings, a period of 576 years, extending from about 1700 to the eleventh century. We know most of these kings by name, and have information as to the events of that time from inscriptions, royal and otherwise, although there are here also considerable gaps in the tradition.

An insight into the order of things at the beginning of this period is afforded us by the inscription of one of the early princes in this dynasty, the seventh, by name, Agum II. He styles himself "King of the Kashshu and Akkadians, King of the wide dominion of Babylon, who settled with numerous inhabitants the land of Umliash, the border land to Elam, King of Padan and Alman - frontier territories to Media—King of Gutium, the king who rules the four countries of the world." The whole enumeration of titles, different from that of the Babylonian monarchs, and the precedence given to the Kassites, show that the Babylonians did not quickly absorb their new conquerors; a later king, Karaindash, bears the usual

Barbarians
Become
Babylonian titles, and only adds at the end "King of the Kashshu," which his successors actually omit. These barbarians thus only gradually adapted themselves to civilisation, and became Babylonians. It is interesting to note that the inscription of Agum II., from which his titles above enumerated are taken, commemorates the recovery from Khani in Northern Syria of the statue of Marduk, which had been

carried off by the Hittites on their capture of Babylon in Samsu-ditana's reign. Thence Agum brought it back to Babylon.

A fact of considerable importance with regard to the Kassite occupation of Babylonia has recently been demonstrated, to the effect that their conquest of the whole country did not take place at one time. There were, in fact, two Kassite conquests. The first occurred shortly after the Hittite invasion, and was confined to Northern Babylonia, to which the empire of the earlier Kassite kings was limited. During this period the kingdom of the Country of the Sea continued its independent existence on the shores of the Persian Gulf. But we may infer that the Kassites, who had remained behind in the mountains of Elam, continued to harass Southern Babylonia, and it was probably to put an end to trouble from this quarter that Ea-gamil, the last king of the dynasty founded by Iluma-ilu, invaded Elam.

But his temerity was the signal for a fresh advance of the Kassite hordes, who, under the leadership of one of their chieftains named Ulam-Buriash, drove him

from the country, and, following Conquer the him into Southern Babylonia, Kassites signally defeated him, and South brought his dynasty to an end. The chronicle from which we learn these tacts states that Ulam-Buriash exercised dominion over the Country of the Sea, and that fresh conquests were made there by his nephew Agum. It is therefore probable that from this time forward the Kassites occupied the whole of Babylonia, but it is not clear whether the two halves of the country were at once united under one administration with its centre at Babylon. It is probable that the unification of the kingdom was only gradually achieved, and that during the process the country underwent more than one convulsion. The result of these several invasions and the racial conflicts which ensued was naturally to exhaust the resources of the land, and render its rulers incapable of adopting an aggressive foreign policy.

The feebleness of Babylonia and the exhaustion of the population are clearly visible in two further occurrences of this time. The third Semitic migration, the Aramæan, makes its mark in the age of the Kassites (1700–1100 B.C.). and the dominion of Babylonia over the west is disputed and finally destroyed by a new

power, which now develops itself from a "town kingship" and seeks aggrandisement—namely, Assyria. The future belongs to these two. The Kassites, the temporary lords of Babylonia, shared the fate of their kingdom, which was forced to resign its suzerainty. As the sovereignty had moved up stream from the south to Babylon, so it moved further to Assyria. The history of Nearer Asia after the encroachment of Assyria, which begins at this period (about the sixteenth century B.C.), is changed essentially by this fact.

The struggle between Assyria and Babylonia for supremacy began under the Kassite dynasty, and, owing to the abundant sources of information now open to us, we can follow its vicissitudes more accurately than the events of the earlier age. This struggle and its result constitute the most important subject for subsequent political history. The history of Babylon and that of Assyria concern us, therefore, in the first place, in so far as they touch each other and are interconnected. Thus we are confronted by two streams of development flowing

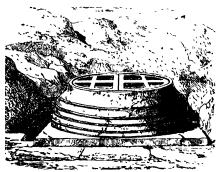
side by side, the course of which Assyria we can best indicate in a com-Becomes a bined account. On the other hand, Babylon almost always asserted her independence, and after she had been for a time subdued, she emerged at the end once more the conqueror. At the beginning of this war Babylon was the predominant power, and never ceased, even when under the influence of Assyria, to have a separate history and development. If, therefore, we wish to do more than merely chronicle the wars between Ashur and Babylon, if we wish to do justice to the importance of Babylon as the principal seat of the ancient civilisation, which even Assyria acknowledged, we must follow up separately the history of this independent state.

We have seen, in the first place, what districts were claimed by Agum II., the ruler of Babylonia; his power no longer extended to Mesopotamia and the west. The next known inscription, the one already mentioned of King Karaindash, claimed only the sovereignty over Babylonia. We shall see that attempts to recover Mesopotamia were not made until the power of Assyria, which had its seat there, was expelled. The dominion of Babylonia in Palestine had been replaced by that of Egypt. It seems as if Karain-

dash may have been the head of a new family within the Kassite dynasty; his successors, at least, speak of him in their letters in a way which suggests this idea. We must place him about 1500. that we know of him, besides the abovementioned inscription, is that he concluded a treaty with Assyria and engaged in a correspondence with the Nearer Asia king of Egypt. This last fact is proved to us in a document to Egypt which one of his successors, Burnaburiash, sent some fifty to seventy years later to Amenophis IV., and for the knowledge of which we are indebted certainly to one of the most surprising of all the discoveries made in the soil of the ancient East. In the winter of 1887-1888, at Tell el-Amarna, in Middle Egypt, which marks the place of residence of Amenophis IV., over three hundred clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform character were discovered. One of these tablets is reproduced by photography on page 274 of this History. They represent small part of the State archives, and contain the letters which kings of Nearer Asia and vassal kings from Syria and Palestine addressed to Amenophis III. and IV. There are in the first group letters of the kings of Babylon, Ashur, Mitani, or Mesopotamia, the king of the Khatti, and of others. It is obvious that these letters give most valuable information as to the history of the Nearer East, and we shall therefore frequently have to refer to them in what follows. The Babylonian letters, which concern us first, tell us little of Babylon's greatness and power; but the existence of the collection is in itself evidence of the extent of Babylonian influence. The letters are written in cuneiform characters, and, with few exceptions, in Babylonian Semitic. And, what is still more significant, there are two letters among them of the Pharaoh, the one to the king of Babylon, the other Egyptian vassal of Northern a Letters in Palestine, which are Cuneiform composed in that language. Cuneiform writing and Babylonian language were, therefore, the means of intercommunication throughout the whole of the Nearer East. A knowledge of Babylonian literature was the necessary preliminary to mastering them. This is evident from tablets found there containing a Babylonian myth, written in

Babylon and apparently used in Egypt for teaching purposes.

The two kings, from whom we have recovered eleven letters addressed to the two Pharaohs, were called Kadashman-Bel and Burnaburiash. The former wrote in the last years of Amenophis III., the latter to his successor. The letters generally mention no great State events. They deal principally with marriages between the two royal houses. The Pharaohs received Babylonian princesses into their harem, but were not so liberal with their own flesh and blood to their Babylonian friends—these did not at least receive princesses. What Pharaoh sends in gifts is generally stated to be



AN EARLY BABYLONIAN TOMB.

A flat-roofed tomb constructed of baked brick from Ur.

too little; the money is carefully confided to the purifying agency of the furnace and found unduly alloyed, and better metal and more of it is always demanded.

More important for history are the relations between these two regions of civilisation, exhibited in the fact that Babylonia and Mitani send as presents productions of their industries, among them the much-admired lapis lazuli, skilfully worked in Babylon.

Relations Egypt, on the contrary, sends with primarily gold. It almost Egypt appears as if diplomatic negotiations were left to verbal intercourse and to the cleverness of corrupt court officials, for political questions are seldom discussed. One letter vividly pictures the manners of the age. Some Babylonian merchants, travelling for the king-the kings engaged in business, and enjoyed, it would appear, immunity from taxation—were arrested in Akko, where they apparently wished to take ship for Egypt, by a prince of Palestine, and were in some way badly used, although no reasons are assigned for this treatment. The Babylonian now demands from Pharaoh the release of the prisoners and compensation, since Akko was subject to his suzerainty. A political

controversy is only once dis-Machinations cussed. The Assyrian king, Ashur-uballit, had found enin Egypt couragement at the Egyptian court in his schemes of aggrandisement at the cost of Babylonia. Burnaburiash pointed out the madmissibility of such action, since Assyria was his vassal state, and no direct negotiations could therefore be carried on with it. He referred also to the correct attitude of his father, Kurigalzu, who, when once asked to join cause with the Canaanites, the subjects of Egypt, had refused to countenance such an act of treachery towards Egypt. That such loyalty was not so free from suspicion as these assurances of friendship would make it appear, and that in Egypt no very implicit confidence was placed in the warm friend of Egyptian gold, is proved by the fact that when one of the Phœm nan princes wishes to blacken the character of another at court, he accuses him of being a secret adherent of the king of Mitani, of the Khatti, or of Kash- that is, of the Kassites of Babylon.



INTERIOR OF EARLY BABYLONIAN TOMB Interior of the Ur grave. Jars and dishes containing daily fare for the dead man were left with the body.

We can, indeed, assign to a somewhat later date an attempt of Babylonia to win back the West, when disorders broke out in Egypt after the death of Amenophis IV. Burnaburiash, notwithstanding the anxiety displayed in his letter to Amenophis IV. about the encroachments of Assyria, and although wars between him and the Assyrians are proved to have taken place, had given his son Karakhardash a daughter of the energetic

Ashur-uballit as his chief wife; and her son, Kadashman-kharbe, became the successor to the throne—a sign of the Assyrian influence. We are acquainted with the attempt, just mentioned, made by this Babylonian king to regain a firm footing in the west.

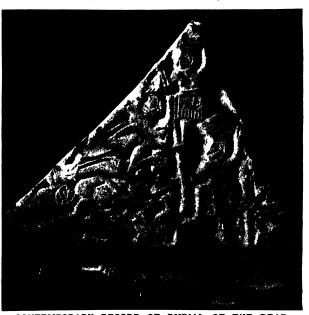
Assyria, indeed, was at this time encroaching on Mesopotamia, and Babylonia had nothing left but the road diagonally through the Syrian desert. Kadashman-kharbe tried to secure this road by punishing the nomads, the Suti, who roamed those parts, and by digging wells and building fortresses and towns.

which he settled with Babylonians. Вy this means he hoped to transform it into a commercial highway. which should tacilitate communication with the coast and make the detour by Mesopotamia unnecessary. It is possible that his plan was suggested by a route already in existence; but in any case he had recognised that it was better policy to satisfy his rival with districts which had first to be conquered, and meanwhile to deprive those districts of their greatest value by diverting from them the traffic so important for Babylonia. That would, indeed, have been a solution of the dispute, then urgent, as to the possession of Mesopotamia. Perhaps Kadashman-kharbe rived at a peaceful arrangethis plan. If he had carried

it out he would, at any rate, have shown himself to be a man who could support his power by more effective means than arms, especially when Babylon, an industrial state, was confronted by the military power of Assyria.

Kadashman-kharbe cannot have reigned long. He was murdered, and in fact fell the victim of an insurrection stirred up by the Kassites. We are not told what the immediate incentive to the deed was. We may perhaps trace the reason to the lact that the kings and the ruling classes of the Kassites had meanwhile, after 1400,

become "Babylonised"—that is, that they felt, and affected to feel themselves, Babylonians. Those of the Kassites who had gone away empty-handed at the division of the spoil, or had lost their share, as often happens in the commercial life of communities engaged in industries and trade, may have formed a party of malcontents, who longed for the good old times when the Kassite was lord and the Babylonian the spoiled. The insurgents therefore raised to the throne a man of low birth, whom the two chronicles which record the fact call Shuzigash and Nazibugash—a "son of nobody." This was a



ment with Assyria about from a stele in the Louvre, showing how the Sumerian and Chaldæan dead were piled up after battle. The priests are heaping up earth to form a mound.

welcome opportunity for the grandfather, Ashur-uballit, who was still living and had been restlessly active in extending his kingdom, to secure the supremacy for Assyria. He appeared in Babylon as the avenger of his grandson and the restorer ot order, suppressed the revolt, and had Kurigalzu, the infant son of his murdered grandson, crowned as king.

But the force of circumstances is stronger than blood relationships and gratitude for benefits of doubtful intention. So long as Ashur-uballit lived, and under his son, Assyria was occupied with the conquest

of Mesopotamia. But when Adad-nirari I. drove the Mitani thence, Babylon, having no doubt lost the route which Kadashmankharbe had attempted to open up, had no other course but to secure Mesopotamia for herself, and with it the communications Since, however, Assyria with the west. possessed this country, war ensued between it and Babylon. Under Contest Kurigalzu and Adad-nirari I. Mesopotamia the contest for Mesopotamia began between the two states. We have an interesting account of a war of the Babylonian king, Kurigalzu. against Khurbatila, king of Elam, in which he defeated him and took him prisoner on Babylonian soil—that is, in one of the attacks of Elam on Babylon. He must have followed up his victory, for on the back of an inscription which a dependent of King Dungi, of the old dynasty of Ur, had consecrated to the goddess Nana of Uruk stands the words, "Kurigalzu, king of Karduniash [the designation of the . Kassite kings of Babylonia | hath captured the palace of the town Shasha [Susa, formerly Shushan] in Elain, and hath presented this tablet to Ninlil of Nippur in gratitude for the preservation of his life."

The tablet was, therefore, carried off from Uruk in a former raid of the Elamites, was then discovered, on a victorious campaign of Kurigalzu's against Elam, in a temple—it in Susa, then probably in the temple of the goddess Shushinak, mentioned in the case of Ashurbanipal—and was deposited by the king in the temple of Nippur more than nine hundred years after its completion. Finally, rediscovered during the American excavations, it has been brought to Constantinople. Not only have books their destinies! These wars prove to us that the conditions were then present Conquests of which we find continually during the succeeding period.

Babylonia lay as a coveted and Elam prize between Assyria and Elam. For a time it was able to face the two on equal terms, and, even if occasionally vanquished, it regained the superiority. The struggle fills up the succeeding cen-

turies until the end of the Assyrian

empire. In the last period we shall then

find Babylonia as a vassal of one of these

Even now the same ebb and flow of events is noticeable. Soon after Kurigalzu, as we shall see in dealing with Assyrian history, Babylonia and Babylon came into the power of Tukulti-Ninib I. of Assyria. Shortly after, under Belnadin-shun, who reigned for only one year and a half, Kıdın-khutrutash, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, pillaged Dur-ilu, and conquered Nippur, the favourite resort of the Kassite kings, where they often held their court. Other expeditions, with similar incidents, were made by the Elamites in the reign of Kadashman-kharbe II. and Adad-shumiddina, when the city of Isin especially suffered. Several songs of lamentation have come down to us, which bewail, in the form of penitential psalms, the devastation of the country, and especially of the city named. In the many centuries of Babylonian history similar circumstances often recurred, but these psalms suit this period admirably, and, even if they did not originate in it, they may have been adapted from similar songs of an earlier

End of the Kassites time, and sung at this period in the temples of Babylonia. We shall see under "Elam" that Babylonia, for the rest of this dynasty, was probably subject to Elamite supremacy.

It will be seen that we are once more at the end of a period. The Kassites had long succumbed to Babylonian influence and had played out their part, and the Kassite dynasty is drawing to a close. It can reckon but four kings more; among them Marduk-aplu-iddina. Merodach-baladan I. alone seems to have offered successful resistance to Assyria and to have retained Mesopotamia. The change of dynasties presents, as always, a period of disturbance and weakness, and brings a line of kings to the throne whose task was to resist Assyria and to renew the struggle for Mesopotamia. We shall see that there is good reason to believe that the earlier rulers of this new dynasty succeeded in establishing themselves as independent kings in Isin during the rule of the later kings of the Kassite dynasty in Babylon, and that the rule of the latter was brought to an end by the powerful king Nebuchadnezzar I., who also freed the country from the yoke of Elam.

two states.

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA



BABYLONIA IV

BABYLONIAN EMPIRE IN ECLIPSE THE PREY OF ELAMITES AND ASSYRIANS

THE new dynasty is called in the list of kings the dynasty of Isin, from the Babylonian city of this name. It thus forms the second dynasty of Isin. It is probable that the first two or three kings of the dynasty were contemporaneous with the last rulers of the Kassite dynasty upon the throne of Babylon, because a boundarystone has recently been discovered at Nippur inscribed with a text of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I., the third or fourth king of the dynasty of Isin, which would make it appear that this monarch was the first of his dynasty to secure control over the whole of Babylonia. In this new inscription, which is dated in the sixteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, it is stated that Enlil "broke the weapon of his |1.e., Nebuchadnezzar's enemy, and placed the sceptre of his enemy in his own hand, that he might pasture Sumer and Akkad, and rebuild the sanctuaries of the City of Mankind, and regulate the tithes of Ekur and Nippur." It is not clear from Dynasty the context of this passage who "the enemy" is whose wea-pon was broken by the god of aisI Enlil, and it might be urged that the passage refers to a defeat of the Elamites, from whose supremacy Nebuchadnezzar certainly freed his country. But upon another inscription of his reign Nebuchadnezzar bears the title of "plunderer of the Kassites," so that we may inter that it was the Kassites he defeated, and, further, that it was the sceptre of the Kassite kings of Babylon which Enlil placed within his hand. We may conclude, therefore, with some probability, that Nebuchadnezzar's immediate predecessors were merely kings of the city of Isin at a time when the last Kassite kings were still in possession of the throne of Babylon.

In addition to his achievements against the Kassites, Nebuchadnezzar I. comes before us as conqueror in wars with Elam, and lord of Mesopotamia and also of the "western land"; he therefore, for the last time indeed, extended the suzerainty of Babylon right down to the Mediterra-His wars with Elam prove that, under his predecessors, the misery which the invasions of Kidin-khutrutash had already caused had become still more Babylon itself had been captured, and the statue of Marduk car-Babylon Captured ried away to Elam. Such a rape of the god signified the loss of by Elam national independence and a degradation of the country to a state of vassaldom. Just as Marduk served in the temple of the stranger god, so the ruler of Babylon was no king, but a servant of the Elamite. So long as the image of the god was not in Babylon, Nebuchad-nezzar did not style himself king, but governor, of Babylon. He did not assume the title of "king of Babylon" until he had brought back the statue of Marduk,

which he could only do after a decisive

victory over Elam. Songs have been pre-

served to us which bewail the absence of

Marduk from Babylon and commemorate

cesses some limit appears to have been

set to the advance of the Elamite, for a

time at least. We shall see, when we come

his return.

By Nebuchadnezzar's suc-

to describe the history of Assyria, that the victories of Nebuchadnezzar had great subsequent effects, and that a successful attack by Assyria, which led to the capture of Babylon under Tiglath-pileser I., produced no permanent results.

Not many facts are known of the reigns of the immediate successors of Nebuchadnezzar I. Marduk-nadin-akhe, who succeeded Bel-nadin-apli upon the throne, fought with Tiglath-pileser I. and won back Mesopotamia from him.

God He was succeeded by Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, who appears to have extended the borders of Babylonia, and to have ruled a confederacy of a large number of petty kings, or princes, over whom he had forced his suzerainty by conquest. He established friendly relations with Ashur-bel-kala, king of Assyria, and on his return after

visiting Assyria took up his residence at Sippar in preference to Babylon. He was succeeded by a usurper, Adad-aplu-iddina, in whose reign a disaster overwhelmed the country. This was the invasion of Aramæans origin, who overran both Nor-Ravage thern and Southern Babylonia, the Land and ravaged the country from end to end. We know that the great temple of the sun-god at Sippar was destroyed by them, and for many years the effect of this invasion must have been telt. Not even the full names of Adadaplu-iddina's three successors are known, 1 ut we may infer that they occupied themselves in rallying the resources of Babylon and in making good the havoc wrought

by the hordes of the Sutu. The dynasty which succeeded that of Isin upon the Babylonian throne came from the "Country of the Sea," from which it took its name. Two of the three kings of which it was composed bear Kassite names, and were probably descendants of the Kassite rulers of Southern Babylonia. That the dynasty occupied Northern Babylonia and ruled at Babylon may be inferred from the fact that its

founder, Simmash-shipak, was buried in the palace of Sargon. During his reign he partly rebuilt the temple of the sun-god at Sippar, which the Sutu had destroyed in Adadaplu-iddina's reign. Simmashshipak was succeeded by Eamukin-zer, who reigned for only a few months. The last king of the dynasty was Kashshu-nadin-akhe, in whose short reign of three years the temple at Sippar experienced iresh misfortunes.

Another short dynasty of three kings succeeded that of the Country of the Sea. It is termed in the kings list the dynasty of Bazi, and in it we may probably see another line of foreigners who occupied the Babylonian throne. The three rulers were termed Eulmash-shakin-shum, Ninib-kudurriusur, and Shilanum-shukamuna, and the total length of their reigns was little more than twenty years. They were succeeded by an Elamite, whom the native chronographers reckon as having formed a dynasty by himself.

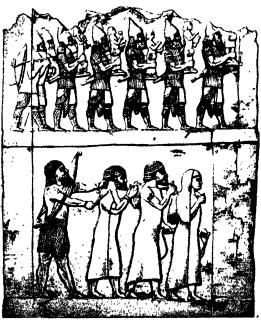
: Aa-aplu-usur, but beyond the fact that he ruled for six years, nothing else is known of his reign.

We see, therefore, that Babylonia was completely powerless and the prey of every foreign invader, of the Elamites above all, if they were not dislodged by the Assyrians. The period of these three dynasties embraces about the years 1000-960, and at its expiry we shall find Assyria, which had been hitherto powerless, once more bent on advance.

We do not know who overthrew the Elamites, or what other causes brought a new dynasty into power. The list of kings from this point is mutilated, and we have until about 750 practically no accounts except the Assyrian. From these latter we can learn quite clearly what was the distinctive feature of this period, even if we cannot give an account of the separate reigns. Babylonia,

Batylonia Completely Powerless

the prize for which the two great states of Assyria and Elam were disputing, was at this time flooded by a migration similar to those of the Semites, who had settled there, and had thoroughly adopted Babylonian customs. From this



His name invaders carrying off the nation's gods has recently been recovered as the Babylonian gods, thereby reducing the country to vassaldom

BABYLONIA-THE EMPIRE IN ECLIPSE

migration we can picture to ourselves the constant ebb and flow of such a method of occupation; a similar instance is afforded by the circumstances attending the seizure of Palestine by the Hebrews. The Chaldwans thenceforth pressed into

Babylonia, inhabited the open country, and tried to gain possession of the towns.

However prominent the Chaldæans may be in the subsequent history, and however many details we have recovered of their relations to Babylonia, we cannot yet for ourselves satisfactory picture of their national characteristics. All the Chaldwans, indeed, who are mentioned bear Babylonian thoroughly names. No new element in the language can be ascertained to have been introduced by their invasion of Babylonia, so that we can obtain no clue to their original race. Since they evidently advanced from the south and first occupied the districts on the Persian Gulf, they may possibly be regarded as Semites, who immigrated from Eastern Arabia, while the previous migrations, starting more from the west, went first toward Mesopotamia and This successor of Nebuchadnezzar Northern Babylonia. Accord-

ing to this theory, the Chaldwan migration would have taken place between the Aramæan and the Arabian, and the Chaldwans would have their nearest kinsmen in these two groups of nations, or would be identified with Who were

one of them. If they were Chaldmans? Semites, their rapid assimila-tion of the conditions existing in Babylonia is explained, for other stocks akin to them in language were already settled there, and Aramæan tribes had, as we shall see, already spread over Babylonia. The scanty facts that we can collect at present for a characterisation of the Chaldwans accord well with this view. The designation of Ur, the City of the Moon, as Kamarine is traced to Berossus. That may be explained from Arabic, in which gamar signifies the moon. The

chieftains of the Chaldeans are termed ra'sani: that is the Arabic pronunciation of the word for chieftain (Hebrew, ro'sh). The only god whose cult may perhaps be reckoned to have been introduced by the Chaldwans is the war god—designated as,

or identified with, Girra, whom Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nerighssar bring into prominence.

Thus we find henceforth by the side of a series of Aramæan tribes of Babylonia a number of Chaldwan principalities or stocks, which are designated by Babylonians and Assyrians as a "house," or tribe, of their princely family. For example, Bit-Iakin, a district in the "Country of the Sea," from which these rulers had shortly before this time occupied the throne of Babylon, Bit-Sa'alli, Bit-Shilani, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Adını, Bıt-Dakurı, in the immediate vicinity of Babylon and Borsippa, and others. The one aim of each of their princes naturally was to gain possession of the adjacent large towns, and, as a culminating triumph, to become king of Babylon. The Chaldæan was the third candidate for the royal throne of Babylon who appeared at this time by the side of Ashur and Elam, and the Babylonian population



Struggle of the Nations, SPCK MARDUK-NADIN-AKHE

independence.

affairs no continuity of development was possible. On the whole, the Chaldæans and Elamites joined while the Assyrian kings endeavoured to appear as the protectors of the national independence, or what they chose to regard as such. The course of the struggle displays a continual fluctuation, until the Chaldaeans attained their Chaldmans object with the fall of Assyria, Rule in and Babylon, under a Chaldaan Babylon dynasty, once more assumed a place among the great powers. facts we can collect from the period when Assyria had not as yet regained the supremacy in Babylonia are very few, and hardly go beyond accounts

was less and less able to assert its

With such a state of



WILD ANIMALS AS TRIBUTE FROM THE PRINCE OF SUKHI Sukhi, one of the chief Aramæan Euphrates states, was under Babylonian influence, but was subjugated by Ashurnasirpal, king of Assyria

of wars with Assyria. The first king of the dynasty, who was probably Nabumukin-apli, reigned for thirty-six years. It seems as if in a record dating from his time the dominion over Mesopotamia was still ascribed to him, about 960 B.C. He must have been the last Babylonian king who could pride himself on the possession

of that district; for about this very time Assyrian kings also bear, without fuither interrupion, the title question. m The list of kings assigns to his successor, whose name is broken

after that there is a great gap until Nabonassar, who came to the throne in 747 B.C.

Some of the names of the kings in this period we cannot determine conclusively. We know Shamash-mudammiq from his war with Assyria under

Adad-nirari III. He died during this war, and Nabushum-ishkun became king with Assyrian help. was, therefore, certainly a Babylonian; his pre-Chaldæan. decessor, a This is in accordance with the fact that a successor, who showed hostility to Assyria, was apparently in turn a Chaldaan. Then follows, possibly, an unknown king.

Nabu-aplu-iddina reigned at least thirty-one years, and died in 854. He was an opponent of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser, and during the reign of the former tried to force his way along the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. In the year 879 B.C. he supported the prince of Sukhi on the Euphrates, who was under Babylonian influence. against Assyria;

Ashurnasirpal defeated the Babylonian forces. The manner in which he speaks of this victory suggests that Nabu-aplu-iddina was a Chaldæan; and this is borne out by the eagerness with which, in an inscription of his own, commemorating the restoration of the temple of Sippar, he represents himself as a good Babylonian.

Under his reign Assyria did not venture encroach o n Babylon itself; Ashurnasirpal contented himself with Mesopotamia, and seems later to have extended his power toward Northern

his power toward Northern Babylonia.

Mabu-apluiddina's death, in 854 B.C., was, as usually happens in the East, the signal for disputes about the succession between his two sons Marduk-shumiddina and Marduk-bel-usati. In accordance with the directions of the deceased monarch, they had divided Babylonia



name is broken

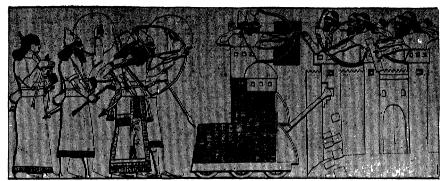
off, a reign of Abas-relief from Nineveh, showing an Assyrian king placing his foot on the eight months;

THE PROUD ASSYRIAN HUMILIATING HIS CAPTIVE

Abas-relief from Nineveh, showing an Assyrian king placing his foot on the eight months;



After this, tribute of ivory and wood from sukhi to assyria



ASHURNASIRPAL ON ONE OF HIS CAMPAIGNS AGAINST BABYLONIA During the days of Babylonia's weakness the Assyrians repeatedly invaded the country, besieging and sacking the cities. This bas-relief shows the king himself in the fight, and also illustrates the use of the battering-ram.

between them, so that the former received Northern Babylonia with Babylon, the latter Southern Babylonia, and with it the original home of the Chaldwans. The war between the Chaldrean prince and the Babylonian king naturally broke out at once, and the Chaldwan forces displayed their invariable superiority to the Babylonian. The Babylonian Marduk-shum-iddina summoned the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., to his aid, and in return he consented to hold his crown from him as a vassal; the Assyrian king did not neglect such a favourable opportunity of realising the object of Assyrian policy, the practical sovereignty of Babylonia. The "Chaldaan peasants" of Marduk-bel-usati fled before his veteran troops back into their swamps. Shalmaneser marched into the towns of Babylonia, offered the sacrifices as supreme lord of the country, and received the homage of the

Chaldæan princes, while Marduk-shumiddina reigned under Assyrian protection. Shalmaneser naturally possessed from the first the north of Babyloma, which, from the time of Ashurnasirpal was under the immediate government of Assyria. It seems, indeed, that at the close of his reign, when the revolt of his son Ashurdann-apli drove him out of Assyria he relied on this part of his kingdom, and that his son Shamshi-Adad made it and Mesopotamia the base of his operations for the subjugation of Assyria.

The impossibility of interfering effectively in Babylonia at this time could not fail to present to the ever watchful Chaldwans another welcome opportunity of attack. So soon, therefore, as Shamshi-Adad was free from some of his most pressing enemies he turned his attention to Babylon, where, after the death—of the expulsion—of Marduk-shum-iddina, in



ASHURNASIRPAL IN HIS CHARIOT BEFORE A BESIEGED CITY

Mansell
A spirited Assyrian bas-relief from Nineveh. Note the emblem of Ashur, the Assyrian god, in the top lefthand corner, assisting the besiegers by shooting an arrow. This bas-relief is now in the British Museum.



823 B.C., we now find Marduk-balatsu-iqbi as king, a Chaldæan prince, who was supported by the Kaldt, Babylonian-Aramæan tribes, and Elam. He was thus another of the Chaldæan chiefs who by Elamite aid—standing thus in the same relation to Elam as Marduk-shumiddina to Assyria—mounted the throne of Babylon. We see, therefore, for the first time, a condition of things which we shall find repeatedly—Ashur or Elam as the suzerain of the reigning king in Babylon.

No early success of Shamshi-Adad against the Babylonians is mentioned in his inscription; on the other hand, campaigns against Chaldaea and Babylon in 813 and 812 are recorded. The first presupposes a defeat of the Chaldæan king by Assyria, and with it the establishment of the Assyrian supremacy. The second coincides with the year of the accession of Adad-nirari IV. Pethaps the Chaldaeans, who were not thoroughly subdued, on the accession of the new king, returned to the attack. Ba'u-akhiiddina seems at this time to have been king of Babylon. He was conquered and captured by the Assyrians; and Adadniraii, just as Shaimaneser previously. now sacrificed in the towns as supreme sovereign. It is not certain whether all this happened in 812, or only on the expeditions of 796 and 795 against Northern Babylonia, and of 701 against Chaldrea, about which we know nothing. much is certain in any case, that this age is marked by attempts of the Chaldwan princes to gain the Babylonian throne under Elamite protection and supremacy, varied by periods during which Assyria asserted her supremacy, as long as other claims were not made on her. On every change of monarch, or when Assyria is otherwise engaged, fresh attempts are made to shake off her yoke." The same spectacle we find elsewhere, and to it the prophets testify most clearly in the case of Judah and Israel - namely, two great parties in the country, who rely on two different great powers, with a continual shifting and charging from one to the other.

We see not told whom Adad-nirari set up as king in Babylon, and we possess little information about the ensuing period, since after Adad-nirari the Assyrian power once more diminished and its influence over Babylonia waned. But Assyria did not abandon her supremacy without a

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struggle, for many expeditions against Chaldaea are recorded. Thus, there was one immediately on the new monarch's accession in 783 and 782 under Shalmaneser III., and under the same king in 777; also, under his successor, Ashur-dan III., unmediately on his accession in 771, there was an expedition to Northern Babylonia, and in 769 one to Chaldrea. The explanation is afforded by the former condition of things, and we can imagine the course of events from the expeditions

of Shalmaneser and Adadnirari. Since we possess no inscriptions of the Assyrian kings recording these events, and have only the brief notices in the chronicles concerning them, we do not know the names of the Babyloman kings against whom the expeditions were

directed.

Assyrian influence must have been completely destroved in the succeeding revolts between 763 and 746, and Babylonia was thus left at the mercy of the Chaldwans. The first fact we learn is the name - from the Babylonian list of kings-of King Nabu-shum-ishkun II., who reigned until 748. We possess a record concerning him, from which we nay picture the condition of Babylonia at this time. Nabushum-imbi, the governor of Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon, makes a report concerning certain building operations in the temple of Nebo, and says: "Then in Borsippa, the town of law and order, there arose sedi- in whose temple at Borsippa there king took strong measures to tion, havoc, uproar, and arose revolt against the Chaldeans suppress. There are scarcely

revolution; under the rule of the king Nabu-shum-ishkun, of Bit-Dakuri, the Babylonians, men of Borsippa and Dushulti from the bank of the Euphrates, all Chaldwans, Aramwans, Dilbateans, turned for a long season their arms against each other, and defeated each other, and waged war with the men of Borsippa about their boundary. And Nabu-shum-iddina (a high official of the temple of Nebo), instigated on his own responsibility a revolt against

Nabu-shum-imbi, the governor of Borsippa. In the night, like a thief, he collected foes and bandits, and led them into the temple of Nebo. . . . They raised an uproar. But the men of Borsippa and others, who came to the rescue, surrounded the house of the governor and protected it with bows and with arrows." Thus we find what we should expect: the king of Babylon is a Chaldæan of the stock of Dakuri, and the Chaldwans and Aramæans take possession of the

territory of the towns which are divided by internal feuds. It is not surprising that under such conditions the wealthy classes hailed the appearance of an Assyrian king as their salvation, and the same phenomenon will meet us again in the subsequent history. The Chaldwan dominion signified anarchy for Babylonia; tor a strong Chaldwan prince and a stable government were hardly computible with the want of cohesion among the Chaldwans themselves, and with the natural opposition between the greedy invaders and the wealthy, timid population of the towns.

The next king is Nabunasir, or, in the form under which the Ptolemaic canon has preserved the name, Nabonassar; he reigned from 747 to 734 B.C. The circumstances just mentioned continued under his rule, and disturbances in Borsippa such as those described by Nabushum-imbi led to an attempt on the part of that city to shake off his yoke, which the

any actions of Nabonassar himself to relate. Berossus, the historian of Babylon under the Seleucids, states that he issued some enactments-it is not yet certain what their nature was-relative to establishing an era. As a matter of fact, the Ptolemaic canon, which has brought Nabonassar's name into prominence, as well as a Babylonian chronicle, which was written under Darius, begin with reference to his reign in the year 747. In the third year of Nabonassar, 745 B.C.,



THE GOD NEBO

was inaugurated a new era for Assyria with the accession of Tiglath-pileser IV.; and Banylonia was immediately aware of the changed order of things. object of the first expedition of the new king was Babylonia, where he chastised the Aramæans and the most northerly Chaldæan tribes, and placed Nabonassar under his protection. We may conclude from this that he was not a Chaldwan, but a Babylonian. Tiglath-pileser, who henceforth styled himself king of Sumer

and Akkad and king of the four quarters of the world, came on his expedition as far as Nippur. Presumably the Chaldreans submitted, and he could not pursue his object further, owing to disturbances threatening from Armenia and Syria. Nabonassar, therefore, reigned under Assyrian If a revolt protection. at Borsippa shows that his power did not extend beyond the city boundaries of Babylon, it was not, on the one hand, to the interest of Assyria to spare Nabonassar his little difficulties; on the other hand, Tiglathpileser was really for the moment too much occupied to trouble himself more about Babylon than was urgently necessary. It says, however, much for Nabonassar's reputation that for fourteen years no Chaldaan made an effort to make himself master of Babylon.

Nabonassar died in the year 734 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Nabunadin-zer, abbreviated to

Ptolemaic canon. He reigned two years, 734 and 733, when one of the rebellions, which might be expected, broke out. The king was deposed by a governor of a province, Nabu-shum-ukin, a Babylonian therefore, and consequently a leader of the anti-Assyrian party. The latter enjoyed less than two months of royal sovereignty, when he had to give way to the Chaldaan Ukin-zir, or Chinzer in the Ptolemaic canon, the prince of

Bit-Amukani from 732 to 730. Assyria was thus forced again to interfere; for a Chaldwan on the throne of Babylon could have no other object than to win for himself the whole of Babylonia, which Tiglath-pileser had until then possessed. So soon, therefore, as the latter had arranged affairs in Syria, and had captured Damascus, where the siege alone had secured three years of uninterrupted rule to Ukin-zir, he turned against Babylonia, occupied Bit-Amukani, the home

of Ukin-zir, as well as other Chaldean provinces, and Ukin-zir himself prisoner. In order to put an end to the endless disorders, he resolved, in spite of the troublesome character of the obligation, to be present annually at the New Year's testival in Babylon, to reside there as much as possible, and to assume in person the crown of the kingdom of Bel; and for the remaining two years of his life he commanded that he should be proclaimed as king of Babylon. Further, the rights of the Babylonians were to be guaranteed. He, like other Assyrian kings who adopted a similar policy, bore as king of Babylon another name: thus Shalmaneser IV. was known in Babylon as Ululai, and Ashurbanipal as Kandalanu. Tiglathpileser is entered in the Babylonian lists as Pulu a name by which he is mentioned in the Old Testament.

prevailed Tranquillity Nadinu, so that the name This clay prism is inscribed with accounts then during these two appears as Nadios in the of eight campaigns of Sennacherib years 729 and 728, and

during the reign of his successor, Shalmaneser, who from 727 to 722 also had himself crowned king of Babylon. So soon, however, as the great revolution in Assyria began, which, on his death, brought Sargon to the throne, a Chaldæan prince Marduk-aplu-iddina II., or, as we usually call him with the pronunciation given in the text of the Old Testament, Merodachbaladan, king of the "Country of the Sea," used the opportunity to wrest to



A KING'S HISTORY

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himself the Babylonian crown, having come to an agreement with Khumbanigash of Elam. Sargon, it is true, quickly tried to expel him but his Elamite protector was also on the spot. A battle was fought near Dur-ilu, in which Sargon claimed the victory for himself, and the Babylomans for Khumbanigash. In any case, Sargon was compelled to relinquish the attempt to expel Merodach-baladan from Pabylon He had, however, retained a portion of Northern Babylonia, and with ıt Dur-ılu. Merodach-baladan calls himself king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad. He reigned as Merodach-baladan II under Elamite protection from 721 to 710, so long as Sargon, precisely like Tiglath-pileser IV., was distracted by the affairs of Syria, Palestine and Armenia.

Sargon, after ending his wars in these countries, turned his attention to Babylon, and drove out Merodach-baladan, who, after the loss of his capital in the sea country, Dur-lakin, sought refuge in the court of Susa. Sargon was received in Babylon by his own party, and, above all by the priests as the saviour of the city and the restorer of order. He assumed the title of "Governor of Babylon"—that is, he represented a king, though no one reigned as such by name. From 709 to 705 he held Babylon and the whole of



MERODACH-BALADAN OF BABYLON
A Chaldwan king who was twice driven from his throne, by Sargon and Sennacherib of Assyria
The sculptor, following the custom, makes the king appear taller than the vassal whom he is investing with a fief

Babylonia on these peculiar terms until his death.

Under the rule of Sennacherib, Babylon enjoyed tranquillity for two years more; then a revolt broke out, which brought a Babylonian, Mardukzaku-shum, to the throne for a month. Merodach-baladan then seized the opportunity to occupy Babylon once more, with the help of Elam. His sovereignty did not, however last long this time, for Sennacherib was not so taken up by other wars as Sargon had been during his previous occupation of the throne. and he appeared before Babylon nine months after Merodach-baladan's return. latter was defeated at Kish, together with his Elamite auxiliaries, and fled, to Elam probably, where he awaited a fresh opportunity to make a descent upon Babylon. Sennacherib treated Babylon merci-



CONQUESTS OF TIGLATH-PILESER IN BABYLONIA
Tiglath-pileser IV., an Assyrian king, ruled in Babylon as Pulu after
besieging and taking the principal Chaldwan cities. From a bas-relief.

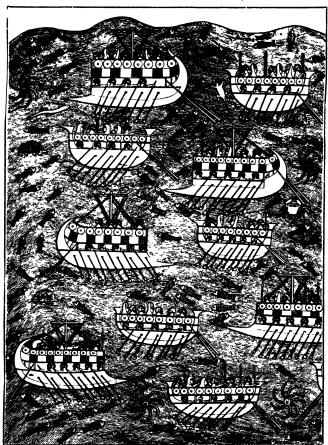
fully, for it was not the Babylonians who had revolted, and only the property of Merodach-baladan and his followers was confiscated. The Chaldwans were again driven back to their country, and the districts occupied by them were restored to the towns. Even the Aramæan tribes were again kept within their own borders.

Sennacherib installed as king in Babylon Bel-ibni, probably a Babylonian prince, who had been brought up at the court of Nineveh (702 to 700). In the following year, 702, two other provinces were secured on the frontier toward Elam. Belibni may have had the best intentions of remaining loval to Assyria, but circumstances were too strong for him. Perhaps Sennacherib's ambition to make Nineveli

the first city of the East was already recognised. In any case, Bel-ibni was forced, while Sennacherib was occupied with Palestine, to break off with him, and he can hardly have acted voluntarily—to enter into an alliance with Merodachbaladan, that is to say, with his own rival, with another prince of the Chaldwans, Mushezib-Marduk, and with Elam. In Sennacherib's absence he submitted. But just as the people of Palestine had taken up arms too late, so a miscalculation was made in Babylonia and Elam on the pre-Sennacherib raised the sent occasion. siege of Jerusalem, after he had already occupied the whole country, and, turning against his more formidable opponents, quickly broke up the alliance. Merodach-

baladan fled from the sea-country to Elam, taking his gods with the Chaldæan hım; Mushezib-Marduk withdiew into his swamps; and Belibni was forced to return with his followers to the place whence he had come —namely, to the court of Nineveh. We see from this treatment of him that he had joined Elam and the Chaldæans only under compulsion, otherwise assuredly a severer penalty would have been meted out to hım. At Babylon, Assur-nadin-shum, a son of Sennacherib. was installed as king, and reigned from 600 to 694 B.C.

Merodach-baladan must have died soon afterwards, for he is never mentioned again. Disturbances occurred in Elam, and thus Babylonia enjoyed quiet for five years. In the year 694 Sennacherib made an expedition in order to drive out that part of the population of the sea-country which had



SENNACHERIB'S NAVY ON THE PERSIAN GULF An expedition sent by Sennacherib to disperse the Chaldæans, who constituted a danger which continually menaced Babylonia. From an Assyrian bas-relief.

1618

BABYLONIA-THE EMPIRE IN ECLIPSE

fled at one time with Merodachbaladan to Elam, and had settled in some towns on the coast, and thus to do away with a danger which continually menaced Babylonia. He describes in detail how he built ships for the purpose, which were brought on the Tigris up to Opis, thence to the Euphrates, and so down to the Persian Gulf. He himself cautiously kept far away from the dangerous element, but ordered his army to be transported by sea to Elam. His forces marched some way up the Karun, devastated the provinces on the coast of Elam, and dispersed or captured the Chaldreans who were settled there

While the Assyrian aimy was stationed in Elam, Khalludush, king of Elam, did not remain idle. He entered Babylonia near Durilu on the ordinary military road, captured Sippar, took Assur-nadinshum prisoner, and carried him back with him to Elam. He appointed Nergal-ushezib, a Babylonian, king in Babylon. Senna-

cherib tells us only of the heroic courage with which he had faced the raging sea and of his success in Elam. We hear of the Elamite counter-move from the Babylonian chronicles alone. Nothing more transpires as to Assur-nadin-shum, the deposed son of Sennacherib.

The new king possessed at first only the north of Babylonia; he tried now An Elamite to drive the Assyrians out of the south also, and captured King in Nippur. But Uruk, which seems Babylon to have joined his side, was recaptured by the Assyrians, and soon afterwards the latter appeared in front of Nippur. Nergal-ushezib met them in the open field, but was defeated and taken prisoner. He had reigned only a year and a half-694 to 693 B.C. While Sennacherib in this same year undertook a punitive expedition against Elam, the abovementioned Chaldaan, Mushezib-Marduk, seized the opportunity to establish himself firmly in Babylon, and reigned from 692 to 698. He allied himself closely with Elam, and actually sacrificed the temple treasures of Marduk in order to pay to the Elamite, Umman-menanu, his "presents," or what was, in reality, his tribute. This shows that once more the sacerdotal



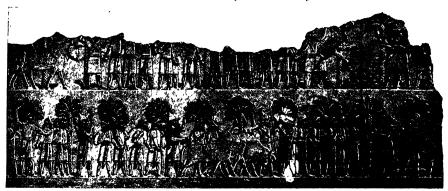
FIGHTING IN THE CHALDÆAN MARSHES
An Assyrian representation of a skirmish in Sennacherib's campaign against Merodach-baladan and his Elamite auxiliaries.

party supported Assyria. It was not so easy a task this time for Sennacherib to drive out Elam-for that was the real issue at stake. In the year 601 a battle was fought at Khalule, in Northern Babylonia, with Umman-menanu, his vassal, Mushezib-Marduk, the son of Merodach-baladan, and the other Chaldwans. Sennacherib gives a very magnificent account of the battle, in which he naturally claims the victory. The Babylonian chronicle makes Umman-menanu the victor, and is correct in so far as Sennacherib gained no success, for Babylon remained under Elamite protection. In the year 689 Umman-menanu was struck down by apoplexy.

In the same year Babylon fell into Sennacherib's hands, and Mushezib-Marduk was carried prisoner to Assyria. We must assume that in this revolt there was no strong pro-Assyrian party in Babylon for it is clear that Sennacherib's policy aimed at Sennacherib the ruin of Babylon. The alliance with the Chaldæans had been, therefore, a struggle of desperation, and Sennacherib now lost no time in reaching his goal by the shortest road. Babylon was completely destroyed and its

gods taken to Assyria. It has hitherto been supposed that during the years which followed its destruction by Sennacherib the city of Babylon ceased to exist as a centre of political activity. The The City Babylonian chronicle states that an interregnum of eight Waste years now took place, while the list of kings assigns these eight years to Sennacherib. But a chronicle that has recently been discovered allows us to form a picture of what took place during a portion of this troubled period. It has hitherto been conjectured that no attempt was made to rebuild the capital until the reversal or Sennacherib's policy by his son Esarhaddon, upon the latter's accession to the throne. But we now know that the Babylonians themselves did not remain inactive, and that at least

learn from the new chronicle that they were not left for long in undisturbed possession, for a certain man named Erba-Marduk, the son of Marduk-shakınshum, "smote them with the sword and defeated them, and he took the fields and the gardens from them and gave them unto the men of Babylon and Borsippa." It is also recorded that in the same year Erba-Marduk set up the throne of Marduk in Esagila, and the chronicle implies that he rebuilt that temple, and also the temple of Ezida in Borsippa. It is therefore certain that Erba-Marduk made good to some extent the damage done to the city of Sennacherib, though the resources at his disposal did not enable him to attempt the rebuilding of Babylon on the lavish scale maugurated a few years later by Esarhaddon. Moreovei



ASHURBANIPAL OVERCOMES THE ELAMITES

Ashurbanipal's successes against Elam deprived that country of power of making encroachments on Babylonia. This bas-relief shows his soldiers carrying off Elamite spoil and captives, and scribes taking count of the heads of the slain

one native king occupied the Babylonian throne during this period. It is probable that during the year following the withdrawal of the Assyrian army, and the deportation of Mushezib-Marduk, Babylon did lie desolate and in part deserted by its inhabitants.

It needed the appearance of another toe to call forth a leader, who should rally the citizens and attempt to restore order and organised government. The necessary impetus was soon given by the descent of Aramæans, who saw in the destruction of the detences of Babylon a favourable opportunity for seizing the tertile plain in the neighbourhood of the capital. Their raid was at first successful, for they seized and occupied the cultivated lands and gardens in the neighbourhood of Babylon and of Borsippa. But we

we may see evidence of a shrewd policy on his part in the rebuilding of the temples, for by re-establishing the worship of Marduk and Nabu, he strengthened his own claims to the throne. He had already secured the gratitude of the Babylonians by the recovery and restoration of then lands; his subsequent revival of the national religion, and his performance of the coronation ceremony, which consisted of grasping the hands of the national god, raised him from the position of a popular leader, and set him upon the

Babylon an throne. It is thus clear that he was recognised as king by the official priesthood, but how long he succeeded in the position it is not possible at present to determine. That other external foes beside the Aramæans hoped

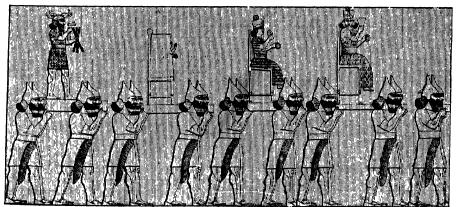
BABYLONIA-THE EMPIRE IN ECLIPSE

to profit by the comparatively defenceless state of Babylon is clear from the fact that Esarhaddon, before rebuilding the city, had first to expel Chaldwan settlers who had succeeded in gaining a foothold in the district.

After the murder of Sennacherib, the first act of his son Esarhaddon after his accession was to give commands for the complete rebuilding of the town and the While Sennacherib temple of Marduk had been the representative of a purely Assyrian, and therefore strongly military policy, Esarhaddon, like Sargon, had to rely upon the priests. The rebuilding of Babylon thus entirely came within the scope of their efforts. The other party, however, was not dissolved upon the death of Sennacherib, it was indeed deeply rooted in Assyrian polity. The two parties seem to have found leaders in the two princes, Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shumukin. We shall see in treating of Assyrian history how, just when Babylon was ready, and the question at issue was a reoccupation of the throne of Babylon, the military party forced Esarhaddon to allow its head, Ashurbanipal, to be crowned king of Assyria, and thereby to ensure its power. His father could only secure Babylon for Shamash-shum-ukin, and perhaps Southern Babylonia. In the year 668 the statue of Marduk was brought back to Babylon and the two princes were proclaimed kings of their respective realms during their father's lifetime. The existing condition was, however, the same as the old—Babylon was the protectorate of Assyria, and the new king of Assyria

sacrificed in Babylon, Sippar, and Kutha to the Babylonian gods as their protector.

The old feud was thus revived, and an outbreak of hostilities was only a matter of time. After a series of years full of prosperity and brotherly love had been recorded in the inscriptions of both kings, the struggle began anew. Shamashshum-ukm sought alliances in whatever countries he could find enemies of Assyria, and that was practically wherever the Assyrian power was left or leared. Elam, the Arabs, the western countries, Palestine and Gutium (the northern countries), armed against Assyria. In the war which now broke out the question was once more to be decided whether Assyria or Babylon was to rule the East. war really began toward the "fifties" of the seventh century B.C. by the refusal of Shamash-shum-ukin to allow his brother Ashurbanipal to offer the sacrifices, to which he was entitled as protector, in the Babylonian towns, ended with terrible sieges of Sippar, Kutha, and Babylon, and the death of Shamash-shum-ukin in the flanes into according to Ashurbampal's account, his despairing subjects cast him. The war ended in 648; and Babylonia had suffered so much during its progress that it remained quiet for some time. The Assyrian king Ashurbampal wore the royal crown of Babylon from 647 to 626 B.C. under the name of Kandalanu. His successes against Elam deprived that country of the power of making further encroachments on Babylonia. The land thus enjoyed rest until his death.

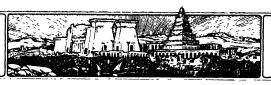


BABYLONIAN GODS TAKEN BY THE ASSYRIANS TO SERVE IN ASSYRIAN TEMPLES
In the ye r 680 BC, after the expulsion of the Elamites, Babylon fell into the hands of Sennacherib. He completely destroyed the city and carried off its gods, as represented above, to serve Assyrian gods in Assyrian temples



BABYLON, THE METROPOLIS OF THE ANCIENT CIVILISED ASIATIC WORLD, IN THE DAYS OF ITS SPLENDOUR AND POWER

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA



BABYLONIA

THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE ITS LAST BRIEF ERA OF SPLENDOUR

AT the death of Ashurbanipal we find on the throne of Babylon a Chaldwan, Nabopolassar. We do not know which of the petty Chaldæan principalities was his native country. It is very probable that at first he wore the crown of Bel, with the approbation, or at least with the consent, of Assyria. During the first period he avoided any open rupture with Ashur-etililam—that is to say, he recognised his protectorate At first he possessed only Babylon; the rest of Babylonia remained Assyrian. We have no information as to the separate stages in his advancement to power. All that is certain is that Babylon did not venture on any action against Assyria on her own resources, but concealed her plans until the alliance with Media was formed. As the royal house of Assyria was related by marriage with that of the Ashkuza, Nabopolassar's son was obliged to marry a Median princess have seen that Nabopolassar Alliance after 600 BC. was in possession with the of Mesopotamia, and that the Medes downfall of Assyria was chiefly the work of the Medes. When matters had come to this pitch, he was already old or sick; his son Nebuchadnezzai II. was already holding the reins of government. He was assigned, therefore, the duty of subjugating the western provinces, a task which in itself would have presented little difficulty, since the Assyrian governors, after the fall of Nineveh, failed to hold their own in the provinces where the Assyrian rule was universally detested. It was therefore to be expected of these that they would submit to their new ruler, and any attempts by isolated states to assert their independence were from the first hopeless.

In the meanwhile, however, it had become necessary to recover these provinces from another power than Assyria. Necho II. of Egypt rightly judged that the opportune moment was come to win back the provinces which had been lost since the

days of Thothmes and Amenophis. While the Medes were encamped before Nineveh and Nabopolassar occupied Mesopotamia, he advanced into Palestine, where he met with only isolated cases of resistance—for example, that of Josiah at Migdol, 600 or 608 B.C. - and gradually, with-Nebuchadnezzar Gains out great difficulty, he occupied all Palestine and Syria. the West He had his chief camp for some time at Ribla, in the north of Bekaa, and from that position directed affairs in Jerusalem. In the year 605 he advanced as far as Carchemish, and was on the point of crossing the Euphrates, the boundary of the district, which, since the fall of Nineveh in the interval was already occupied by Babylonia Here Nebuchadnezzar, as leader of the Babylonian army, met him and defeated him, so that Necho was forced to relinquish any attempt to establish himself in Syria or Palestine, and retired before the advancing Babylonian army into Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar met with little opposition, an l, receiving the homage of governors and princes, occupied the territory as far as the Egyptian frontier. Thus this king, the last among the Babylonian monarchs who met with success in his military operations, accomplished on his first appearance what had been vainly attempted for so many centuries. The West was once more subject to Babylon, as in the palmy days of Babylonian power and civilisation.

This result had not been obtained by any new awakening of the national strength of Babylonia. Babylon, even now, as for centuries past, was in the hands Chaldman of conquerors who availed Rules in themselves of the old fame of Babylon the metropolis of culture in order to adorn their power with its historical After centuries of struggle between Assyrians and Chaldmans for the crown of Bel, the advantage had in the end rested with the often repulsed, but still indefatig-Nebuchadnezzar, before able, intruders.



A MEMORIAL OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR
This vast marble slab, found among the runs of Babylon, is
believed to represent Nebuchadnezzar giving instructions
to his generals. He was the last successful Babylonian king.

whom even Palestine now trembled, was a Chaldæan. For this reason the representatives of the last Babylonian dynasty

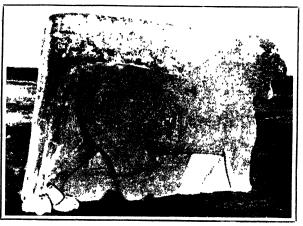
are called in the contemporary accounts of the Bible by the name of Chaldwans.

Towards the end of 605. when Nebuchadnezzar was still occupied in Palestine. he received the news of Nabopolassar's death and of the outbreak of nots which were intended to bring a Babylonian to the throne. With rapid decision he made forced marches by the shortest road through the desert to Babylon, and entered it at the right moment to conduct the procession of Bel on the New Year's festival in the method prescribed immemorial ? custom, and thus

himself king of Babylon. He held the power from 604 to 562 B.C. His name has become famous from the mere fact that he put an end to the independence of Judah, but his long reign really signified a last spell of prosperity and power for Babylonia.

An outward proof of this may be seen in the immense building operations, about which his numerous inscriptions tell us. The whole of Babylon was rebuilt by him, partly in continuation of works begun by his father, Nabopolassar, and fortified on a scale which excited the wonder of his age. He it was who erected the "Median wall." a line of defence which ran from the Euphrates near Sippar to the Tigris, somewhere by Opis, near the site of the later city of Seleucia; this was intended to dam up the water, in order, should need occur, to transform the country higher up into a swamp, and thus to render it impossible for an army to advance in the district between the two rivers A similar construction, starting from the Euphrates in the neighbourhoo Lof Babylon and reaching the Tigris at a point not far from the eastern end of the other dam, completed the work of defence. Nebuchadnezzai was also the constructor of the celebrated terraces, the "hanging gardens of Semiramis" [see page 226 of this History], and he rebuilt the famous temples in all the larger towns

Contrary to the custom of the Assyrian kings who relate at length their own campaigns as a preface to any report of



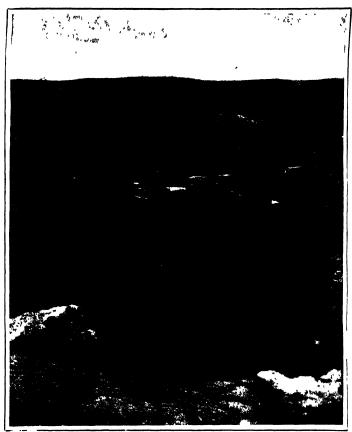
custom,
proclaim

Before going to war, the army of Nebuchadnezzar defiled before this massive monument, and each soldier bowed low to the symbol of his monarch's power

their building operations, the Chaldwan kings of Babylon, and notably Nebuchadnezzar, omit from their building inscriptions any record of their achievements m It follows, war. therefore, that we have practically no accounts by Nebuchadnezzai of his campaigns Besides the expeditions in Palestine, we know only his thirteen vears' mettectual siege of Tyre, and one or two wars with Egypt. small fragment of a chronicle refers to one such war in 568 B.C., but too little of the text is preserved to enable us to recover any details of the campaign We do not vet know whether Nebuchadnezzar ever really invaded

permanently subdue the country, and it is unlikely that he achieved victories like those of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

The west was the only field for expansion which Babylonia could still command. The east and north, where of old the kings of Assyria fought, are out of the question. Elam and Urartu do not exist. the one great Median empire rules from Elam to the Halys, the boundary of Lydia. The existence of Babylonia depends on its relations with this barbarian empire, which now really sways the destinies of Nearer Asia. Babylon stands in the same relation to it as Italy did to the German Empire of the Middle Ages. So long as Nebuchadnezzar lived the relations between the powers appear to have been friendly. The Medes had in reality by the overthrow



Egypt, as Ezekiel prophesied. He did not, in any case, and the manner in which they have had to be dug away to disclose the building.

of Assyria brought the dynasty of Nabopolassar for the first time into power in its own country. It was due in a large degree to the good will of Cyavares that they handed over these districts to it; and it would almost seem as if the marriage alliance with this barbarian royal house had been of greater importance to Nebuchadnezzar than such marriages usually are when diplomacy is more highly deve loped. Herodotus tells us of Nebuchad nezzai's intervention in Median affairs on an occasion when there was war between Media and Lydia, the third great power of this period; and it may be noted that in the course of this war the eclipse of the sun occurred which Thales predicted. Nebuchadnezzai is said to have acted as mediator between the powers, together

with a certain Syennesis of Cilicia, by whom he was probably advised.

But the young dynasty, which had won its fame in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, practically disappeared with him. After his death his son, Amel-Marduk—

the Evil-Merodach of the Bible The Last —became king; he reigned only Kings of two years—561 and 560 B.C.— Babylon when he was deposed because "he was unjust and ruled tyrannically." Since this verdict is given by the historian Berossus, a priest of Bel, writing in the Seleucid era, and in almost identical words by Nabonidus, we must see in it a verdict of the priestly class, whose claims

Nebuchadnezzar, with all his temple building, had never quite satisfied. We know nothing else of Amel-Marduk, except that he treated with kindness Jehoiachin of Judah, who had been brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He was murdered, and his brotherin-law, Nergal-shar-usur, or Nerighssar, was raised to the throne, which he held from 559 to 554 B.C. No attempt was yet made to go outside the Chaldrean royal family. is not clear whether Neriglissar himself was a Chaldaan. Of him, too, we know very little; but good service in the defence of the country is ascribed to him by Nabonidus. Did the Medes now interfere dethroned favour of the royal house? Hr successor Who subjugated all Mesopotamia jugated the Lydian empire, was his son Labashi-Marduk, and Lydia, and put an end for all time in addition to the to native Babylonian development already. a minor; he was deposed

after a reign of but nine months, because, as the above-mentioned sources both agree in reporting, "he displayed evil tendencies." The real cause is apparent in the choice of the successor, a Babylonian, who approved himself a man after the priests' hearts, for he was indefatigable in building temples and endowing them.

Nabonidus, this last king of Babylon, who ruled from 555 to 538 B.C., is a strange figure. He looked on unperturbed while the land was occupied first by the Medes, and then by the Persians, being fully engrossed in the excavation of old sites of temples and in the arrangement of the

chronology of their founders. Reports as to his discovery of old inscriptions are very valuable for us, but neither they nor his eagerly prosecuted restorations of the temples were of any use to his tottering throne. The Medes do not seem to have looked on passively at the overthrow of the dynasty, which was allied to them by marriage and friendship. Perhaps Neriglissar had already been obliged to act on the defensive; but now, when the rupture with Babylon was complete, they invaded Mesopotamia. Even then, at the outset of his reign, Nabonidus showed himself in his true colours. While Harran, the old city of Sin, in the heart of Mesopotamia, was being invested by

the Medes, he did nothing but dream that the gods would set Hairan free. And indeed, they granted him his wish, for Astyages was overthrown by Cyrus, and Mesopotamia had peace for some years. But the conqueroi of the Medes soon proved to be a far more formidable opponent. Meantime, however, Nabonidus to rebuild the hastened temple of Sin at Harran with grateful heart; for this end he tithed and taxed his subjects "from Gaza, the border of Egypt, the Mediterranean, and Syria, up to the Persian Sea."

Meanwhile the Persian Cyrus secured the foundations of his power. He sub-

already possessed by the Medes, so that the only great nation which could have lent any support to Babylonia was now powerless to do so. Then Cyrus proceeded against Babylonia, which was hemmed in on all sides. Nabonidus himself did not move, but lived in retirement, or was kept prisoner by a

Cyrus the hostile party in his palace. His Persian in son, Bel-shar-usur, or Bel-Babylonia shazzar, was regent and commander-in-chief; the Bible makes him the last king of Babylon.

Cyrus first occupied Mesopotamia, having crossed the Tigris from Arbela, south of the ruins of Calah. In the next year. 546, he advanced from Elam into



CYRUS, KING OF PERSIA

BABYLONIA-THE NEW EMPIRE

South Babylonia. Nabonidus ordered the gods of the great towns Ur, Erech, etc., to be brought into Babylon, and felt himself secure under their protection. We have no accounts of the next five years, but in the year 539 B.C. we find Babylonia surrounded on every side. The respite may perhaps be explained by the effectiveness of the defence by mundation, for which purpose the Median wall of Nebuchadnezzar and the supplementary works, starting from the neighbourhood of Babylon, were constructed. All this time Cyrus was unable to advance into region of Babylon either from Mesopotamia or from Southern Babylonia. The surrounding country, therefore, like Holland under similar circumstances in later times, had been changed into a swamp, within which the "kingdom of Babylon" lay, large enough to maintain itself so long as an army did not invade it.

A reminiscence of this is preserved in Herodotus' account that Cyrus was occupied for two years in diverting the course of the Diyala, in order to make his army familiar with the process of draining canals, a knowledge which was of good service to him at the storm of Ralydon.

stege of Babylon, when he changed the channel of the Euphrates. The real object was probably not that suggested by Herodotus, but the construction of a passage for crossing into the district protected by the inundations; for the mouth of the Diyala is near Opis, where the Median wall ends. This theory is confirmed by the fact that the Babylonian army under Belshazzar met him there, between Opis and Sippar, after the passage had been effected; it was defeated in 530, and no more opposi-

Five-years
Siege of
Babylonia
great fortifications of Nebuchadnezzar
were not defended; the Persians were
received as preservers. Cyrus was proclaimed king when he entered four months
later; and one of the first acts of his reign

was to conciliate the priesthoods of Babylonia by sending back the gods from Babylon to their own towns.

This concludes Babylonian history. Babylon had become a Persian province. The ancient glory, indeed, which Babylonian so shortly before its setting History had shone forth unexpectedly, Ends was not yet entirely forgotten. Several attempts were made to recover her independence, but these revolts were always quickly put down. Nabonidus was merely supplanted by Cyrus, and in Southern Babylonia, which had been abandoned by Nabonidus, and from which he had actually taken away the gods, the people certainly looked upon Cyrus as a sort of saviour The latter was also shrewd enough to hold the reins of government more loosely in the provinces. He not only restored to the Babylonian towns their gods, but showed

the same favour to many provinces which



BRONZES FOUND IN NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE Figures of a lion and lioness dating from $1800\,B.c.$ —that is, from the first Babylonian empire

had long been confiscated, at the same time giving them self-government; for example, Judah, and possibly Sidon also. Those provinces therefore, could not fail to see in Cyrus a liberator from the yoke of Babylon.

A new era in the history of Eastern civilisation now opens. Persia, before the capture of Babylon, had already occupied Asia Mimor, and had thus come into touch with Greek civilisation. The Persian empire, it is true, as heir of Babylon, still possesses to a certain degree a comparatively high state of culture. But this civilisation is tottering with age, because it is no longer supported by fresh national life. It is easily outstripped by the vigorous vitality of the Greek spirit, which is soon destined to extend its sway over and beyond the regions where Babylonian culture has for so long predominated.

AN IMAGINATIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE SACK AND PILLAGE OF BABYLON From the parties ') John Matter

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA



BABYLONIA VI

THE MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILISATION ITS LONG VITALITY AND FINAL DECAY

OUR knowledge of the Ancient East is still very young. All that has been learnt of it from the exploration of the ancient monuments dates from the middle of the last century; much of this knowledge must be discounted, so long as science has to We are work with insufficient means. still very far from being in a condition to speak of any systematic examination of the soil of these old homes of civilisation, all that we possess in monuments and antiquities, and therefore all sources for the history of these countries, form only an infinitely small fraction of that which a more fortunate age may Every attempt to expect to recover. present a connected picture of the course of the development of the ancient nations of the East must therefore prove madequate. We can at most learn something of those periods, for which chance has placed ampler sources of inform-How ation in our hands, and we can Little we Know

Little we ation in our hands, and we can seek to trace the forces which have determined the course of events. Of other periods we know little as yet, and all that we can do for them is to supply the names of a few kings or rulers of whom little else has

been recorded. An essential feature of the sources hitherto accessible is that they turnish us with more information about political occurrences than about the nature and extent of the forces at work in the inner life of the people. The inscriptions of the Assyrian kings were the first to become known, and a considerable number of them have been recovered; thus the section of history based on them is that which is known in greatest detail up to the present time. But these inscriptions record almost exclusively wars, sieges, victories, and lists of spoil. What we would gladly know of the social and political life of the people can be gathered only from scattered allusions throughout the texts.

Our survey of the history of civilisation in the Ancient East must, therefore, to some extent prove defective and unsatisfactory, owing to the want of materials for study. Our sources of information are more detailed for isolated periods, such as the era of the first dynasty of Babylon, for Assyrian history from Tiglath-pileser onwards, and again for that part of Unworked Babylon from Nebuchadnezzar down to the Persian era. thousands of records of these periods are in our possession which belong to the business life of the people—namely, contracts, legal decisions, receipts, commercial transactions of every sort, and private letters. These indeed supply a motley of isolated facts as to the private life of the times in question, but in the bewildering crowd of details we can scarcely recognise with certainty the broad principles, the typical cases which have to be considered in the development of national history. Before these great materials can be thoroughly worked, before the numerous records of different periods are thoroughly assimilated, much work and study are required. And it will probably be long before those periods, which are separated from each other by hundreds of years, can be connected together by filling up the gaps through the discovery of new records.

But, even if science had already succeeded in making full use of these countless records, yet they would reveal only one aspect of the popular life in Babylonia and Assyria—namely, the commercial life, and that, indeed, principally from the private side. So far as they concern the life and the development of the entire people and the state—that is, in their bearing on political economy—very little light is thrown upon the subject for considerable periods; and about much else which we in modern times recognise to be

important in the life of a nation we must be content for the present to know little or nothing. Trading relations and commercial life in all its aspects, the conditions of the

The Lateness of our tenure of real property in its bearing on the welfare of the state, the rules of administration, etc.—these are matters

of which royal inscriptions can tell us hardly anything, and which naturally do not find expression in a commercial or legal contract. To our general want of information on these subjects during long periods of

Babylonian history, two periods, however, now present striking exceptions. The famous code of laws drawn up by Hammurabi has furnished material for sketching a picture of the social life of the Babylonians during the period of the West Semitic kings of the first dynasty. The other period is the succeeding one of the Kassite kings, whose numerous deeds and charters illustrate the system of land tenure during the period at which they were drawn up.

But we know little as yet about the beginnings of civilisation in Babylonia. The long periods when men were settled in the valley of the Euphrates before the time when our present knowledge begins are still hidden in the mists of antiquity. We may be compelled for a long time yet to forego any attempt to determine from contemporary sources, or even merely from the products of civilisation, how the first

of civilisation, how the first settlers in the valley of the Euphrates, adapting themselves to the needs of the soil, taised themselves gradually from a state of savagery to a higher stage of civilisation. How and under what conditions men arrived at that intellectual result so important for the historian—the development of writing—is a question for which as yet no sources of information are forthcoming. It is clear that the most remote antiquity to which we can go back was already acquainted with a perfected system of writing.

The valley of the Euphrates, now to a large extent desolate and maishy, was one of the most fruitful tracts in the world. The fertility of the soil is described as maivellous at all periods, of which we have some, though unfortunately very scanty, accounts. The Euphrates and the Nile are two rivers the deposits of which give the tiller of the soil the richest reward for small exertions. In the almost rainless climate of Egypt and Southern Babylonia these river-valleys were the only places which enabled an agriculture still in its

infancy to work the soil profitably. On the other hand, the distress in times of drought compelled the Bedouins from the scantily watered steppes to seek pasture there for their numerous herds, and, by growing crops for fodder, to supplement the voluntary gifts of Nature in preparation for the dry season of the year. The complete transition from nomadic to settled life in these plains can thus be explained by the nature of the land.

The step from an agricultural life in the open country to the building of fortified towns is not so great, and must have been taken very early in a land which was exposed on all sides to the inroads of the nomads. But even the gradual stages leading to such conditions are, in point of time, far anterior to the date when, our knowledge of the Euphrates district

as Kish, Agade, Nippur, Lagash, Ur. Erech, Larsa, and Eridu, were towns with a most ancient past at the time when they, for the first time, appear in the light of history. They had already been long developed into that which they continued to be for 3,000 years of the most varying political phases, seats of ancient sanctuaries, sacred since immemorial ages, and towns with a purely urban population engaged in trade and industries.

begins. The old scats of civilisation, such



pelled for a long time yet to forego any attempt to determine from contemporary sources, or even morely from the product of the source illustrated, which is now in the Louvie illustrated illus

BABYLONIA-MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILISATION

We may assume that even then the conditions of the tenure of real property and professional activity existed in much the same form as that in which they were maintained throughout the later periods of Babylonian civilisation. In distinction to the Western forms of culture, the growth of which we can follow from their beginnings, we here meet with an already systematised

form of national life, such as corresponds to the stage of development of European civilisation which was concluded in the Middle Ages; this form endured for 3,000 years, though exposed to the most varied upheavals. Each new migration which spread over the country quickly adopted the existing civilisation, and was subjected to its influence. It is certain that even the less successful among the conquerors must have had their share in the booty: but no fresh distribution of the land among a peasant class ever resulted on a considerable scale, so that we can never follow the course of the national life from the beginning. The leaders of the different conquests always took the place of the old kings. If they did not wish to destroy the whole civilisation, they were obliged to adopt it with its temples and towns, its settled ownership of the soil. and its social classes. This is the principal reason why the individual nationalities so soon die out, they do not start their development from the very beginning, but mount with a sudden leap to a higher stage, beyond which they cannot go. Another reason which no doubt hastened the absorption of the con-

quering races was intermarriage with the inhabitants whom they found settled in the country. We find, therefore, Babylonia from the time when our know-Absorbed ledge begins, that the constitu-

tion of the land was one of feudal tenure under the domination of the priesthood. The lord of the country is the divinity. He entrusts it to the priesthood and the king; there is therefore temple property and State property. The king has the disposal, above all, of the open country,

which he grants to his vassals in Land fee. His authority does not ex-Tenure tend to the territory which falls System under the dominion of the god; this belongs to the town in which the god dwells, and, naturally, together with

that reserved for the temple, to the patricians in the town. The ground is cultivated by small farmers, who have to pay as rent their share of the profits owner - temple, the king, noble, or citizen. This system has never been favourable to the prosperity of the peasant Even if, after a class. conquest, confiscated land were divided among the masses of the immigrating people. these could not long maintain their position by the side of the great proprietors, but would be torced to sell the land and become tenants. small farmer is, usually, personally free—as free as a man can be who retains from the proceeds of what has been wrung from the soil in the sweat of his brow as much as suffices a thrifty Oriental War, indeed, livelihood. supplied with its prisoners the necessary demand for non-free labourers, the use of whom we have to imagine to ourselves as more common in the in-



Mansell A BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONE

who meet us often in business life.

We must, on the whole, picture to ourselves the land as parcelled out into small farms which are cultivated by the tenant for the owner. With the simple means and implements required for farming on a small scale, but with all the grim industry applied to every patch of earth which this system enforces, it was horticulture rather



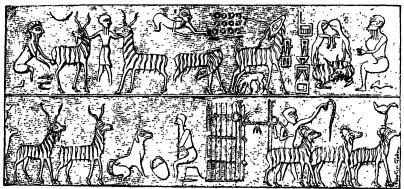
Dawn of Civili ation SPCK

CHALDÆAN FARM OXEN
The Chaldæans kept considerable flocks of domestic animals, including
oxen, asses, sheep, and goats, which were pastured on waste land,
where they were liable to the ravages of lions and other wild beasts.

than agriculture. The most important condition for a productive cultivation of the soil in the climate of the East, with its rainless summer, is a regular supply of ditions. He is forced to keep the surplus against the times of drought, and he is naturally driven to control the conditions of the water supply.

The country then, from the beginning of our knowledge of it, and as a preliminary condition of cultivation on an extended scale, was intersected by a network of canals, intended to receive the floodwater and to convey it from the districts threatened with mundation to the arid parts where it irrigates the soil in the dry season.

These canals in some places he higher than the surrounding country, so that the required water can be let in through sluces. In other places they are lower: then the water,

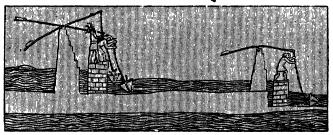


"Down of Civilisation SPCK

AGRICULTURAL LIFE IN CHALD.EA, ILLUSTRATED BY ARTISTS OF THE TIME A seal-cylinder picturing the pastoral life of early Babylonia On the right is the goatherd driving forth his flock from the goat-house with the crack of his whip The rest of the lower part of the tablet shows the flock scattered to pasture.

water, and it is the task of the agriculturist to irrigate as large an area as possible. On the other hand, the immense streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, when the mountain snows melt, bring down with them such a volume of water that

with them such a von they flood the most fertile parts of the country, block up the watercourses with their mud, and turn the fields into swamps, as is now the case with great tracts which were once thriving. Thus want of rain, on the one side, and floods on the other compel the dweller in the Euphrates valley to modify these conprecisely as in the valley of the Nile, is raised to the land by well-wheels, or, if less is required, by buckets which a single man sets into movement. Moreover, the lands lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris were irrigated



A MESOPOTAMIAN METHOD OF IRRIGATION

to modify these con- through successive levels, from the rivers to the fields. They are still in use on the Nile,



SWAMPS ON THE TIGRIS WHERE ONCE WERE THRIVING FIELDS Want of rain at one time, and disastrous floods, caused by the overflowing of the Euphrates and Tigris with the melting of the mountain snows, at another period of the year, compelled the Mesopotamians to control the water supply.

by contrivances similar to those employed by the peasants at the present day. Since the banks of the Euphrates are lower than those of the Tigris, a primitive form of water-wheel is employed for raising the water from the level of the stream to that of the surrounding country. The wheel is formed of rough boughs and branches nailed together with spokes joining the outer rims to a roughly-shaped axle. Around the rim are

tied a number of clay

bottles or cups for picking up the water, and the wheel is kept m motion by the current, which hits a tew rough paddles fixed to the wheel in such a way that they project beyond the rim. The wheel is set up at a spot A CHALDÆAN where there is a drop in the river-bed, and the water runs swiftly over the shallows. Its axle is supported on pillars of rough masonry, and as it is turned by the current, the cups or bottles empty themselves into a trough made from halt the trunk of a date-palm, hollowed out; and the water flows thence through a small aqueduct to the irrigation channel on the bank. This is the most advantageous method of raising the water,

for, so long as the wheel is in order and the stream is high enough to turn it, a constant supply of water is assured without the labour of man or beast; and the water can be cut off at any moment by the simple expedient of blocking the wheel or tying it up.

The higher banks of the Tigris render the use of water-wheels impracticable, and here the water has to be taised by other means

than that oſ current of the stream. The method employed at the present day is to raise it in skins, which are drawn up to the level of the bank by cattle, horses. donkeys. A well-like recess is cut into the banks, and over its mouth a wooden spindle supported upon struts. The skin is raised or lowered in the



recess by means of a rope, which passes over the spindle, while the tunnel end of the skin is held up by a second rope running over a lower spindle, until its mouth is raised to a level with the trough into which the water is poured. The skin, when full of water, is raised by the beasts fastened to the rope, and they obtain a good purchase for hauling up the heavy

weight by being driven down an inclined plane dug out at the top of the bank. Two separate skins and sets of beasts are often employed, and as one is let down the other is pulled up, so that a constant flow of water is kept up in the irrigation channel. There is little doubt that the ancient Babylonians employed both these primitive methods of

Babylonian raising the water from the rivers and canals to the higher Irrigators
Now in Use

rivers and canals to the nigher
level of the fields, while representations have been found

upon Assyrian bas-reliefs of the "shadduf" in operation, which is more commonly seen in Egypt at the present day than in Mesopotamia. This contrivance consists of a beam, supported in the centre, while at one end is a bucket for receiving the water, and at the other end a stone is fixed as a counter-weight. By using two or more shaddufs, one above the other, water can be raised, through successive levels, to a considerable height.

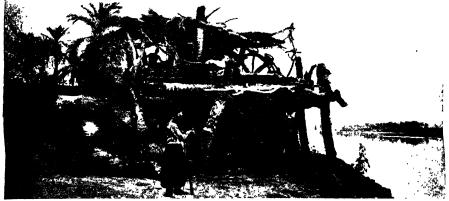
While the adoption of these smaller contrivances was within the means of the individual owner of the land, the construction of large canals was the work of the State. We find, indeed, among the scanty information which we possess as to the kings' activity at home, records of the cutting of canals, thus showing that the importance of this duty was fully realised. In the older times, when dates were not yet fixed by the reigns of the kings but by the important events of the respective years, we find under the descriptions of the years by the side of "In the year when this or that war was waged," also,

"When the king dug this or that canal." After the conquest of South Babylonia Hammurabi says, for example: "When Anu and Enlil had granted me the land of Sumer and Akkad to rule, and entrusted their sceptre to my hands, then I dug out the canal, named 'Hammurabi is the blessing of the people,' which bringeth abundance of water into the land of Sumer and Akkad. Both the banks thereof I changed to fields for cultivation, and I garnered piles of grain, and I procured unfailing water for the land of Sumer and Akkad for ever." Nabopolassar and Nepuchadnezzar make similar reports of irrigation works. These censtructions were sometimes Babylon's used, as in Holland, for the pro-

Canal tection of the country, as we System find shown in the later days of

Babylonia, when Nebuchadnezzai built the "Median wall," and Nabonidus with its help changed his whole "kingdom of Babylon" into an island. Famous canals, which ran through Babylonia, are the Palakuttu and Nahr-Shairi, the "canal of the king," and we meet their names even in the Hellenistic era. The former mainly follows the course of the Euphrates on the south side, the latter effects a connection between the Euphrates and Tigris in an oblique line.

We must thus imagine the whole country between the rivers intersected by a network of canals of every size down to simple urigation ditches. It was only through the efficiency of this system that the whole low-lying district was habitable.



A BABYLONIAN TYPE OF WATER-WHEEL IN USE TO-DAY For irrigation the Babylomans used a water-wheel made of rough boughs nailed together, with clay bottles on the rim for picking up the water. The wheel was turned by the current, or by animals, and the bottles emptied themselves into a trough on the bank of the river. The photograph shows a modern Persian wheel of similar construction.

BABYLONIA-MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILISATION

Accordingly, until the ruin of those countries by the Mongols, the super-intendence of the irrigation works formed one of the first duties of the government. The destruction of the canals changed a great part of the land into marshes; and the first task, on an attempt to make this most fruitful of all districts once more valuable to mankind, would be to restore the old watercourses, the beds of which are still visible in many places.

These works, which are restricted in size and extent by the nature of the Babylonian lowlands, are neither possible nor necessary in the higher districts, especially in Assyria, with its hills and neighbouring mountains, and a climate closely resembling that of Central Europe. On the other hand, we find instances of water being brought from a long distance for the supply of the towns. As instances, we may cite the aqueduct of Bayian, by means of which Sennacherib brought the water from the mountain streams to Nineveh, or the tunnel of Negub. through which Esarhaddon conveyed the water of the Zab to Calah in place of earlier works of Ashurnasirpal.

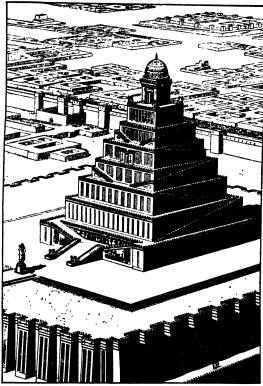
In architecture the inventive faculties of man are greatly dependent on the material at his disposal. Babylonia possesses neither stone noi suitable building timber. While the Egyptians found in the upper valley of the Nile the stone not stone the possesses of the graph of of the graph

in the upper valley of the Nile the stone necessary for their great buildings, and the river brought it down to the plains, the Babylonians had to fetch even the stone for their statues from a distance, and usually by land; Gudea, for instance, obtained the material for his statues from

Babylonia
the Land
of Brick

Their buildings were constructed from clay, the material which the land supplied them in abundance. Babylonia is the land of brick buildings, and the influence of its civilisation on the East is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that the art of building in brick was imitated in places where stone was available, such as Elam,

Assyria, and even Syria. The want of



A BABYLONIAN TEMPLE

This reconstruction by Chipiez exhibits the characteristic of Babylomen brick architecture, the terraced tower called a zikkurat Their summits were thought to be the dwelling places of the god. Hence, probably, the story of the Tower of Babel.

timl er and stone columns led to the invention of a pillar made of bricks. But, so far as we can see, this was seldom employed. The kings preferred to obtain cedar trunks from Amanus, and, when those forests failed, from Lebanon, for the necessary wooden columns and supports, but at no time were they extensively employed. In this respect Assyria followed in the steps of Babylon.

The ordinary brick was dried in the sun. It was burnt when additional strength was required, and for the decoration of the walls it was enamelled with bright patterns and designs. The land supplied abundance of asphalt as cement for the burnt bricks, and these were employed in foundations, for pavements, and for strengthening the walls of unburnt brick.

A characteristic product of Babylonian brick architecture is their "terraced

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CHALDÆAN SYSTEM OF NUMERALS

The Babylomans were keen mathematicians and compiled numerous mathematical tables to assist them in the calculations which their astronomical investigations required. Their simple system of notation, adopted in the days of the first monarchy, is illustrated above, towers" called by the Babylomans zikkurratu. These were pyramidal elections built in several storeys; they formed an important feature of the great temples, and then summits were thought to be the dwelling-places of the good. The story of the Tower of Babel was probably connected with these buildings.

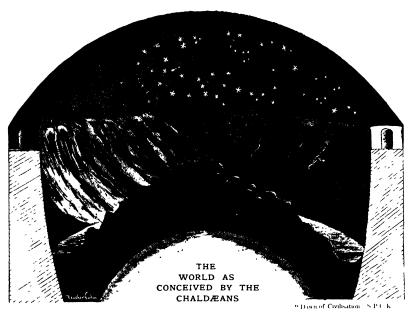
The temples are by far the most conspicuous works of Babylonian architecture. To a higher degree than even the churches and convents of the Middle Ages they united in themselves all the intellectual and material products of Babylonian civilisation. We have already noted that a great portion of the country belonged to them, and we may see in them the centre of the intellectual life of the people. The priesthood not only exercised an influence through religion, but was entrusted with the care of science and of the Each great technical arts. temple formed a town with a government of its own, and we have ample evidence as to how it managed its affairs Countless clay tablets from Tello furnish information as to the administration of the temple lands in Southern Babylonia, and the

which have been found at Nippur throw a flood of light upon the organisation of this important religious centre.

Any survey of the intellectual influence exerted by the temples is, from the nature of our sources of information, more difficult. It is obvious that the duty of giving instruction and fostering learning fell upon the priesthood. The ait of writing could be thoroughly learned only from them; they were thus the guardians and patrons of all literature, whether religious or secular, and of the sciences, even those which entered closely into the sphere of practical life. Among the Babylonian priests there were keen mathematicians, and numerous tables have been recovered which were compiled to assist them in their calcula-These comprise multiplication tions. tables, division tables, tables of squares, tables of square roots, geometrical progressions, and the like Metrological texts have also come down to us, and recent research has shown that the Babylonians could not only ascertain the area of a square or a rectangle by calculation, but could also calculate the area of a rightangled triangle from the length of its two legs, of a rectangle from its base and altitude, and of a trapezoid from its two bases and altitude. From these facts it may be interred that the Babylonian priests had acquired considerable proficiency in mathematical study, and their



Southern Babylonia, and the documents of the Kassite period The early Babylonian idea of the earth was a disc surrounded by the sea in the form of a stream. Chaldea occupied the greater part of the map.



Like the Egyptians, the Chaldmans took the world to be an enclosed chamber floating on the waters of the universe. The earth was the floor, itsing at the centre to the mountain source of the Euphrates The heavers were a dome resting on a wall surrounding the earth, with the oceans collected in the ditch between

progress in this branch of knowledge was doubtless of considerable assistance to them in making astronomical calculations.

We have abundant proofs that the priests from the earliest periods occupied themselves with the study of the sidereal Babylonia is the home of heavens. astronomy and of astrology, which is in-Babylon the separable from it in the Eastern mind, and the Chaldwans were Home of reputed to be masters of these Astronomy sciences even in Græco-Roman The movements of the stars were accurately observed and noted. Omens were derived from them, and every possible constellation was consulted. An eclipse is an event which is recorded in the Assyrian eponym canon in a similai way to a war. If the ability of a Thales to toretell an eclipse for the year 585 excited the astonishment of the Greek world, he had obtained his wisdom from the Babylonians, as, indeed, Pythagoras must also have borrowed the suggestions for his symbolism of numbers from the East, with which he is said to have become acquainted as an Assyrian mercenary. A large number of observations of the heavens and the stars are extant, and an even greater number of omens of the most

ordinary augural type, which we would gladly exchange for other information

Closely connected with the observation of the revolution of the stars is the settlement of the chronology. The Babylonians were the teachers of classical antiquity with regard to the system of the calendar. We still retain their divisions of years, months, and weeks. The designation of the seven days of the week after the gods, which correspond to the two great stars and the five planets known to them, has come down to our times, as well as the division of the day into twelve double-hours, which we still find upon the dial of our watch. The numerical system was closely connected with these divisions. It is a sexagesimal system with the divisional quantities five and twelve, apparently based on Calendar System due astronomical observations and to Babylon calculations. By the side of it, and combined with it, the decimal notation was employed. Our sources of information do not yet enable us to trace the origin of either system to its source, or to determine which is the more ancient of the two. The system of weights and measures was based on the same method of computation.



WORSHIP OF SIN, THE MOON-GOD Mone The Babylonian gods were personifications of natural forces, and at first each god was worshipped in his own city. Thus Ur was the seat of the moon-cult. This scene is taken from a Babylonian seal, it (2 2500).

We are faced with a perplexing problem when we are called upon to give an account of the exact duties of the temples and the priesthood, and to explain in detail the observance of cults and the progress of religious development. The phases and forms of men's ideas on this subject during three thousand years furnish matter for a special and comprehensive inquiry, and yet our sources of information on this head are more defective than in the field of political history Yet a study of the religious and historical inscriptions which have come down to us enables us to gain some insight into the characters of the gods themselves, as they were conceived to exist in the minds of their worshippers.

The gods of the Babylonians present as complex a character as the race by whom they were worshipped, and in giving a summary of the principal facts concerning them it is necessary to bear in mind that

the religious system of the later Babylonians was the product of a long period of gradual development. Speaking generally of the pantheon as it existed during the later periods, we may explain the greater gods as personifications of natural torces. Babylonian religion may thus be regarded as a worship of Nature, and the gods themselves may be to a great extent classified as personifications of various Thus at natural powers. the head of the company of the gods, as thev

stood the great triad of detties—Anu, Enlil, and Ea—whose general spheres of influence embraced the entire universe. Anu was regaided as the god of heaven; Enlil, the god of the earth and of mankind; and Ea, the god of the abyss of water beneath the earth. Under the Sumerians we even find these three detties mentioned in close connection with each other. Other gods who personified great natural forces were Sin, the Sumerian Enzu, the moongod, and Shamash, the Sumerian

Babbar, the sun-god. Other gods personified the storm and atmospheric conditions, pestilence, fire, vegetation, and the like; while others again were connected specially with battle and the underworld; and, as the result of a later development, the separate planets were associated with the greater gods in the same way as special deities had from the earliest times been associated with the sun and moon. The goddesses, with one exception, were not very sharply defined or differentiated from one another, being to a great extent the female counterparts of their respective husbands. Thus it is possible, with the help of the altarinscriptions, to recover the outlines of a very complete pantheon of Babylonian derties

In tracing the growth of this elaborate system of Nature-worship we are met with a difficulty which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. We have already noted that during the earliest periods of



were conceived by the later Semitic Babylonians, A scene from a sculptured tablet showing the worship of the sun-god in his temple at Sippara. His emblem is shown on the altar in front of the god.



MARDUK, THE CHIEF OF THE GODS, DESTROYING TIAMAT, OR CHAOS
Marduk, or Bel-Merodach, the city-god of Babylon, was, after the rise of Babylon, made chief of the gods His destruction of Tiamat, the representation of chaos, is the central episode of the great Babylonian epic of the Creation After
destroying the monster, Marduk created the universe in the form shown on page 1637, out of the two halves of her body

history Babyloma was split up into a series of independent city-states, and it was only after many centuries of separate existence that a permanent fusion was effected between them. Yet we can trace the existence of many of the great Babyloman gods back into this remote past. At this time each is worshipped by the people of his own city, and the fortune of the god is bound up with that of his worshippers. Taken in the aggregate, the worship of all

these city-gods under then later attributes presents a consistent picture of Natureworship in its various departments; but it is not clear how the local distribution of the great natural gods among a number of cities, originally independent, is to be In the explained. present state of our knowledge 1t scarcely possible to trace the process by which a local city-god became associated with one of the great powers of nature; and it is also in many cases difficult to decide whether the particular deity was of Sumerian or Semitic origin. What is certain, however, is that the great cities were from the earliest periods associated with the worship of special deities. Ut was connected with the moon-god; Laisa, with the worship of the sun; Uruk, with seat of Nana, or Ishtar, the female principle, Nippur, with the temple of Bel. But each of these, together with many other still unknown seats of civilisation, had developed

in its temple a special mythology during the centuries and tens of centimies of 115 Thus was existence. produced a confused medley of different systems in the effort to bring a conception the particular ot divinity, based on the nature of things, into harmony rıvalry with the doctrines of the other centres of culture.

In addition to this the various foreign nations which in turn conquered and colonised Babylonia brought their own beliefs with them, and then an adjustment had to be made



decide whether the RAMMAN, THE STORM-GOD and then an adjust-worship of many the Babylonian beliefs and those of the adjustment of ment had to be made

between the newly introduced ideas and those which had been long established in the land. We may cite as an example the introduction of the cult of the storm-god Adad, or Ramman, by the Western Semites. Even when the religious texts recovered up to the present have been published and translated it will be a A Medley gigantic task to disentangle the threads that run through the different temple traditions, Worships and to trace them back to their original sources. It may be noted, however, that the faither we go northward, the purer is the Semitic element which meets us in the earlier periods of history; and, further, the repetition of the cults proves that the country was distinct from Southern Babylonia Just as there was a South Babylonian sun-god of Larsa, so there was a North Babylonian sun-god of Sippar; the Ishtar of Uruk was matched by Ishtar of Agade in the north. We know less of the north in the earlier times than of the south In the later periods other towns became prominent, such as Kutha with the cult of Neigal, god of the lower world. The moon cult, which had its chief seat in Ur, was of interior importance in Northern Babylonia, but we hear of its most famous shrine at Harran in Mesopotamia

We do not yet find any mention of Babylon in the inscriptions of the earliest period, and it owes its importance to political occurrences of a comparatively late period, though recently discovered evidence tends to prove that already under the first kings of Ur its rank as a religious centre was considerable. It appears to have become the chief city of Babylonia under the first Babylonian dynasty. Its elevation to the position of capital of the Babylonian empire and its consequent supremacy in the domain of politics were accompanied, in conformity with Eastern ideas, by the development of a justification of this pre-

Comparative Lateness of Babylon eminence in the religious beliefs of its inhabitants. Precisely as Athens, having attained the hegemony, tried to prove her antiquity in mythology and history, so the wise men of Babylon took pains to prove that Babylon was the seat of the most ancient civilisation and the centre of the world.

The former city-god, Marduk—in biblical pronunciation Merodach—becomes the god round whom the whole creation of the

world turns. We have now recovered the greater part of the creation myth of Babylon, in which Marduk plays the chief rôle, and we may conjecture with some probability that similar works of more ancient origin, reproducing the events of the time when their cities flourished, were taught in the temples of Southern Babylonia. The epic of creation expresses the supremacy of Babylon, which was founded by the dynasty of Hammurabi. It is Marduk who fights the war of worlds for the sovereignty of the Dir Superi, who are threatened by Tiamat (Chaos), and it is he who, after cleaving the monster, imagined under the form of a snake or a dragon, creates the universe out of the two halves of her body.

Until recently only fragments of the great Babyloman epic of the Creation had been recovered, the portion of the text which was best preserved relating the battle waged by Marduk against Tiamat on behalf of the gods. But at the beginning of this century many additional tablets and fragments of the great poem were discovered, and these enable us to fill in

completely the outlines of the Babylonian story, and at the same time to Epic of the separate the older elements Creation which have been incorporated in the epic along with the later additions in honour of Marduk, the city-god of Baby-We now know that in its later form the epic was divided into seven great sections, or Tablets, and that Marduk's fight with Tiamat was only the culminating episode in a longer story of antagonism between the forces of order and disorder in the universe. We gather that the Babylonian account of the creation of the gods was similar to that given in Damascius, and that it was Apsu, the male representative of primeval chaos, and not Tiamat, his consort, who began the revolt against the gods.

Moreover, the defeat of Apsu, which preceded that of Tiamat, was not the work of Marduk, but that of his father, Ea, and Ea continues to play an important part in the narrative. One of the newly discovered fragments of the poem is of peculiar interest, since it contains an account of the creation of man, with which the acts of creation culminated; and we gather that the Babylonian legend closely corresponds with that given by Berossus, Marduk getting another god, probably Ea, to cut off his—Marduk's—head, that

BABYI.ONIA-MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILISATION

he might use his own blood for the creation of mankind. To summarise briefly the composite character of the Creation epic, it may be stated that the recently recovered texts enable us to separate the legend into five principal strands; these consist of the birth of the gods, the legend of Ea and Apsu, the Dragon-Myth, the actual account of Creation, and the Hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles of honour. Since the poem in its present form is a glorification of Marduk, and an explanation of how the god of Babylon secured the position of the greatest of the gods, it is but natural that prominence was given to those episodes in which Marduk is the hero while those in which he plays

THE SEVEN TABLETS OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD The great Babyloman epic of the Creation was divided into seven great sections, or tablets, one fragment from each being illustrated here. It comprised (1) a description of a state of chaos, (2) the war of the gods, (3) deleat of Tiamat by Marduk, (4) Maiduk as chief of the gods, (5) creation of heavenly bodies; (6) creation on animals and man, and (7) the hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles of honour.

no part are assigned a subsidiary and unimportant place in the narrative.

The central episode in the poem is thus the fight between Marduk and Tiamat, but we have evidence that this legend existed in other forms than that under which we find it here set out. For another legend which has been recovered ascribes the conquest of the dragon to some other god than Marduk, and the fight is recorded to have taken place, not before the Creation, but at a time when men already existed and cities had been built. Thus the Dragon-Myth existed in more than one form in Babylonian mythology, and it is not improbable that many of the great cities in Babylonia possessed local versions

of the legend, in each of which the citygod figured as the hero who slew the monster. In accordance with this theory the priests of Babylon ascribed the conquest of the dragon to their own local god, and made the death of Tiamat a preliminary to his creation of

Varieties of the Creation Legend

preliminary to his creation of the universe. Moreover, other Creation legends existed in which the creation of the world onnected with the death of a

was not connected with the death of a dragon, and although in one of these Marduk figures as the creator, in others Anu, Enlil, and Ea are described as creating the sun and moon, or the gods generally are referred to as having created the heavens and the earth, the cattle and the beasts

of the field But there is no doubt that the version of the Creation story which originated m Babylon represents the belief most generally held in Babylonia and Λ ssyria in the periods subsequent to the rise of Babylon to position of emmence under the West-Semitic kings of the first dynasty.

The briefest comparison of the Biblical accounts of the Creation with that which was current at Babylon suffices to show the close connection existing between them. In each account the existence of a watery chaos—preceded—the

creation of the universe, and the Hebrew word tehom, rendered as "the deep" in the Book of Genesis, is the equivalent of the Babylonian Tiamal, the name of the female monster of the deep personitying chaos and confusion. In the details of the Creation there is also a close

Connection with Bible Accounts

Accounts

preceding that of the heavenly bodies, the creation of a firmament to divide the upper from the lower waters, and the separate acts of creation connected with the earth and vegetation, the heavenly bodies, animals, and, finally, man. It is even possible that the

connection of the Sabbath with the biblical story of the Creation was suggested by the mystical number of tablets upon which the Babylonian poem was inscribed. Such points of resemblance demonstrate a close connection between the Hebrew

and the Babylonian narratives, and the local Babylonian colouring of the stories, and the great age to which they can be traced back, definitely prove that they originated in Babylonia, and were not inherited independently by the Babylonians and Hebrews from a common Semitic ancestor. We may therefore conclude that Babylonian tenets had become naturalised in Palestine even before the conquest of that country by the Israelites. Many such Palestinian versions of Babylonian beliefs the Israelites no doubt absorbed on their occupation of the country, and during the subsequent periods of their history they were subject to the direct influence of Assyria and Babylon. It is clear. therefore, that at the time of their exile the Jews did not come across Babylonian religious conceptions for the first time, but recognised in them

many beliefs differing

from their own in some

essential respects, but presenting an equally striking resemblance on many points of detail. It was doubtless, however, in the period of the exile that the

strongest influence was exerted Babylonia by the religion of Babylon upon a Spiritual that of the Jews The Baby-Teacher lonian myths of the Creation are thus recognised as the prototypes after which the biblical myths were formed. How, then, did Babylonia become the teacher of the spiritual life of Nearer Asia? We have at present hardly any other evidence of this beyond the remains of Assyro-Babylonian literature hitherto won from the soil, and the records of Jewish spiritual life preserved for us in

the canonical books of the Bible. But so long as we have no more material for study, we must try to form our conception of the influence exerted by Babylonian religion from these remains.

Religion has indisputably played a part

in the civilised lite of these nations which we moderns are prone to underrate. The priesthood is the nursery of knowledge. therefore all teaching every attempt to investigate the nature of things, every proof and justification of the existing order, and every attempt to introduce change is referred back to the primitive doctrines of the beginning of things, and by this authority 15 approved or discounten-To the direct anced. intervention of the priesthood we may therefore trace many of the beliefs which were current both among the Babylon ans and the Jews, and the close resemblance in their development of thought explains the case with which the latter submitted to the influence of their more powerful neighbour. Even monotheism in its perfected form cannot be claimed as exclusively a product Jewish of the though in certain respects



THE BABYLONIAN HERCULES
Gilgamesh was the hero of the national epic of Babylonia, which exercised even greater influence on the Babylonians than the epic of the Creation of the World.

it met with singular favour in Judea. The polytheism of Babylonia finds its historical explanation in the circumstances of times long past in the march of civilisation. If the Babylonian or Assyrian prayed to his god, he did so with the same words as the Jew his contrition, his submission to the divine will, his trust in his god, were precisely similar—

Parallels only that the former people had found an expression for such teelings and thoughts, while the Jew learnt much of it from

them. Even if the Babylonian prayed to Marduk or the Assyrian to Ashur, there was little difference between his thought and that of the Jew of the eighth

BABYLONIA-MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILISATION

century or so, who supplicated Jahve, or Jehovah. The Jew did not dispute the god of those who dwelt outside the dominion of his Jahve. If it was a false god, it was only so in the sense that every Babylonian saw the true lord of the world in the temple of his own city.

The mental activity of man is manifested in the development of mythology, which comes next to the doctrines of religion and is closely connected with them. So far as this is a doctrine of divinities and temples, we have already realised how limited the range of our knowledge is. We must raise the same lament over the remains of anthropomorphic mythology, the hero legends, which form the first theme of the non-religious poetry of a people. A quantity of fragments testify to the former expenses of a whole series of

Babylonian
Hero
Mythology

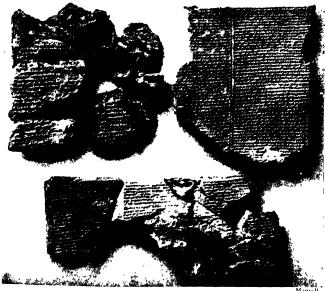
istence of a whole series of epics, but of only a few of them have we sufficient remains to be able partially to restore or

to guess their contents. The best known is the Epic of Gilgamesh. In it the deeds of the Babylonian Hercules are glorified, and it has given Hellemsin the attributes with which to endow the legendary form of Alexander in the so-called Alexander

romances. The work received the form in which it is preserved for us at Erech: it reflects the condition to which the old Ishtar-Nana town, considered to have been founded by Gilgamesh, had been reduced by the oppression of Elam. This epic exercised an even National greater influence on the Baby-Epic of lonians themselves than that Babylonia of the Creation, for the hero Gilgamesh and his companion Ea-bani appear in countless representations in Babylonian art, and the legend was peculiarly the national epic of the Babylonians. In its latest form it was written upon twelve tablets of equal length, and all are concerned with the heroic deeds of Gilgamesh. They recount his early exploits, the creation of Ea-bani by the goddess Aruru: their expedition against Khumbaba of Elam; the passion exhibited for Gilgamesh by the goddess Ishtar, the fight of Gilgamesh with the bull from heaven, the griet of Gilgamesh at Ea-bani's death; and his journey to his ancestor Tsitnapishtim, who relates to him the story of the Flood. The Babylonian account of the Deluge, which is thus introduced into the national epic, with which it has no

organic connection, presents the closest

parallel to the Biblical narrative of the same event, and is, indeed, the basis of that account. In this case the parallelisms are so striking that we may set the date of borrowing at a comparatively late period. In addition to the Epic of Gilgamesh we have also recovered fragments of myths and stories connected with the heroes and mythological beings of an-A large tiquity. number of unpublished fragments, which are still unintelligible on account of their small size, is here as in the case of all similar literary productions, only further evidence of the information which we may hope to gain some time in the future.



THE BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE
This account of the Flood, which presents the closest parallel to the Biblical narrative, is a section in the great epic of Gilgamesh, who visits Tsitnapishtim, a god who dwelt in an ark, and has related to him the story of the Flood inscribed on these tablets.

It would be a most important task to describe the extent of the industries and trade in Babylonia For this, however, almost all data are wanting, apart from the fact that in the course of 3,000 years there must have been as many vicissitudes in the industrial as in the political life of the people. We may safely assume that Babylonia, and—since it is the What was
Babylonia's
Gommerce?
Babylon, owed their importance and power to their industries and their During the entire period in which we can follow the power of Assyria, Babylon was impotent as a political community. It was compelled to buy its independence from the Assyrians, just as, on the other hand, it obtained by its gold assistance from the Elamites against Assyria. It probably had not men enough to wage war on its own resources; indeed, the conditions under which its land was held precluded any such idea. This fact alone is sufficient to give the country its predominantly industrial character.

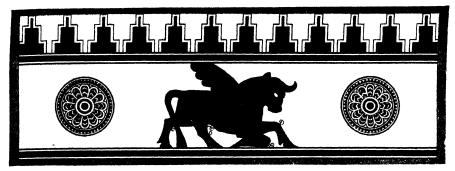
We can draw conclusions as to the extent of Babylonian commerce in the earlier periods from the inscriptions of Gudea, he obtained the blocks of stone and the timber for his buildings from Phœnicia, Syria, and Sinai. Some slight information about Babylonian industries is given us by the Tell el-Amarna letters. The Babylonian, like the Mitanian prince, required gold from the Egyptians; in return they supplied industrial products, especially lapis lazuli, or an imitation of it, which was highly valued by the Egyptians, and was a staple of Babylonian export. The Egyptians obtained weapons and war chariots from Mitani and even from Assyria. If, at the same time, the Babylonian ordered inlaid work of ebony and ivory, it was from a desire for fashionable objects in the Egyptian style, such as have been found in Nineveh: they have Sumeria no more significance than Chinese porcelam or Japanese a Naval lacquer-work with us. The question of the navigation on the Persian Gulf is still shrouded in obscurity, as well as that of the early use of the trade route to India. It is extremely probable that the Sumerians engaged in navigation on the "Sea of the East." The most ancient inscriptions, from the nature of their contents, do not mention anything of such matters; and thus we

must, probably for a long time yet, be content merely to speculate upon the subject. In the later period the road to the sea was barred by the Chaldwans. The centuries of prosperity of a state called "the Country of the Sea," and its obstinate resistance both to Babylon and to Assyria, are partly explained by the wealth won by trade relations with the East. Merodach-baladan possessed ships, in which he escaped to Elam over the "bitter water," the great bay at the embouchure of the two streams; there was then no fleet in Babylonia, so that Sennacherib was forced to have ships built by Phoenician workmen in Assyria and brought down stream to the coast. Any Babylonian trade with the East is thus inconceivable. Elam, too, must have had much to do with the traffic on the Persian Gulf, and we may expect to obtain much valuable information on this point as a result of the excavations which are being carried on at the present time at Susa.

Hardly any products of Babylonian industries have as yet come down to us. Even the arts of architecture and sculpture,

comparatively familiar to us in Art Assyria, are represented to us Babylon in the very home of such cul-ture by tew and comparatively insignificant monuments. All that is left to us on a large scale are the ruins of Tello, which have supplied us with a considerable number of statues and sculptures of the kings and patesis of Lagash. While the statues of the earliest kings were but rude attempts, rapid progress was made, and those of Gudea and his time [see pages 1587 and 1597 show the highest perfection of execution. The careful and delicate work on the monument of Merodach-baladan [see page 1617] is one of the few productions of a later period of art which are known to us.

In the same way we possess hardly any notices of the order and form of the constitution, of the internal administration, and the inhitary system in Babylonia, though the letters of Hammurabi throw considerable light upon these problems during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon. Anything, therefore, that we can suggest on these points is more clearly explained by the better attested Assyrian institutions, which, since they grew out of similar conditions, exhibit in the main results which must have closely resembled those of Babylonia.



ASSYRIA IN THE MAKING

WE have already seen that the advance of Assyria falls within a period which lies in the full light of history, or can be illuminated without difficulty by the results of excavations. We have further observed that its first natural expansion took place towards Mesopotamia, and that this became its undisputed property, from the possession of which it grew to be a great power, as extensive and as important as Babylonia itself. The history of Assyria itself must therefore be preceded by an attempt to throw light on the conditions of Mesopotamia at this early period.

We have suggested as a probable hypothesis that the great Semitic immigrations reached Babylonia from the north. Mesopotamia would therefore have been first reached by them, the Semites, who meet us in Southern Babylonia, may thus

Mesopotamia at the Rise of Assyria

have formed settlements there before they pressed southwards along the Euphrates and the Tigris. Any attempt

to reconstitute the early history of this region must depend largely upon conjecture, since systematic excavation has not as yet been extended into that region of Western Asia.

Any early kingdom which may have been formed in Mesopotamia probably had its capital at Harran, one of the most ancient seats of the worship of Sin, the moon-god; and this conjecture appears to be supported by various indications in the subsequent period. However this may be, we can safely assume that Mesopotamia not only stood under the direct influence of Babylonian civilisation, but had a special share in shaping the development of the countries on the Euphrates—a fact that continually finds expression in the high reverence paid to the great sanctuary at Harran. The origin of the cult at Hebron,

which the immigrating "Hebrew" tribes may have found there and adopted, is traced by the biblical legend, according to the older tradition, from the seat of the Sin cult in Mesopotamia, while only a later application of the myth claims for it Ur.

A Seat of the Worship of Ba'al the moon-god. The adoration of Ba'al Harran, the god of Harran, is found also in Senjula, in Northern Syria

In the earliest accounts which we possess, Mesopotamia appears under a foreign dominion. Our sources of information are the Tell cl-Amarna letters of King Tushratta of Mitani to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. The picture that they afford us of the intercourse between the two countries holds good for the predecessors of the two Pharaohs, so far as they advanced into Asia. They virtually designate Mesopotamia and Syria as In this connection it is a Naharma matter of indifference to us how much gold Tushratta begged for himself from Egypt, and how many letters he wrote in order to tool his "brother" and son-in-law in The point which concerns us is that in these kings of Mitani we may see representatives of a migration of barbarians who possessed themselves of Mesopotamia. We shall learn later that we may possibly assign them to the group

Hittite
Rulers of
Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia

Of nations which we designate Hittite. As rulers of this country, they play the same rôle which the Kassites, councidently with them, play in Babylonia.

It does not appear from their letters where the kings of Mitani resided; but we must look for the country, which is known as Mitani from the letters, somewhere in the region north of Harran, where we may set the centre of their

kingdom. We can define its extent, as given in the words "an heir to the old In

Mesopotamia." kıngdom of direction of Babylonia it included Nineveh, which, at the time of Tushratta, about 1430 BC., was in the power of the Mitani. Obviously, all Mesopotamia belonged to it, and on the right bank of the Euphrates, Melitene, or Knanigalbat, and the district called by the Assyrians Musri, and by the Egyptians Sanqara—in a Tell el-Amarna letter from Alashia, Shankhar-- a part of Cappadocia abutting on it as far as the Taurus, and possibly across it into Cilicia. West-

ward and northward of this part of the kingdom were settled the Kheta, or Khatti. the rivals and kinsmen of the Mitani. with whom they were at war, as we learn trom a letter of Tushratta to Amenophis. The Kheta must either have forced their way in through the terutory of the Mitani when we find them in Syria, or have skirted the real territory of the Mitani kings, by entering Cilicia through the Cilician Gates.

What was true of the friendship of the Babylonians with Egypt is true also of that of Mitani, so verbosely emphasised in the Tell el-Amarna letters. Even the kings of Mitani are referred to by Egyptian vassals in Phœnicia as natural enemies of a true servant of the Pharaoh.

This kingdom must have already existed for a considerable period, for Tushratta, the writer of the letters. mentions his father, Sutarna, who had sent his daughter, Gilukhipa, as attested by an

Egyptian inscription, into the harem of Amenophis III., and his grandfather, Artatama, who had maintained relations

with Thothmes IV., and had concluded a similar bargain for the chief matter of discussion was the dowry. The writer himself had been at the court of Amenophis III.; he was perhaps educated there as a sort of hostage when his father died. In a letter to the Pharaoh he describes how an insurrection broke out, to which his brother Artashumara fell a victim, and how, on his return, he had suppressed the revolt. The same letter contains an account of the above-mentioned war with

> the Kheta, who had evidently seized this favoura le opportunity for attempting an invasion of the

country.

Among all the haggling for presents there is one letter which is of greater interest, as it contains more important news. Tushratta requests Amenophis III. to send back the statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh, which shortly before had been sent to Egypt, as it had already been sent in the lifetime of his

and had on that father. occasion been honourably returned. The meaning of this journey of Ishtai is not quite evident. It may probably be explained by supposing that Tushratta, like his father, had conquered Nineveh, and did not take the captured divinity as a badge of victory back home with him, but had sent it to the Egyptian king, whose right of protector was thus acknowledged. The "tribute' of the Egyptian inscriptions would tally well with tins theory. The question then



A ROYAL TYPE From an Assyrian bas-relief.



THE HUMAN-HEADED ASSYRIAN BULL One of the most characteristic features of Assyrian architecture, these statues were set to guard the gateways to palaces and temples, and were of gigantic size



TYPE OF A EUNUCH From an Assyrian bas-relief.



BAS-RELIEF SHOWING AN ASSYRIAN KING HUNTING THE KING OF BEASTS

remains, from whom did Tushratta take Nineveh? We may conjecture that it was from the Assyrians, who by this time must

have thrown off their allegiance to Baby-More imlon portant for us is the fact thus proved that Tushratta was master o f Nmeveh. for we are thus able to settle approxunately the date of Assyria's advance. Tushratta's reign corresponds with the close of the glory of

A WONDER OF ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE

his people. This colossal stone sculpture of a man-headed lion from the Kuyunjik Palace, Nineveh, is seen in something like its huge proportions by contrast with the figure at its side. The bull opposite is of a similar size

hundred years later, Assyria is in occupation of Mesopotamia, and is detending its new possession against Babylon of the period which had seen this group of nations advance beyond the Euphrates. In its first vigour this advance perhaps extended as far as Babylonia, which we now know was invaded by the Hittites towards the close of the first dynasty of Babylon. The tact that in the Tell cl-Amarna period the

Kassites of Babylonia and the Mitami of Mesopotamia were enemies may be cited in support of this conjecture.

after the Mitani had been driven out.

The rule of the kings of Mitani who are known to us is to be set at the end



PORTION OF A BEAUTIFUL ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEF SHOWING THE HORSES OF A KING
1647



ASSYRIAN STONE-SLINGERS From a Nineveh bas-relief.

We may picture the "land of Ashur" in its primitive form, just as was the case with the kingdom of Babylon, as being little more than the territory of the city of Ashur, the modern Kala Shergat. It lies, indeed almost outside the district which later constitutes the true country of Assyria, the land, namely, which is bounded by a line drawn from Nineveh to the mountains, and by the lower Zab and the Tigus. It is possible that Ashur, from its position, which was too far south to form the centre of this district, and from its site on the right bank of the Tigris, may not have been from the first the capital of the subsequent country of Ashur; it clearly has more affinities with the south and Babylonia than with the north and west, in which direction the northern kingdom first expanded. If we also consider that Ashui was only a town, like many others in the Euphrates valley, we shall be inclined to suppose that its patesis, or



SAPPERS OF THE ASSYRIAN ARMY
Portion of a sculpture illustrating the siege of a city.

1648

priest-kings, were subject to the supremacy of Babylonia, and on occasion to that of Mesopotamia also.

It can be proved that in historical times it was not the capital of any considerable kingdom, and, in fact, was governed only by patesis, and the date of the rise of this new power can be fixed with tolerable accuracy. Tiglath-pileser announces, about 1100 B.C., that part of a temple restored by him in Ashur had been constructed 641 years before the time of his grandfather, who himself had added to it sixty years earlier, by Shamshi-Adad, patesi of Ashur, son of Ishme-Dagan, patesi of Ashur. We have, therefore, about 1800 B.C., patesis



ASSYRIAN ARCHERS WITH SHIELD-BEARER From a bas-relief almost life-size found at Nineveh.

of Ashur who must have been subject to Babylonia or Mesopotamia. Such was the earliest point to which, until recently, we could trace back the history of Assyria. But the recent excavations at Shergat and the publication of a new chronicle in the British Museum now enable us to trace back the history of Assyria beyond the rise of the first dynasty of Babylon. With the exception of that of Ilu-shuma, who we know was the contemporary of the tounder of the first dynasty, the periods of the earliest rulers of Assyria can be only approximately determined. The first king of Ashur, whose date we can fix more accurately, is Assur-bel-nishishu, the contemporary of Karaindash. Ashur,

ASSYRIA IN THE MAKING

therefore, permanently secured her independence between 1800 and 1500 B.C. Its patesis called themselves kings, and, possibly under the influence of a new immigration, began to expand their power.

The cause of this expansion, and the

conditions under which it was possible, were similar to those which gave Babylonia to the Kassites and Mesopotamia to the Mitani. The disorders of the time offered to energetic rulers a favourable opportunity to found a kingdom of their own. On the other hand, the two spheres of civilisation, which hitherto had been connected, were parted by subjection to different foreign sovereignties, and so allowed the country that lay between to found a power of its own.

Before, however, we come to the history of the new kingdom, it will be necessary to consider to what causes it was due that, while the Semitic world was now everywhere breaking up, the Semites of Ashur preserved that firm attitude and strength which thenceforth ensured victory for their aims, we will, in fact, ascertain the characteristics of these future lords of the East.

The Assyrian type is totally distinct



HUNTING IN THE MESOPOTAMIAN FORESTS
A fine bas-relief from Nineveh, showing huntsmen with a gazelle and a hare.

from the Babylonian, which we have seen to be the result of a great mixture of races. The numerous Assyrian portraits show us clearly marked features, precisely those which we ordinarily regard as Semitic; in many details they are those which we call the "Jewish" type. Our conception is erroneous, in so far as this type is completely distinct from the Arabian, in which we should expect to find in greatest purity the Semitic type; on the other hand, in certain points a



SPEARMEN OF THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

correspondence may be traced with that of the modern Armenians, who speak an Indo-European language. It is not our present task to explain this. We have to study the history of the nations, and in doing so have laid down the principle of linguistic classification as a suitable scheme of grouping. The physical characteristics of the nations constitute a principle of classification to be carefully distinguished from the former.

for physical mixture of race and development of language tollow different paths. It hardly comes within the province of history to consider how the Assyrians reached this type, and to which of the larger groups the belongs. It is sufficient for our immediate purpose to point out the existence of this distinctive Assyrian type.

We are then met by the question, in what did the extraordinary superiority of this people over the other peoples of Nearer Asia consist? The inquiry will resolve itself into the considera-

tion of two subjects in particular—the political organisation of the state, and the economic condition of the population. The "land of Ashur," down to the times when its superiority over Babylonia was undisputed—that—is, down to Shalmaneser II.

and Adad-nirari IV.—must have possessed a free peasantry of its own; while the older and more highly-developed civilisation of Babylonia had only a system of feudal and "ecclesiastical" tenure, with a population completely dependent upon it. This was the source of the weakness of Babylonia, which had no large body of native troops at its disposal; while its defenders consisted of "allies" whose intentions were only too clear. Shalmaneser still called out the militia of "the land" when a bold enterprise was planned. Tiglath-pileser, as we shall see, tried to free this peasantry from the fetters of the feudal system of great estates which had meanwhile grown up in Assyria also, and a later reaction began under Sargon. The power of Assyria in the interval

ignored. Just as David with a trustworthy band was able in the general disorder to seize the throne of a realm comprising various tribes, so the patesis of Ashur did the same on a larger scale.

The strength of Assyria in opposition to the countries of the Euphrates valley, with their high industrial development, was based on the possession of an army; through this alone could it rise into importance or assert its position. A country with a peasantry could supply the men. When this peasantry disappeared at a later period, and even Tiglathpileser could not save it, recourse was had to armies of mercenaries, who were recruited in all countries, both subject and barbarian. It was with these that



BAS-RELIEF SHOWING ARCHERS, THE MAINSTAY OF ASSYRIA'S ARMY, ON THE MARCH

had reached its zenith—this prosperous period was inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser himself – but had not then shown real development. Its short-lived success without permanent results is due to the other side of its constitutional organisation, which is explained by the formation of the kingdom.

The expansion of the dominion of a patesi into a kingdom, such as the rise of Assyria shows, was possible only if at the time of expansion its princes had a body of efficient soldiers at their disposal. How far that was connected with the immigration of a new population into Ashur and Assyria is beyond our knowledge, though the possibility that such was the case must not be

Sargon and his successors carried on their wars. With such troops, so long as pay and booty were abundant, it was possible to keep the East in subjection; but after a great defeat, and when money was exhausted, a new levy was impossible. The strength of Assyria therefore rested on its army and its population; and, as they changed, so there was a complete alteration in its fundamental constitution. While Assyria could always recover from earlier disasters, in its later condition, as a state completely under Babylonian influence, with a ruling military and sacerdotal caste relying upon a mercenary army, and without the support of a national population, it was destined to disappear and leave no trace.

ASSYRIA IN THE MAKING

The first accounts of the "kingdom" of Assyria, which was founded on conquests, show us the new constitution. A king of Babylon, whose name is not preserved, calls down in an inscription the usual curses upon every successor who refuses him the credit due for a building erected by him. Then he adds, as a sign of the times: "The treasures of Babylon shall come to Suri and Assyria, the King of Babylon shall bring to the Prince of Ashur the treasures of his palace, his goods to the (town of Ashur?)." The prince, not yet the king, of Ashur is the avenging enemy, and the curse was often enough fulfilled in later times.

At how early a period Assyria did come into conflict with Babylon we learn from the fact that Ilu-shuma, one of the earliest known patesis of Assyria, waged war with Su-abu, the founder of the first dynasty of Babylon. The result of the war is not known, but its cause we may probably trace to an early attempt on the part of Assyria to throw off her dependence. The change of dynasty in Babylon, brought about by the incursion of the Western Semites, undoubtedly furnished her with a favourable opportunity to make the



EUNUCH SERVANTS OF ASSYRIAN KING



SECRETARIES OF ASSYRIAN KING
A bas-relief, now in the Louvre, showing the highly Semitised Assyrian type. The clean-shaven figure is a eunuch,

attempt. That it was not permanently successful we may infer from the fact that Ilu-shuma himself, and his successors upon the throne of Ashur, do not claim the title of king, but merely that of patesi. Moreover, Hammurabi included Assyria within his empire, and from one of his letters we may infer that he stationed regular garrisons in the country.

Thus, for a long period after Ilu-shuma's attempt to cast off the yoke of Babylon, Assyria acknowledged her suzerainty, and her rulers termed themselves patesi. The earliest rulers of the country, such as Ushpia, to whom later tradition ascribed the foundation of the temple of the god Ashur, in the city of Ashur, bore the title "priest of Ashur," and this title was also retained by the later patesis. The exact period at which Assyria succeeded in freeing herself permanently from Babylonian tutelage is uncertain, but we may place it with considerable probability in the early Kassite period, when the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi had been brought to an end by the Hittite invasion, and the Kassites themselves were occupied with the conquest and settlement of Northern Babylonia.



ASSYRIAN WAR SCENES FROM THE MONUMENTS OF NINEVEH

EMPIRE ASSYRIA

THE natural aim of Assyria at the period of her use was freedom from the tutelage of Babylonia. We are fortunate enough to possess a record which enables us to follow the development of her relations with Babylon from an early period. When the mutual relations were arranged under Adad-nirari IV, all the former treaties and wars between Babylon and Assyria were enumerated. This record is what it is usually, though otherwise mappropriately, designated a synchronistic history of the relations of the two states. The first lines of the tablet, belonging to the library of Ashurbanipal, on which the document is recorded, have been broken away, its text begins with the treaty between Karamdash and Ashurbel-nishishu, in the fifteenth century B.C. The details of the treaty are not recounted it is merely recorded that both states concluded treaties and mutually fixed the boundaries of their territory Relations We may conclude from this that the contents of the treaty were no longer ascertamable by the archivists of Adad - mrair, there was probably no information on the point beyond the notices upon the royal steles. The same is true of a treaty between Puzur-Ashur, the next king of Assyria referred to, and Burnaburiash I., by means of which we approach the years immediately preceding the Tell el-Amarna period.

The Amarna period includes Ashuruballit, from whom we possess a letter to Amenophis IV. We have also recovered other facts about him, and can by their help follow his line of action. He complains in his letter that preference was shown to the king of Mitani, whose territory, as we have already seen, was coveted by the Assyrians. He alludes also to letters which his father, Ashur-nadin-akhi, had already addressed to Amenophis III. A communication of Burnaburiash to Amenophis IV. demands at the same time that the Assyrian offers to enter into

relations should be declined since Assyria Adad-nitari L, the greatwas his vassal grandson of Ashur-uballit, is able to announce that the toyal greeting of his grandfather had been recognised in distant countries, that is to say, his diplomatic attempts at forming alliances had met with success, notwithstanding

Egypt Recognises

letters of protest by the Babylonians, and he was recognised Assyria by Egypt as an independent king. He was also successful against the kings of Mitani A victory over them by him is recorded, and Nineveh, which was in Tushratta's possession, must have been regained by Ashur-uballit. At Nineveh he added to the temple of Ishtar, the goddess who had formerly been sent to Egypt As regards Babylonia, he followed, under Burnaburiash, or his successor, Karakhardash, the policy of extension of territory by marriage. Karakhardash married his daughter, and their son was Kadashman-kharbe, whose policy and relations to Assyria have been already referred to. We have also seen how the murder of Kadashman-kharbe gave a welcome opportunity to Ashuruballit of interfering in the affairs of Babylonia. It may fairly be assumed that for the rest of his long life he really governed for his infant great-grandson, Kurigalzu.

but lead to friction so soon as the young king of Babylon was grown up and could maugurate a policy of his own. Ashuruballit's successor, Bel-nirari is recorded to have waged a war with Assyrian Guardianship
of Bahylon

Assyrian

Kurıgalzu, in which Bahylonia
was worsted. The arrangement of Babylon of the frontier concerned the "from the borders of Mitani district (Shubari) as far as Babylonia." den-ilu, the next king of Assyria, fought only against northern nations, the Suti, the Bedouins of the plains, and kept in check the invading hordes of Aramæans. His son was Adad-nirari I., about 1300-

This Assyrian guardianship could not

1270. Assyria under him reaped the fruits of the preceding wars. He overthrew the kingdom of Mitani and took possession of Mesopotamia. Babylonia could not quietly stand by and see this. The conflict with Mitani she had relinquished, it is true, to Assyria, but the possession of the country, on account of

Assyria
again
Victorious

declared under Kurigalzu's son, Nazimaruttash, and Assyria was victorious
The frontier between the two countries was fixed by a line which ran roughly from the Sinjar Mountains over the Tigris eastward to the range of Lulum; that is, Assyria was assigned the upper, Baby-

lonia the lower, river territory.

Shalmaneser I, about 1270, completed his father's work. He conquered, in addition, the provinces of Mitani, Khanigalbat. and Musri, lying westward from the Euphrates, and secured Mesopotamia, since he subdued the Aramæans, who were continually expanding in this direction. then advanced in the region between the two streams towards Armenia, and took measures to provide an advance guard in this district by founding Assyrian colonies We may conclude that Assyria still had a vigorous surplus population, which sought some outlet; it was still a land with a peasantry. The settlements of Shalmaneser proved to be full of vitality. Although they received no subsequent support from the mother country, they continued to exist even after these districts had twice been lost by Assyria-in the periods after Tukulti-Ninib I. and after Tiglath-pileser I. When Ashurnasirpal again advanced in the direction of Armenia, about 860 B.C., he found these colonies still there, although the Assyrian settlers had suffered greatly. A further testimony to the strength of the Assyrian powers of expansion is furnished by the

Assyrians as cunefform texts from Cappadocia with the numerous Assyrian names, which, as we have already seen, are to be assigned to a still earlier period.

Ashur, the old capital, was now no longer suited to be the seat of government of the newly expanded kingdom. Shalmaneser therefore removed his court farther up stream to a position on the left bank of the Tigris, which more ade-

quately met the requirements of the new régime. Kalkhi, or Nimrud, in the angle of the Tigris and the Upper Zab, became the new capital. The importance of this place as the capital of Assyria while in possession of Mesopotamia is proved by the fact that on the decay of the Assyrian power Ashur became the capital once more, until, after the fresh rise of the kingdom under Ashurnasirpal, Kalkhi was again selected as the seat of government.

So soon as the Mitani difficulty was settled and the possession of Mesopotamia secured, it was merely a question of choice whether Assyria would wait to be attacked by Babylonia or would take the initiative herself. Assyria was always ready to play the part of the aggressor. Under Shalmaneser war had been already declared, and hostilities were continued under his successor, Tukulti-Ninib. In the reign Bitiliash, Tukulti-Ninib conquered of Babylon, and thus became ruler of the whole of Babylonia From an inscription of his that has recently been discovered we learn that he carried Bitiliash, the Babylonian king, as a captive to Assyria, and then proceeded to appoint his

Once More own officers in Babylon, and establish there his own system Despoiled of administration He also despoiled Babylon of her treasures, and carried away to Assyria the statue of Marduk from Esagila Among the booty which he acquired in Babylon was a seal of the earlier Kassite king, Shagarakti-Shuriash, and on this he added an inscription of his own. The scal was afterwards restored to Babylon, when it was recaptured by Sennacherib during one of his conquests of the city. Sennacherib in turn added an inscription of his own, and, though the seal has not come down to us, we possess a copy of the inscriptions upon it, from which we learn that 600 years separated Tukulti-Ninib's period from that of Sennacherib, a welcome help to us in determining the chronology. In his newly-discovered memorial tablet, Tukulti-Ninib bears, in addition to the title "King of Assyria," those of "King of Karduniash, King of Sumer and Akkad," proving that he actually ascended the Babylonian throne.

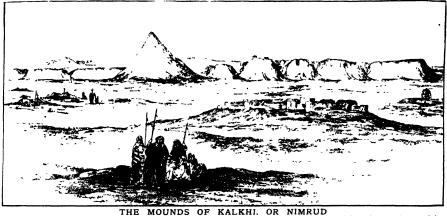
This state of things lasted seven years. Then the nobles of Babylonia rose, drove out the Assyrians and placed Adad-shumusur on the throne. If we compare the

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similar position of affairs at Sennacherib's death and the rebellion at the end of Esarhaddon's time, we have the key to the meaning of what the chronicle, from which we derive these facts, tells us in "Ashurnasirpal, his this connection. son, and the lords of Assyria rebelled, and dethroned him. They besieged him in a house at Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, and slew him with the word." Accordingly we must assume that Tukulti-Nimb, like the later Assyrian kings in a similar position, had allowed his own policy to be affected by Babylonian influence This must have caused dissatisfaction in Assyria, because there was the fear that the more cultured Babylonians would assert their superiority and acquire the chief administrative positions. It was therefore an Assyrian military rebellion

successors, Ashur-narara and Nabu-dan two brothers who reigned concurrently, had during the reign of the Babylonian king, Adad-shum-usur, reduced Assyria to the position it held before its expansion under Ashur-uballit. The tone of a letter from the Babylonian king to the former shows a great departure from the previous terms of courtesy. The pur are not addressed as the "brothers" of the writer, but are sharply reprimanded as subjects. In contrast to this, Adad-shum-usur is described as "king of hosts." Thus Assyria was once more restricted to the "land of Ashur."

There were several attempts of Assyria to recover Mesopotamia. Bel-kudur-usur, who probably succeeded a king named Tukulti-Ashur, fell in battle with Adadnadin-akhi, king of Babylon. His son,



THE MOUNDS OF KALKHI. OR NIMRUD Shalmaneser II. found the position of the old capital of Ashur unsuited to his extended kingdom, and moved his court to Kalkhi, the remains of which are seen here. The pointed mound was the zikkurat of the temple.

against the threatening predominance of Babylonia. Probably the Assyrian revolutionary party had come to an understanding with the Babylonians themselves, and Tukulti-N nib, when expelled from Babylon, found that everything in Assyria was already in the hands of his son. He threw himself, therefore, into his favourite city, built, as we learn from his memorial tablet, by himself after his capture of Babylon, and there he met his death.

If the object of the revolution was a severance from Babylonia, it was very thoroughly realised; for now the struggle could begin afresh, and Mesopotamia, in particular, would be protected against the once more powerful opponent. We know nothing further of this Ashurnasirpal. It appears, however, that he and his

Ninib-apil-Eshara, led the army back to Assyria. There he seems to have withstood a siege of the Babylonians, who afterwards returned to their own land.

Babylonia continued to maintain the supremacy under the son of Melishipak. Merodach-baladan I., for he boasts of a victory over Assyria, under Nimb-apil-Eshara or his son Ashur-dan. His successor, Zamana-shum-iddina, however, received a reverse at the hands of Ashur-dan on Babylonian soil, to the left of the Lower Zab, about 1200 B.C. But Assyria did not win back Mesopotamia by this victory, for, as we have already seen, the successors to the Kassites upon the throne of Babylon still held it. In particular, Nebuchadnezzar I. once again advanced into Palestine. Ashur-dan was

succeeded by Mutakkil-Nusku. His son was Ashur-resh-ishi I, the contemporary and rival of Nebuchadnezzar I. After repeated wars the Assyrian king, according to the "Synchronistic History," is said to have been the victor. He occupied Mesopotamia once more One of his inscriptions records another check to the hordes of Arameans in Mesopotamia as well as successes against the Lulum, and against the Kuti, the peoples of the north.

If Ashur-resh-ishi's activity on this new rise of Assyria corresponds to that exhibited by Adad-nirari I on an earlier occasion, the reign of his successor, Tiglath-piles r I., about 1100 B.C., presents a repetition of the successes and of the downfall of Assyria under Shalmaneser I. and Tukulti-N nib. Once more the first object was to secure Mesopotamia by renewed expeditions northward, and by the reconquest of Khanigalbat and Musii westward of the Euphrates. endeavour to throw light on the incursions of the tribes, which here come into prominence, when we treat ot the Hitti e movement

We have an inscription of Tiglathpileser which deals with his wars in these regions during the first five years of his reign. He first cleared the district north of Mesopotamia by driving back or subduing the encroaching tribes, and advanced toward Armenia, in the district between the two rivers. He thus endeavoiced to secure the very territory which Shalmaneser had once occupied with Assyrian colonists He further subjugated the "Naur country," the district south of Lake Van —that is to say, the highlands between Armenia and Mesopotamia. On one of these campaigns, at the head of the Subnat, or Sebene-Su, one of the sources of the Tigris, he carved his image in the rock near the exit of a natural tunnel through which the stream flows. This image is still preserved, together with a Campaigns short inscription mentioning in three such expeditions into Armenia the Nairi country. He then, like Shalmaneser, checked the Aramæan hordes which had spread over the steppes of Mesopotamia, and drove a part of them over the Euphrates into the territory of Carchemish. He succeeded in crossing the river and took six castles occupied by them in "the territory of the Bishri

mountains." This is the identical district which appears under Shalmaneser II, as the part of Bit-Adini lying to the right of the Euphrates, together with the town of Til-Basheri. It is interesting to note that at the time of the Crusades it was made the tief of Joscelin of Tell-Bashir, the feudal tenant of Edessa. In this district Tiglathpileser also occupied Pitru, in the angle between the Euphrates and Sagur, the Pethor of the Bible, and occupied it with Assyrian colonists. Then, still following the example of Shalmaneser L, he subdued Melitene, or Khanigalbat and afterwards Musii, which was in the hands of the Kumani, and by these victories restored the old Mesopotamian kingdom in its former extent.

An expedition thence brought him actually to Phænicia—At Arvad he went out to sea in order, as a mighty hunter, to be present at the capture of monsters of the deep. He mentions on this occasion an exchange of presents with the king of Egypt, who sent among other things a crocodile—We do not yet know who this Pharaoh was—But we see that intercourse between the two countries was not yet

broken off, and that the Egyp-Ebb of the Assyrian tran kings still had their eyes on Palestine, where Saul and Tide David were forming a kingdom, even if they did not actually interfere with its internal politics. The correspondence between the two kings is not extant. But if it is borne in mind that, only a few years before, these northern districts of Phænicia had been held by Nebuchadnezzar, it may be imagined that besides the exchange of presents weightier issues were at stake, and that the question of fixing then sphere of interest in Palestine had been discussed by the two powers.

Now that the west had been secured, it was naturally the turn of the east to be considered. We thus come to that period of the reign of Tiglath-pileser which recalls the part played by Tukulti-Ninib. The "Synchronistic History" tells us of two successful wars against Marduk-nadinakhe, of Babylon, in which the North Babylonian towns, together with Babylon, had been captured; and a small fragment of Tiglath-pileser's annals relates his entry into Babylon itself. But the rapid rise was followed by an equally rapid fall. Sennacherib found on his capture of Babylon, in the year 689 B.C., statues of gods, which Marduk-nadin-akhe had carried

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away from Assyria "four hundred and eighteen years before, in the time of Tiglath-pileser," and this same Marduk-nadin-akhe bears in one of his inscriptions the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" and "king of hosts." He therefore possessed all Babylonia, and may not improbably have won back Mesopotamia as well. Tiglath-pileser accordingly must have lost everything which had been gained in the earlier years of his reign and in that of his tather. The extent of Assyria is again what it was after the fall of Tukulti-Nind J.

After Tiglath-pileser, his sons Ashurbel-kala and Shamshi-Adad reigned. We must now consider Mesopotamia as under Babylonian supremacy, although this cannot have been very strictly asserted, as is clear from the successful invasion of the Sutu in the reign of Adad-aplu-iddina, From this period onwards there was until recently a gap in our knowledge of almost one hundred years, during which we had no trustworthy information as to Assyria or Babylon. From inscriptions recently recovered at Shergat it is, however, now possible to trace with some fulness the succession of Asserian

kings at this time, though Assyria the data are conflicting as to Without an the exact order of the earlier Empire But concerning the rulers. history of the period information is still lacking. We learn from later accounts of Shalmaneser II, that at this time Ashurirbi must have been king of Assvria. He seems to have made an effort to regain what had been lost, for Shalmaneser mentions that he erected a statue on the This can have been only shore of the sea.

Lake Van or Mediterranean; from the context, probably the latter. According to this view, Ashurirbi, like Tiglath-pileser L. must have reached Phœnicia on an expedition. It must remain undecided whether his statue was among those at Naln-el-kelb, north of Beirut, or whether the place was still more to the north. Another account states Pitru, which was occupied by Tiglath-pileser, was, during his reign, seized by the Ara-



THE SOURCE OF THE RIVER TIGRIS

Assyrian kings on war expeditions seem to have made a practice of cutting inscriptions or representations of themselves at particular spots. Shalmaneser II and others chose a rock at the source of the Tigris, one of the great rivers of Mesopotamia

and the later encroachments of the Aramaeans Assyria once more possessed only the "land of Ashur," and was forced for the third time to begin the reconstruction of her empire. Babylonia itself was indeed no powerful rival at this period, and both countries for the time maintained peace. Ashur-bel-kala and Marduk - shapik - zei - mati concluded a treaty with one another, the Babylonian king going to Assyria for this purpose, as we learn from recently discovered chronicles. When the Babylonian king died, and Adad-aplu-iddina came to the throne, the Assyrian king married his daughter, and received, according to the "Synchronistic History," a rich dowry. Ashurbel-kala was succeeded by his brother Shamshi-Adad.

macaus. This brings us to the movement which has left its mark upon this period.

In addition to the migrations of the Hittites from the north-west, and of the Kassites from the east, Mesopotamia and Babylonia were at this time the object of the third of the Semitic migrations which we have distinguished, namely,

The Third Semitic the Aramæan. We have already seen several times that Assyrian kings, when they occupied Mesopotamia—for example, Arikder-ilu, Shalmaneser L., Ashur-resh-ishi and Tiglath-pileser L.—tried to keep in check the 'Aramæan hordes' which held Mesopotamia, and to drive them back over the river. The country, therefore, as early

as 1300 B.C., had been overrun by these

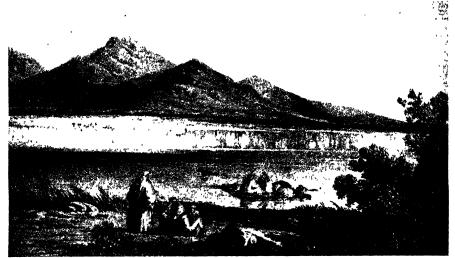
Aramæans, who were still nomads, for

Tiglath-pileser I. expressly describes them as such.

Mesopotamia with its great steppes was the first object of their invasion, and thence they encroached on Babylonia. They thus came from the north, like the "Canaanites" and "Babylonian Semites." We have already seen that they waged successful wars against the Babylonian king, Nabu-mukin-apli, at a period probably soon after their capture of Pitru from the Assyrians, and we have met references to them as "Aramæan tribes" at the time of the Assyrian supremacy in Babylon under Tiglath-pileser IV, and his successors. The advance of the Chaldwans from the south checked their further progress. Besides this, it can be clearly

Thus even in the eighth and the early part of the seventh century the sequence of the Sutu and Aramæans in Babylonia is clearly Just as these tribes first recognisable. came into the country at the time when the Kassites were able to establish their power owing to the weakness of Babylonia, so, after 1100, when neither Assyria nor Babylonia could offer any vigorous resistance to them, their expansion was all the easier. This period covers the abovementioned devastation of Babylonia by the Sutu; and we must also include the advance into Babylonia of the Aramæan tribes which afterward settled there.

At the same time they occupied Mesopotamia, which lay still more open to them. As soon as our sources of information upon



ON THE EUPHRATES, ONE OF THE TWO GREAT RIVERS OF MESOPOTAMIA

traced how the tribes which pushed on before them, and were certainly closely akin to them, hindered their expansion in these districts. These are the Sutu, whom we have found under Ashur-uballit and Kadashman-kharbe still in possession of the Syrian desert. They were forced by the Aramæans toward Babylonia, which we now know they overran and ravaged in the reign of Adad-aplu-iddina, the contemporary of Ashur-bel-kala. They were afterwards driven to the left bank of the Tigris, up to the mountains in the west of Elam, where they still remained at the time of Sargon. Still later, after the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib, in 689 B.C., we find them raiding Babylonia.

the history of Assyria are again available, we find Aramæan settlements there and a predominantly Aramæan population. The language of the land of Suri then became Aramaic, and the terms "Syrians" and "Aramæans," originally completely distinct, became gradually synonymous. We must picture to ourselves that the century after Tiglath-pileser was filled by numerous settlements of this class in Mesopotamia. The Assyrian kings must have offered some opposition to the Aramæan occupation. On the whole, we may conclude that the fortunes of war fluctuated greatly in the struggle, and that its course may be compared to the typical case of the Chaldæans in Babylonia.

THE ASSYRIAN **EMPIRE**

nasirpal

ALTHOUGH Babylon and Assyria were not in a position to protect Mesopotamia against the Aramaan migration. they could still dispute its possession. We have seen that Babylon, after the reign of Tiglath-pileser, was superior to Assyria; and this relation appears to have lasted up to the beginning of the "Chaldæan dynasty." So soon as we again have Assyrian records, this question has already been settled once for all, from this time onward every Assyrian king, to the end of the Assyrian empire, probably included Mesopotamia within the limits of his dominions

The names of the next kings, whose succession is now unbroken, are. Tiglathpileser III., about 950, Ashurdan II., about 930; and Adad-nirari III. With the reign of the last-named, the " Eponym Canon "-- the *limu* list-- begins; this document gives a list of the Assyrian Eponyms, limu, by which the separate years were dated. Henceforth, to nearly the end of the kingdom, each year of Assyrian history can be verified by its limu.

At this period, Mesopotamia has become an integral part of the Assyrian empire, and Harran and Ashur are the capitals of the two divisions of the country. The one

Becomes Assyrian

Mesopotamia division is completely occupied by an Aramæan population, which, even in the old towns, must have caused the same annoyance to the old population as the

Chaldreans did to the Babylonians ; it also uicluded a number of Aramæan states, the princes of which used every opportunity to assert their independence or to win the sovereignty for themselves. Thus near Harran is an Aramaan state, Bit-Adıni, a counterpart to the Edessa of the Crusaders; similarly,

near Babylon is the Chaldwan Bit-Dakuri, and we shall learn of others in the time of Ashurnasirpal. The subjugation of these settlements and tribes formed, therefore, the immediate task of Assyria, which did not intend to be at the mercy of any ambitious prince.

Adad-nirari III. was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninib II., who reigned from 800 to 885. The latter, on an expedition to the "Nairi country" had an inscription carved by the side of that of Tiglathpileser I. at the natural tunnel on the

Subnat. The same thing was also done by Ashurnasırpal and Shalmaneser II., his son and his grandson. Tukultı-Campaigns Nimb was afterwards solicitous of Ashur-

which had been colonised by Shalmaneser and won back by Tiglathpileser. Under Ashurnasırpal their possession was secured.

to secure the districts of Assyria

With Ashurnasirpal, or Ashur-nasir-apli II, who ruled from 885 to 860, our sources of information once more become abundant. We possess several very long inscriptions, which describe his campaigns in detail. He it was who reduced Mesopotamia to order, and put an end to the independence of the Aramaan princes. He abolished the feudal system, and carried out the principle of provincial administration. His accounts of these achievements give us an insight into the conditions of the country.

In 884 B.C., his first full year of sovereignty, an insurrection broke out in the Aramæan state Bit-Khadippi, or Khalupi, on Khabur. Lower There the prince, who was an adherent of Assyria, and therefore been conquered at some earlier period, had killed, and a prince



COLOSSAL LION FROM THE PALA ASHURNASIRPAL AT KALKHI

had been summoned from the adjoining Bit-Adini, near Harran, who was a sworn enemy of Assyria. Ashurnasirpal was on the Euphrates in Kummukh, and he hastened to Bit-Khadippi. While he was on his way the Aramaan princes



A UNIQUE STATUE OF ASHURNASIRPAL This fine statue of one of Assyria's most famous kings is of interest because it is the only statue carved in the round which has been found out of many hundred sculptures.

of Shadikanna, or Gardikanna, and Shuna hastened to show their submission by payment of tribute. On his arrival, Sura, the capital of Bit-Khadippi, submitted, and surrendered its prince, Akhirababa, but did not escape severe punishment.

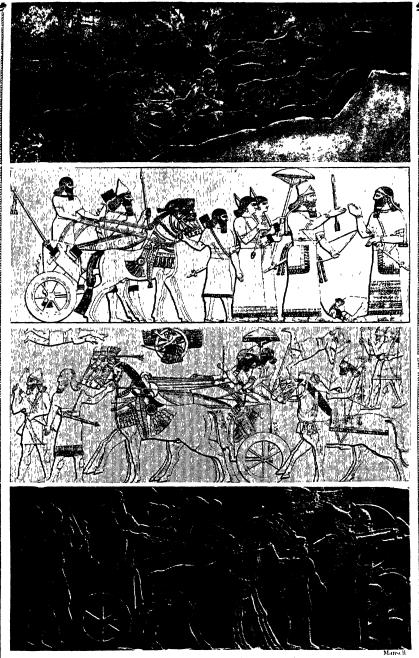
The course of this insurrection is typical of most of the struggles of Assyria with these Aramæans, as with other tribes in a similar position. It a favourable opportunity presented itself, they sought alliance with others, and suspended the payment of tribute, but they seldom offered resistance to an Assyrian army. On the right bank of the Euphrates, beginning with Syria, and extending as far as Babylonia, Ashurnasirpal was acquainted with three such semi-nomadic peoples as a result of the Aramæan immigration—namely,

the peoples of Laki, Khindanu (around the lower reaches of the Khabur), and Sukhi. They were subjugated in various campaigns. We have already seen that Babylonia interfered in the war with Sukhi. Generally speaking, none of these insurrections were undertaken recklessly, but in reliance upon the powerful aid afforded by Babylonia. Babylon was trying thus to regain her influence over Mesopotamia, and abandoned the attempt only when the whole country was subject to Assyria.

The most formidable opponent was the prince Akhuni of Bit-Adini, the Aramæan state which abutted on the territory of Harran and commanded Northein Mesopotamia. Most of the rebellions of the small states on the Khabur were the result of his instigation. Ashurnasirpal, as soon as he had restored tranquility on the Khabur and on the Euphrates turned his arms against him in 878 B.C. Akhuni submitted, as also his ally, Khabini of Til-abnaia. These districts were again traversed in the Syrian campaign of the following year, and tribute was enforced; Akhuni was compelled even to supply



ASHURNASIRPAL AND SERVITORS
From a beautiful painted tile from the king's palace at
Kalkhi. It retains all its colours, even after 2,700 years
troops. At that time Aramæan princes
on the other side of the Euphrates, from
the most northerly part of Syria, paid
tribute. The Aramæan expeditions were
not difficult or costly wars, for the restless
Bedouins had already become pea cable



Ashurnasirpal's reign of twenty-five years was almost one long record of wars. These scenes are from Nineveh bas-reliefs. The one at the top shows the Assyrian army crossing a river, the horses swimning and men in boats or on inflated skins, which they blow out themselves. The next three show the king receiving prisoners, returning triumphant from battle, and directing the operations of a siege from his chariot

peasants and readily submitted to any large army sent against them.

Ashurnasirpal had conducted most of his campaigns in the north against the Nairi country, where his object was to recover and to secure the old possessions of Assyria. In the districts west and south of Mons Masius, the Assyrian colonists who had been ill-Expedition treated by the surrounding to population, and had fled to the Phœnicia mountains, were brought back, and the province of Tushkha was once more secured. In the same part, Tela, which was inhabited by Assyrians and had revolted, was punished with barbarous severity; a like fate befell the disloyal governor Khulai, who had wished to occupy Some other expeditions Damdamusa. were led over the Tigris still farther into the Nairi country. He also advanced on the other side of Arbela toward Lake Urumiya, where the most important countries subdued were Khubushkia, Zamua, and Gilzan.

When, like Tiglath-pileser I., he had attained his immediate object, he undertook an expedition into Phœnicia in 877 B.C. Starting from Bit-Adim, which had been subdued, the king crossed the Euphrates on raits of inflated sheepskins, a method still employed at the present day, and marched on the left bank down stream to Carchemish, "the capital of the Khatti country." Sangara, "king of the Khatti country," paid tribute and furnished his contingent for the army. The Syrian state of Patim, now occupied by Aramæans, which comprised the district north of the lake of Antioch, the so-called Amq, and stretched faither

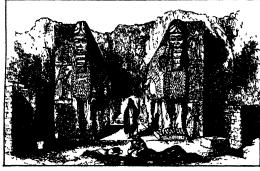
south to the Orontes, a dioined the district of Carchemish on the west. Khazazi was first conquered, and when the Assyrıan army, after crossing the Afrin, advanced to Kunulua, the capital, the king, Lubarna, o r Liburna, submitted, paid tribute, and furthe rest of the campaign. Gusi, prince of the Aramæan state Iakhani, near Arpad. did the same.

The march was continued from Kunulua over the western stream of the Amq, the Kara-su, and then southward, the Orontes being crossed below the lake. Here, in the most northerly hinterland of the Phœnician coast, which had belonged to Patini and was called "Lukhuti," Ashurnasırpal tounded an Assyrian colony, tollowing the example of Shalmaneser I. in Nairi. He then marched farther south along the sea, where a sacrifice was offered to the gods. The spot was probably near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, where one of the weather-worn Assyrian reliefs which may still be seen there may perhaps represent the monument erected by Ashurnasirpal to commemorate his victory. Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, Tyre, and the Amorites in the hinterland sent tribute. Another division had been sent

Triumphs in northward to the Amanus, in order to fell cedar-trees there Phœnicia for buildings in Nineveh. Tyre is the most southern state of which mention is made. The Omri dynasty was then reigning in Israel, and the movements of the Assyrian army must have been watched and carefully followed by it. Ashurnasırpal did not, however, venture to penetrate further, for the more southern districts either paid tribute to Damascus or were under its protectorate. Ashurnasirpal did not venture on a quariel with this powerful state. Since he feared it, he makes no allusion to it in his inscriptions; and he demanded tribute only from such towns and cities as were not subject to the influence of its

king. In other respects the expedition of Ashurnasirpal was nearly a repetition of that of Tiglath-pileser I., which he evidently took as his model.

We must regard the steps taken to secure Mesopotamia as the most valuable result of his reign. As Shalmaneset I. had done before



tribute, and furnished troops for Colossal human-headed winged lions or bulls were set at entrances to Assyrian palaces or temples to grand against evil ownking delities.

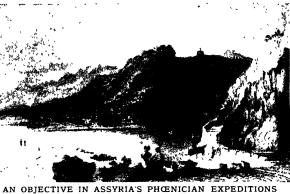
ASSYRIA-THE MIDDLE EMPIRE

him, so he, in accordance with the altered conditions, removed his capital from Ashur once more to Kalkhi, where his palace, the "North-west palace," has been excavated by Layard; he also constructed an aqueduct from the Zab, which brought water to the city.

His successor, Shalmaneser II., who reigned from 860 to 825 B.C., continued the work of his father from . The the point where the latter left off. His success in Babylonia has been already described. In Mesopotamia he confiscated most of the of the conquered # princes Aramæan and placed them under As- o syrian administration; in the north he subjugated the same districts as his tather, and made fresh conquests; finally, in Syria he ventured to attack Damascus, a step which his father had so carefully avoided.

The first years of the el-Kelb, and carved reign of Shalmanesei II were devoted to the affairs of Mesopotamia. In three campaigns, between 859 and 857 B.C., Akhum of Bit-Adimi, who had again rebelled, was defeated, and his territory was forfeited and made a province and partly colonised by Assyrians. A similar fate befellanother Aramaean prince, Gammu, in the Belikh valley in 854 B.C. Thus, all independent government of the Aramaeans in Mesopotamia ceased; they became Assyrian subjects.

For Shalmaneser, as for Ashurnasirpal, the next step after the conquest of Mesopotamia was naturally the occupation of Syria, and, if possible, of Palestine. His father had subjugated the northern part, Patini; it now remained to conquer the state which the former had avoided, and which ruled all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. In 854 Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates near Til-Barsip, which had recently been Akhuni's capital, and was then the seat of an Assyrian governor, and marched in a southerly direction towards Pitru, which had also been retaken from the Aramæans and placed under Assyrian government. There he received the tribute of the Syrian princes, who had voluntarily submitted or had already been reduced to submission. They were Sangar of Carchemish, who in 877 had done homage to Ashurnasirpal; Kundaspi of Kunmukh; Alame of Gusi; Lalli of Melitene—also already tributary to Ashurnasirpal, Khaiani of Gabar-Sam'al; and Kalparunda of Patini and Gurgum—the two latter, in the district of Senjirli, princes of parts of what was formerly



oided.

AN OBJECTIVE IN ASSYRIA'S PHOENICIAN EXPEDITIONS
Oided.

Assyrian kings invading Phoenicia came to the mouth of this river, the Nahrfirst years of the el-Kelb, and caived on the rocks here inscriptions or bas-reliefs of themselves.

Patini. Thence the expedition advanced to Aleppo, which offered no resistance, and Shalmaneser sacrificed to Hadad, the god of the city.

Thence marching in a southerly direction, he reached the sphere of influence of Damascus, the borders of Hamath, where Irkhulini, the prince, was allied

with King Bir-idri of Damascus, Attack or paid him tribute. Bii-idri ao with his army met him near Damascus Karkar in the vicinity of Among the vassals who had to Hamath. obey the call to arms are mentioned: Itkhulmi of Hamath, Ahab of Israel, the princes of Kue or Cilicia, Musri, Irgana, Matin-baal of Arvad, the princes of Usana, Siana, the North Phoenicians, Gindibu of the Arabians, who are first mentioned here. and Ba'sa of Ammon. Shalmaneser, of course, claimed a splendid victory; but the result of the battle was his withdrawal to Assyria and a continuation of the power of Damascus in its full extent. Since in 852-1 Babylonian affairs prevented any immediate renewal of hostilities, no action was taken until the year 840 B.C., when the results were equally trifling. Shalmaneser faied no better in the succeeding year, 848, when he invaded Hamath from the Amanus—

that is to say, from the tributary country of Patini—won a similar "victory," and was obliged to return to Assyria once more without having achieved any real results. Damascus had thus proved to be a well-matched rival; the Assyrian army had to fight against a thoroughly disciplined force, and not against the levies of an uncivilised tribe. Shalmaneser, however, was only incited to greater efforts to overthrow this rival, whose

defeat would secure him all Syria and Palestine. Three years later he undertook another expedition, having this time raised levies " of the land" - that is to say, he recruited his torce among the hardy peasant population of Assyria. But his rival placed an unusually strong torce in the field. and the "victory of Shalmaneser was of the same character. as the earlier ones which his inscriptions record.

He first gamed a definite success when there was a change of sovereigns at Damascus, and he was thus able to win the vassals partly over to his side Biridri was dead, and Hazael had become king of Damascus, meanwhile in Israel a revolution had set Jehu on the throne, and he looked to Assyria for support. Damascus now stood

rainasts how stood entirely alone. We have frequently noticed how the death of a king is the signal for a universal defection of his vassals. Hazael was dependent, therefore, on his own resources. Shalmaneser advanced from the north along the coast, in order to attack Damascus from the side of Beirut, where he had an image of himself cut in the face of the rock near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb.

Hazael tried to bar his passage between Hermon and the Antilebanon, but failed to check him, and was forced to retire behind the walls of Damascus. Shalmaneser besieged the city for some time, but obtained no success. It was not the mud walls of an ordinary provincial town which resisted his battering-rams. He had to be content with laying waste the open country as far as the Hauran, and then to withdraw homeward with the



Elephant and apes from Musri or Bactria



Shawls and vessels from Kalparunda of Patini



Ambassadors of Jehn, king of Israel

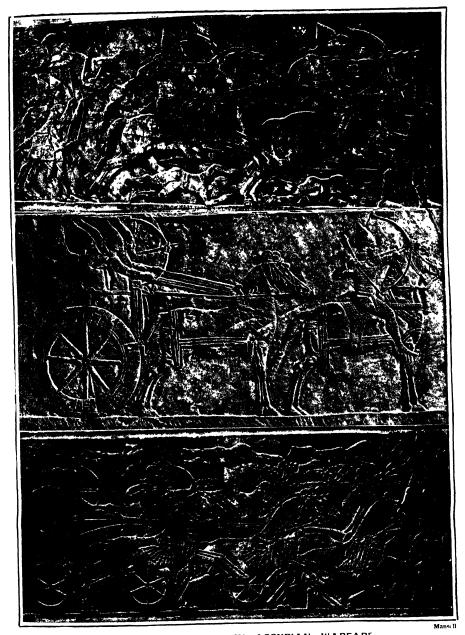


Shalmaneser and ambassadors from G.lzan TRIBUTE TO SHALMANESER IV. Above are represented scenes from the famous Black Obelisk set up by Shalmaneser IV. at Kalkhi, or Niurud

indemnity which Tyre and Sidon always paid, and the homage of Jehu. Even a sixth attempt, ın 839 в.с., met with no better results, and Damascus preserved her independence. The state thus continued to exist which blocked Assyna's road to Palestine. The whole course of Israelitish history was determined by this fact. For the next hundred years Israel and Judah remained under the influence of Damascus, and when finally Damascus fell, in 731 BC, the fate of Ísrael also was sealed

Shalmaneser made no further attack on Damascus after 839, Israel and the rest of Palestine were, therefore, left to themselves to deal with Damascus. Although Cœle-Syria aid Palestine had temporarily escaped the Assyrian power, a further conquest of

Northern Syria and a wider expansion towards Asia Minor remained to be effected. Mehtene, Patini, and Amq had acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy; but now Shalmaneser advanced over the Amanus and into the district of the Taurus. Kue, or Cilicia, had been at first tributary to Damascus; it was now, in 840, 835, and 834, subjugated, and at Tarsus Kirri was made king in the



USE OF THE HORSE IN ASSYRIAN WARFARE

Before the time of Ashurnasırpal the Assyrian army consisted only of the archers, slingers, spearmen, sappers, and charioteers, who have been illustrated in earlier pages. In his campaigns he introduced the horsed archers, shown in the bas-relief from which the top picture is reproduced. A very typical horsed chariot, with driver, archer, and shield-bearers is shown in the middle, while the third represents chariots and cavalry in action in one of Ashurnasirpal's many battles. The vigorous movement which the Assyrian sculptor has suggested in this sculpture is very striking.

room of his brother Kate. To the north ' of the Taurus tribute was demanded from the Tabul, who were governed by their own chiefs, and thus the circle of Assyrian vassal states from Cilicia over the Taurus as far as Melitene was completed.

The district of Malatia (Khanigalbat) formed part of the Armenian highlands, and was, therefore, Against the next object of attack by Urartu a power advancing in that direction. It had been secured for Assyria under Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser, and Ashurnasırpal, who had already conducted campaigns up to Lake Van. Since in the north of this country some approximation to a united state had been achieved in Urartu, with its capital on Lake Van. Shalmaneser made war upon its kings. By 857 he had once more marched through the districts south of the Upper Euphrates, namely, Alzı, Zamanı, and Anzıtene, and on the other side of the Arsanias Sukhme and Daiaeni, which had been subject to his predecessors, Shalmaneser I. and Tiglath-pileser. He invaded the territory of Urartu from this point, and King Arame withdrew into the interior. A statue of Shalmaneser was erected near Lake Van, and the march continued through the eastern passes past Gilzan and Khubushkia to Arbael. New expeditions were undertaken in 850 and 845 B.C.; and during these latter the inscriptions of Shalmaneser at the tunnel on the Subnat were probably carved.

Meanwhile, that change of monarchy in Armenia must have occurred which brought to the throne the powerful dynasty that had its seat at Turushpa on Lake Van-the modern Van-and from that centre founded the mighty kingdom of Urartu. This state caused much trouble to the kings of Assyria in the succeeding years, and contested with them the supremacy in Syria. The defection

of Lalla of Malatia in the year Armenian 837 is certainly to be traced Influence to the efforts of these kings. in Syria Four years later an Assyrian army was sent to the Arsanias in order, it would seem, to reoccupy the districts of Sukhme and Daiaeni, which are situated on its right bank; Sarduri I., the new king of Urartu, was therefore clearly advancing. In 829 a new expedition, this time from the other side, was attempted through the passes of Gilzan and Khu-

bushkia. Musasir, a state to the southwest of Lake Urumiya, was sacked, and a part of Urartu met the same fate. But the Assyrians did not obtain any decisive results here; on the contrary, the power of the new state grew continually during subsequent years, and from the time of Adad-nirari onward Assyria was ousted more and more from these regions. The kings of Urartu encroached on Mesopotamia and Syria, until they were driven back to their highlands under Tiglathpileser IV.

While Ashurnasirpal's frontier on the east and south-east had been the Zab, Shalmaneser advanced against the districts between Lake Urumiya and the plain of the Tigris, which had often in earlier times been subject to the Assyrian supremacy, but were now more influenced by Babylon. In 860 B.C. an expedition was made into the passes of Holvan, and in 844 a similar one to Namii, the south-western districts of Media. An advance was made in 836 against the prince of Bit-Khamban, who had been installed there, then the march was continued farther northward to Parsua, on the east of Lake Urumiya. Here chiefs of the Medes, who are mentioned

for the first time in this con-Extending nection, brought their tribute, the Eastern when the advance was con-Frontiers tinued in a southerly direction to Karkar east of Holvan. The districts of Kirkhi and Khubushkia, which lay to the south of Lakes Van and Urumiya, and had been already traversed by Ashurnasirpal, were also subjugated, and the Mannai, on the western shore, as well as Gilzan, to the north of Lake Urumiya, were punished.

Shalmaneser's successes in Babylonia have been spoken of in the section on Babylonian history. The close connection with Babylonia and the growth of its influence caused the great rebellion which broke out toward the end of his reign. The peasant class of Assyria must have suffered by the wars, while Babylonia, as the seat of the hierarchy, was able to exert a strong influence upon the priestly and religious classes. Almost the whole of Assyria and the Assyrian provinces, headed by the former capital, Ashur, which had naturally lost much by the change of royal residence, now revolted. Of the important towns, only the capital, Kalkhi, and Harran, the chief city of Mesopotamia, where Shalmaneser had built the temple of Sin, remained loyal;

ASSYRIA-THE MIDDLE EMPIRE

and it would appear that Shalmaneser found a refuge in Northern Babylonia, which indeed belonged to him. The leader of the rebellion was Ashur-danin-apli, Shalmaneser's son, who maintained his position tor at least six years (829-824), and at this time probably bore the title "King of Assyria," since he was in possession of the ancient capital.

Shalmaneser died in 825 B.C., and his son, Shamshi-Adad IV., who at first only possessed Mesopotamia, at length succeeded in subduing Assyria between 825 and 812. An inscription of his, which has been recovered, furnishes an account of his career to his fourth campaign, which was directed against Babylonia. The first expedition he records was to Nairi, and in connection with it he refers to the homage offered him by the entire Assyrian empire from its northern to its southern frontiers, and from the eastern frontier as far as the Euphrates. The second campaign was directed against the Nairi country, through the district between Lakes Van and Urumiya, in the course of which a part of Urartu was laid waste. The third expedition advanced in the same direction, and then was led further to the territory of the Mannai, and round Lake The

Chronicle

Urumiya up to Parsua, thence it went in a south-easterly direction through Media, probably to Holvan. A large number of Median districts are enumerated in the account of this campaign. The fourth campaign was that against Babylon; the narrative breaks off after recording Shamshi-Adad's victory over Marduk-balatsu-iqbi.

From the reign of Shamshi-Adad onward, we possess a new source of information which serves as an invaluable guide for the following period . a fragment of it actually deals with the beginning and the end of the reign of Shalmaneser II. This is the Eponym Chronicle, a Limu list, to which short notes are added recording the most important event of each year, usually a campaign; it is especially valuable for the ensuing period down to Tiglath-pileser IV., from which we have few other inscriptions. We possess some short inscriptions by Adadnirari IV., between 812 and 783 B.C., which give a general survey of his campaigns, and are supplemented by the accounts of the Eponym Chronicle. On the whole, they represent him as continuing the conquests of his predecessors, or of winning back territories which had become rebellious. He made hardly any important conquests. Among countries in the east which were subject to him he mentions Ellipi (bordering on Elam), also Karkar and Araziash up to Parsua, known from the time of Shalmaneser, and Andia, adjacent to Parsua, on the north-

east. He also received tribute Tributes to from Median chiefs. Assyria's expeditions to Khubushkia Power and the Nam country are enumerated, and two to the territory of the Mannai. He did not, however, venture on a further advance against Urartu, which continued to develop its power. He met with some successes in Syria. In 806 and 805 expeditions to Arpad and Azaz are mentioned, and in 707 another to a Syrian town, Mansuate. We may connect with these expeditions the notice that Mari, king of Damascus, paid tribute; perhaps the accession of a new king at Damascus Adad-nirari also mentions was the cause among tributary states, Tyre and Sidon, Israel, which thus still held to Assyria, and Edom and Philistia, which last were recent additions to the empire. This list points to a preponderant Assyrian influence in Palestine, and thus to a decay of the power of Damascus. As long as Ďamascus remained independent, it was always a bulwark for all districts lying south of it. Adad-nitari's relations to Babylonia have been already described in an earlier section.

For the following period we have no more royal inscriptions, and are, therefore, entirely dependent on the accounts of the Eponym Chronicle. The lack of inscriptions in itself points to a period of weakness, and this is confirmed by the facts which we are able to establish. On the whole, for the next forty years, the kings of Assyria were fully occupied with the task of retaining the territory that had been won. Indeed, in this they were not always successful, for we shall see that in

the revival of prosperity under Tiglath-pileser much had first to be won back again. This is especially true of the territories which lay within the sphere of the new kingdom of Urartu. Assyria, when once she ceased to attack, was herself attacked; hence the changed attitude of Armenia, where the kings, especially Menuas, extended their power toward the south, and deprived Assyria of the Nairi country as well as the districts

of Northern Assyria. Shalmaneser III., who reigned between 783 and 773 B.C., was obliged to wage defensive wars, principally against Urartu; no fewer than six of his ten campaigns were directed against the incessant encroachments of this rival. There does not seem to have been so much lost toward the east, on the borders of

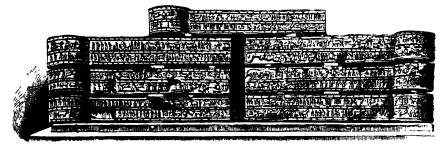
Aggression of Media, for there he had to deal mostly with barbarian states without a firm organisation. Expeditions are recorded to Namri in 749 and 748, and one in 766 against the Medes.

The next king was Ashur-dan III., from 773 to 755 B.C., who conducted several campaigns in Syria; the first in 773, against Damascus, the second against Khatarikka, to the north of it. He twice marched into Babylonia, in 771 and 767; and we may therefore conclude that he attempted to oppose the Chaldwans there. In the second half of his reign his kingdom was convulsed by a shock which was destined to destroy the fabric of tributary states so laboriously reared. A rebellion broke out in the year 763 B.C., which in succeeding years continued to spread from place to place, and must gradually have affected a large portion of the empire. The Eponym Chronicle puts before this year— the year when the chronicle records the solar eclipse, which forms a fixed point in ancient chronology—a mark of division, as at the beginning of a new reign, for, since the rebellion broke out in Ashur, a rival king was probably proclaimed there.

What the actual cause of the revolt may have been is not stated, but it is not difficult to conjecture, since the rebellion

started in the ancient capital of the empire. If we reflect how Tiglath-pileser chose Kalkhi again as a residence, and Sargon, on the contrary, restored the privileges of Ashur, we may conclude that the movement originated with the priesthood, whose privileges were infringed by the removal of the royal residence. The rebellion was suppressed, it is true; but the next king, Ashur-mian, from 754 to 746 BC., seems to have been subject to the influence of its promoters, for the first act of his reign was the removal of the court back to Ashui in 754, if this change had not already taken place in the reign of Ashur-dan himself. The act signified a victory of the hierarchy over the source of Assyria's strength, the army. The monarchy, by ignoring the wishes of the latter, the only support of its power in Assyria, voluntarily weakened its position in 754 B c

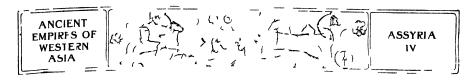
Ashur-nirari reigned eight years, to each of which (with one excep-Priesthood tion) the note "in the land" is Destroys appended in the Eponym the Empire Chronicle that is to say, the king remained in Assyria and no expedition was undertaken in that year However, for the last year, 746 B.C., the chronicle records, " rebellion in Kalkhi" the course of the following year Tiglathpileser IV, mounted the throne. We possess inscriptions of his which show that he resided in Kalkhi, and was not of the royal stock We may therefore conclude that he was placed upon the throne by a military rebellion in Kalkhi Ashurniran, who resided at Ashur under the influence of the priesthood, was the last king of his house



SCULPTURED HINGES OF THE GATES OF SHALMANESER'S PALACE

Two of the gates to the palace of Shalmaneser IV., at Balawat, had broad hinges of bronze, the bands of which ran across the gates. They were embossed and engraved with scenes from the many campaigns of the king.





THE NEW EMPIRE OF ASSYRIA

WITH Tighth pileser IV—who ruled from 745 to 728 BC—thesh epoch of Assyrian history opens—a new cra of properity which rused Assyria to the supremitely in Neurer Asia—He really lud the foundations of the glory of As viti. This is the ge when Assyria subdued Damiseus and Pulestine—and thus interfered in the history of that small people whose sacred looks precived the name of A syria for two thousand years when other records of its history by lunch in the curth—and no one even look what linguage had been polen by the clords of Neurer Asia.

We mit disting in a three theatres of will in the reign of Tighth pile of I ilybinia where his successes have been thready de tiled the North where he had to fight with the now powerful traftic in all Syria Palestine where Dimiscus for fir firm leng crushed had on the contrary been able in the contrary been able in the meter dot As yrias well in the firm the jumits trength and had not the list will in 77 discontinued the jument of tribute.

After the Bubylonian compagn in his first year 7451 (in Linother in Western Media in the following you will wis legun in 742 is inst Sirduri II of Aimenia. The latter had in the mean time made continual advances had subluc l Meliter and Kummukh or Com magene in Leven Guisumi the northern jut of the former Piting in I had compelled their kinss to pay tribute to him and not to A syrra. He had then entered into friendly relations with Matril of Agust who had either already o cupied Aipil in expedition had been sent there in 754 or wished to do so in order to found a kingdom there for himself According to the I ponym Chronicle Liglath pileser was actually near Arpad and was therefore marching against Matr ıl, when an Armenian army under Surduit invided Mesopotumia. It was defeated in the country of Kummukh Suduri was pursued to the bridge of the I u phrates the boundary of his land

thus a check was put for a time on his advance towards Mesopotamia operations, igainst him had to be deterred until a later occasion — The three following years were filled up by expeditions Matril must therefore to Arpad have shown a vigorous resistan e his fall most of the Syman princes paid tribute n imely Kustaspi of SVEIR Kummukh and Lirkhulii of under Gurgumi who thus Tribute trom Urutu Risunnu of Di ma us Huam of Tyre the prince of Kue and Pisiris of Curchemi h Assyria s supremacy r Syrra was therefore restored in these three years while the influence of Unitu was destroyed. Only a part of Pitini Unqi-thit is Amq together with the cipital Kinalia of Kunulua offered reastance its prince Lutammu lost lu throne and this part of the country Lecime in As vitan province

The next year saw in expedition to Ullula one of the Nami countries dso was placed under in As yiran gov The object of this movement was naturally to strike a blow at Armenia from which this territory had been taken On the side of Armenia the country was secured by fortiesses against attack 7,8 BC mother expedition was made to one of the districts of Patini prince of Liudi close by Senjuli had icvolted his town Kullim wa taken This event threw its shadow is far as Israel and Judah where Isarah held up the conquest of **K**alno as a warning A number of North to the Lews Phonician districts — the same region where once Ashurnsirpal had Assyria founded his Assyrian colony Ari Phœnicia bua and which now belonged to Hamath had joined Azriau and incurred the penalty of being annexed The Assyrian province of Simaria was constituted out of them, and stretched from the Orontes to the district of Gebal but did not include that city or Arvad, which remuned independent. This new Phænician province which received fresh

additions in the year 733, was assigned to Shalmaneser, son of Tiglath-pileser. In this way part of the "foreland" of Damascus became Assyrian. Damascus itself, as well as the remaining Syrian and Phœnician states, Kummukh, Carchemish, Samal, Gurgumi in Amq, Hamath, Kue, Gebal, Tyre, and Menahem of Israel, paid Tribute; the last, as may be assumed from the biblical Arabia narrative, did so only when a part of his dominions had been taken away from him. The wider circle of the tributary states which had once been bound to Shalmaneser—namely, Melitene, Kasku, Tabal, and the principalities of Cappadocia and Cilicia—paid tribute once more. The Assyrian king, as the feudal lord of Damascus, received presents from Zabibi, queen of the Arabians.

In the years 737 and 736 B.C. expedi-

tions were led to Media and Naiii, with the object of completely crushing the influence of Urartu; and in the ensuing year this great rival was finally attacked in his own country. Urartu was traversed. Tiglathpileser besieged citadel Turushpa, or Van, but without sucbe contented with

erecting a royal statue there in view of the besieged. He annexed the southern part of Urartu, and united it to the province of Nairi. He thus struck an undemably heavy blow at Urartu, and placed a strong obstacle in the way of any renewed advance by fortifying the frontier provinces. Urartu's dominion over Syria and Nairi was thus ended. But the country did not entirely relinquish its schemes of conquest until its power was broken up by Sargon, and at the same time a dangerous antagonist appeared on the other side in the Cimmerians.

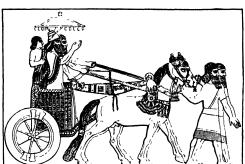
Damascus had continued to pay tribute. But it is always noticeable that the position of tributary to Assyria was never permanent. On the one hand, the sums exacted were so large that only force could wring them from the feudal princes;

on the other hand, the conditions formed a constant incentive to revolt as soon as there appeared to be any prospect of success. Very often also there may have been an intention on the part of Assyria to force tributary states into revolt, in order to have a pretext to annex them as provinces; we may compare the policy of the Romans toward their socii. year 734 saw an expedition to Philistia, where Ascalon was brought under Assyrian rule. We have already noted that all Palestine was obliged to follow the destinies of Damascus. Soon afterwards, however, Damascus seems to have shaken off the yoke. The pretext for interference was given by the appeal for help of Ahaz of Judah, whom Rassunu, or Resin, and his vassal Pekah were besieging in Jerusalem, in order to force him to join an alliance aimed against Assyria. Tyre

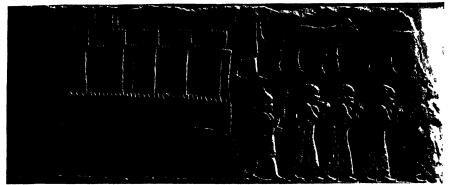
was also privy to it, and there seem to have been hopes of help from Egypt In the year 733 B.C. Tiglath-pileser arrived before Damascus. In Israel, Pekah. on the approach of the Assyrians, fell a victim to a revolt of the Assyrian party, and in his place Hoshea, the

leader of this party, was appointed king. This opportune outbreak deprived Tiglathpileser of an excuse for annexing the country, and thus a respite of ten or twelve years was purchased, after which this destiny was to be fulfilled. Damascus, as on previous occasions, offered a stout resistance; but it fell at last, and became an Assyrian province in 732 B.C. Israel, whose territory even before

Israel Bounded by this had been much curtailed, was now directly bounded by Assyria an Assyrian province: the state which had hitherto dominated it in the sphere of politics, and had been its leader in the development of culture, was administered by an Assyrian governor. also, which had joined in the cause, made peace on the approach of an Assyrian army; a rich trading town, it was well able to pay tribute.



TIGLATH-PILESER IV. IN HIS CHARIOT cess, and had to the supremacy in Western Asia and laid the foundations of its glory



TIGLATH - PILESER REMOVING SPOIL FROM A CAPTURED CITY

Muncil
The seventeen years' reign of Tiglath-pileser IV. was almost entirely taken up with his three series of campaigns in Babylonia, Armenia, and in Syria and Palestine, in all of which he was successful. Bas-relief in British Museum.

The next years were devoted to the conquest of Babylonia and Babylon. which has already been described. Tiglath-pileser reigned for two years as king of Babylon, in the year 728 he died, and was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser IV., who reigned from 727 to 722 BC. His reign is merely a continuation of that of Tiglath-pileser, whose policy he seems to have followed consistently. We do not possess any detailed inscriptions of his time. Samaria, in his reign, found itself compelled once more to suspend payment of tribute, but the expected help from Egypt was not forthcoming, and after a three years' siege the town was captured and made the seat of an Assyrian governor. The Assyrian frontier now ran a little north of Jerusalem.

Shalmaneser died before the fall of Samaria, so that its capture was effected by his successor, Sargon. Sargon, like Tiglath-pileser IV., was the founder of a new

dynasty; he had been made king by a reaction against that movement which had brought the former to the throne. His account of the measures of his predecessors, which he superseded, throws light upon the nature of this movement, of which we have already found traces in the revolutions of Ashur-danin-apli and of the year 76; B.C.

Tiglath-pileser had, according to this account, endeavoured to restrict the excessive influence of the priesthood and the favoured position of the great cities.

These had possessed the most extensive privileges and had enjoyed immunity from almost every burden. If we consider the fact that the greater part of the land belonged to them, we shall realise that the national revenue must have diminished more and more, and we shall understand why the Assyrian kingdom, in the end, became so impotent. Even the attitude



EVACUATION OF A CITY CAPTURED BY TIGLATH - PILESER

Mansell
An interesting bas-rellef, now in the British Museum, showing Assyrian scribes taking account of the spoil, and
women and children being removed in bullock-carts. Note the disussed battering-ram against the wall at the late.

of the Assyrian kings towards Babylonia was regulated by their views upon this subject. Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal acted energetically; Sargon and Esarhaddon favoured Babylon, where the system of privileged priests and towns flourished, to which this weakness was due. Tiglath-

to which this weakness was due. Tiglathpileser and Shalmaneser tried to Town put an end to it, and in so doing versus they must have relied to some Country extent upon the peasant class, or what was left of it. Obviously we need not for that reason regard them as benefactors of the "small man;" they were concerned only in having subjects that could pay their taxes and perform their duties. They understood, however, that a monarchy which was propped upon the towns and the priesthood could maintain its existence only so long as it had advantages to offer them.

Henceforward we can trace how the two parties in Assyria worked against each other. Evidence of the struggle may be seen in the series of forcible depositions of the reigning king. It is obvious that a rapprochement of the privileged towns and temples was in reality no benefit to the country population. The real point at issue was indeed the contrast between country and town. but the country was mainly represented by the nobility, who to some extent had the army at their disposal. Tiglathpileser and Shalmaneser were thus under their influence. Sargon, elevated to the throne by a reaction, favoured the towns and temples, to which he restored then privileges. Sennacherib, again, represented the interests of the nobility and army, as is shown by his attitude towards He was murdered, and the Babylon Babylonian hierarchical party won the day with Esarhaddon. A revolution broke out when Esarhaddon wished to secure the power to his son Shamash-shum-

Nobility
and the
Hierarchy
were the determined the course of Assyrian Instory;
on Tiglath-pileser's accession they had produced a sharply defined and conscious opposition.

Thus, in the year 722 B.C., when Shalmaneser died, we suddenly find Sargon on the **Abrone.** He was unable to point to any

royal ancestors; but he became the progenitor of the royal house under which Assyria reached the zenith of her power, and then rapidly sank. In domestic affairs his reign was the counterpart to that of Tiglath-pileser, while his foreign policy was dictated by the desire to continue the operations of the latter and to execute the schemes which he had been compelled to leave unfinished. We have already seen that his instrument for carrying out these operations differed from that of his predecessors; henceforth the Assyrian army consists of mercenaries collected from every country and province -completely at the disposal of the king so long as he can provide them with pay and booty, but immediately refusing to fight if these are not forthcoming. From Sargon's time onward the "royal" army is the instrument by which Assyria keeps the East in subjection. The sovereign power in Assyria has therefore devolved on the administration-which, according to Oriental custom, is equivalent to the extortion —of the nobility and priesthood; an Assyrian people, to whom Shalmaneser I and Ashurnasirpal had assigned land in the Peasant conquered provinces, no longer exist. If the king now wishes Class to occupy a conquered province Extinct with new settlers, he meet the difficulty by exchanging the populations of two provinces situated at different ends of the empire The peasant class in Assyria was extinct, there were only the great landed estates of the nobility or of the temples, cultivated by

slaves or paupers.

The military operations of Saigon, since they were in continuation of his piedecessor's plans, were carried out in the same regions, we have once more to do with wars in Babylonia against Chaldaca and Elam, or in Urartu for the possession of the northern districts, or in Palestine, where he sought to extend his dominion.

We have already described Sargon's successes in Babylonia. In Palestine, as we have just noted, the annexation of Samaria and the "carrying away of the Ten Tribes," which make the name of Sargon of interest to readers of the Bible, were merely results of the siege under Shalmaneser. Hamath, north of Damascus, in Syria, had hitherto avoided this fate by the regular payment of its tribute. But it became acquainted with the "good will" of Assyria in 7,38, when the revolted

towns of Hamath were not given back, but were added to the province of Simirra. Great hopes had been centred on the change of the king in Assyria; thus we now find, in 720, in place of the pliant king Eni-il, a "peasant," laubidi, on the thione and in open hostility to Assyria. He was allied with Hanno of Gaza, who must have submitted to Tiglath-pileser. Both clearly rested their hopes on Egypt. The newly constructed provinces of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria joined the cause The greater part, therefore, of Syria and Palestine tried to free themse'ves from the builden of tribute or of service under the Assyrian voke. the alies could not decide on combined action, a usual detect in such confederations of petty states. Hamath was con-

quered and constituted a pro-Hanno, vince. who sought to capture Gaza, was defeated near Raphia, on the southern frontier of the territory of The re-Gaza. volted provinces were reduced without difficulty, and tranquillity again restored in Syria and Palestine

Sargon could now turn his attention to his third remaining oppo-

nent, Urartu. Rusas I was again active, and attempted to extend his influence to Northern Syria, and in the east to the Median frontier states, and he appaiently found ready listeners. Thus Sargon's next task, like that of Tig'ath-pileser in his day, was the subjugation of these disloyal vassa's.

In 719 B.C. two towns of the Mannai, on the western shore of Lake Urumiya, whose king supported Assyria against Urartu, were punished because they had gone over to the tribe of the Zigirtu, which was frendly to Urartu; the same lot befell other towns which had seeded to Urartu. In 718 B.C. one of the princes of Tabal, Kiakki of Shinukhtu, was carried prisoner to Cappadocia, and his dominions given to a loyal neighbour, Matti of Atun.

In 717 B.C. Carchemish fell, which had regularly paid its tribute since the days of Ashurnasırpal. The annoyances of Assyria must have exhausted the patience of this wealthy town and driven it to a war of desperation. It had vainly looked for help to the ruler of the former territory of the Khatti in Asia Minor Mita of Muski, as Sargon calls him—that is to say, Midas of Phiygia. Pisir's was the last king of Caichemish, and the last relic of the Khatti rule in Syria became thenceforth an Assyrian province.

The years 716 B.C. and 715 brought wars in the east of Urartu, where Rusas meanwhile had made especial efforts to gain Mannai for himself by force; he had thus abandoned Syria and had turned more to the east. There he succeeded,

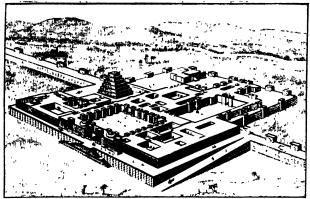
by stirring up disputes about the throne, in obtaining the sceptre for Ullusunu, a prince favourable to him. But before the party of Urartu ĥad won a firm footing, Sargon appeared and forced the king to do homage, and his example was followed by the Prince of Nairi and other chiefs of those regions. In 714 war was made against Urartu itself. Sargon ad-



SARGON WITH HIS VIZIER AND ATTENDANT Sargon was a king of Assyria, of non-royal descent, who reached the throne as the result of a revolt of the priestly reactionaries

vanced from Mannar past Musasir, the conquest of which he has represented in his palace, towards Lake Van, while he devastated the country along his line of march. According to Sargon's account, Rusas committed suicide, but, in an inscription of Rusas himself at Topsana, in the district of Rowanduz in Kurdistan, it is recorded that he restored the deposed king of Musasir, and afterwards led his armies as far as the mountains of Assyria.

It would thus seem that Sargon's conquest of Urartu was not so complete as he would make it appear. However, from this time onward the power of Urartu was broken, for it had now to fight for its existence with a new enemy on its northern frontier, whom we have already mentioned—the Cimmerians.



THE GREAT PALACE OF SARGON AT KHORSABAD

A reconstruction of the great palace erected by Sargon at Khorsabad, north of
Nineveb. It was built on an artificial eminence of brick and overlooked the city

Assyria had, it is true, got rid of a rival, but by so doing she had weakened the bulwark which formed her natural protection against the danger now threatening from the migration of Aiyan peoples. Henceforth the Assyrian generals in the northern frontier provinces carefully watched the struggles of Urartu with the Cimmerians and other alhed tribes, and under Esarhaddon these already began to menace Assyrian territory.

Many districts of the former Patini in Syria had already been annexed; and, under Sargon, Gurgumi with its capital Marqasi, or Marash, shared the same fate. Even Kue and some Cappadocian districts, among them Kammanu, corresponding to the orimer Musri, as well as Mel tene and Kummukh, became Assyrian provinces after unsuccessful at-

tempts at rebellion by their princes. This marked the greatest extension of Assyria in the north-west. Toward the end of Sargon's reign the Governor of Kuc actually undertook an expedition over the Taurus in order to check Mita of Muski, or Midas of Phygia, who was at empting to advance against Assyria in hat region and on the Halvs.

When Sargon had seized Babylon, he received the presents of seven Greek "kings" of Cypr an towns. This is the first ascertainable contact with "Ionians." Those who paid homage on this occasion were princes of the western part of

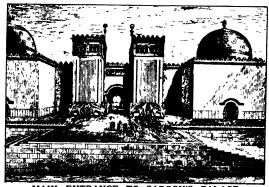
Cyprus, who sought assistance from Assyria in their efforts to expel the Phœnicians of Tyre from the eastern part of the island.

In Southern Palestine an isolated case of refusal to pay tribute was that of Ashdod. This incident is noteworthy from the allusion to it in Isaiah, chapter xx. We can imagine with what hopes and fears men in Judah had followed this rebellion in their immediate Indeed, Judah, vicinity. according to Sargon's account, took part in it with Moab and Edom, without letting matters go so far as

open resistance, when an Assyrian army conquered Ashdod and founded an Assyrian colony there.

In the east, Elam, after the expulsion of Merodach-baladan, had not been able to assert her influence in Babylonia. The quarrel between the two rival states showed itself in a dispute as to the throne, which occurred in the borderland of Ellipi, where two hostile brothers sought support, the one from Elam, the other from Sargon. After the former, Nibi, had driven out his brother Ispabara with Elamite assistance, Sargon was obliged to restore the latter to the throne.

Toward the end of Sargon's reign his great palace, which he had caused to be built to the north of Nineveh at the foot of the mountains, was finished and solemnly taken possession of. The royal residence was thus removed from Kalkhi.



aid homage on this occasion were MAIN ENTRANCE TO SARGON'S PALACE
This fine gate, which can be seen in the bird's eye view of the whole palace given above, suggests the magnificence of an Assyrian palace.

ASSYRIA—THE NEW EMPIRE

But Sargon had been raised to the throne by the party which formerly had their headquarters in Ashur. Since, however, Ashur itself was not adapted from its position to be the seat of government, Sargon founded a new capital of his own, Dur-Sharrukin, the "castle of Sargon," or Khorsabad, on the model of his legendary prototype, Sargon of Agade, whose name he, indeed, adopted on his accession: "Sargon the second" he was called by his loyal scribes. The inscriptions and sculptures from the palace of Dur-

Sharrukın — excavated by Botta in the years 1842 1845 are the chief authorities for the history of his reign. Sargon's death took place in the year 705. We have no particulais concerning it, though it appears from a reference to it by Sennacherib that he met with a violent end and "was not buried in his house," that

is to say, no proper burial was accorded to him. This can only mean that he fell fighting with barbarians, as Cyrus did. Such baibarians were almost exclusively to be found on the northern frontier of his empire, among the Indo - Germanic tribes, the Cimmerians and "Scythians." It

may, therefore, have been in a war with one of these peoples that Sargon met his death. The song in Isaiah, chapter xiv, 4-21. referred in later times to the death of a king of Babylon, may have been originally composed on Sargon's unexpected death. The hopes therein expressed were, to some extent, realised, for Palestine and Phœnicia attempted a great rebellion.

Sanherib, or Sennacherib, who reigned from 704 to 681 B.C., was first occupied in Babylonia and with an expedition to the

Zagros in 702; there he chastised the Kashshu, a remnant of the old Kassites which had preserved their independence and the Iasubigalla. Then, in 701, he turned to Palestine.

Two princes in particular were the soul of the revolt there—Luli of Tyre and Hezekiah of Judah. The former was "king of the Sidomans." He possessed Tyre and Sidon, with a territory which began south of Beirut and extended to Philistia, in addition, the east of Cypius belonged to him, with the most important town.

Kition. We have already seen that the west of the island was in the possession of "Ionians," and joined Assyria through ennuty to the Phænicians. Hopes had also b^r en entertained of Merodach - baladan, but he had been quickly driven out; and promises of support had also been received from Egypt. Heze

> kıalı was leader of the revolt here owing to the fact that the anti-Assyrian party in Ekron, a town of Philistia,deposed King Padı, who favoured Assyria, and gave him up to Hezekiah. Such was the state of affairs which had arisen between 705 and 702.

ns, were bricks enamelled with a cherib set out in the year 701 and marched along the coast of Phoenicia it again appeared that each of the confederated states had counted on an annihilation of the dreaded tyrant by the others: there was no combined resistance. The Phoenician

tyrant by the others: there was no combined resistance. The Phœnician states, Arvad and Gebal, paid tribute; the same thing was done by the southern states of Philistia, as well as by the neighbours of Judah—Ammon, Moab, and Edom. Luli surrendered Sidon and fled to Cyprus, where he died soon afterwards. The only



Bricks from the gate of the palace enamelled with coloured representations of winged Assyrian deities.



Dacorations of Sargon's Palace
A favourite decoration with the Assyrians, and practically the only
decoration used by the Babylonians, were bricks enamelled with
bright colours, so lasting that they are now still vivid and clear.

resistance was offered by Tyre, which Sennacherib besieged in vain, and by Hezekiah. Sennacherib installed a new king, Ithobal, at Sidon, so that the "Sidoman" kingdom was agam broken up into its two component parts. Then he marched southward to Judah, where Hezekiah, trusting to the approaching Egyptian help, was persevering Siege in his resistance. He conοſ guered Ekron, defeated the re-Jerusalem heving army, which consisted of troops of the "princes of Musri, or Egypt, and the king of Melukha," and gradually took forty-six fortified places in Judah. He then appeared before the capital and closely invested it. But the besieged held out, trusting to the disorders which were expected to break out in Babylonia; in the end, Sennacherib had to withdraw without capturing Jerusalem itself. The independence of Judah was saved for the time being. Hezekiah, however, forfeited the greater part of his territory, for the conquered towns were divided among his neighbours, and he himself lost no time in again offering his submission.

After the destruction of Babylon in 689, Sennacherib was able to turn once more to Some petty wars had meanwhile occurred in Cappadocia, or Khilakku, and

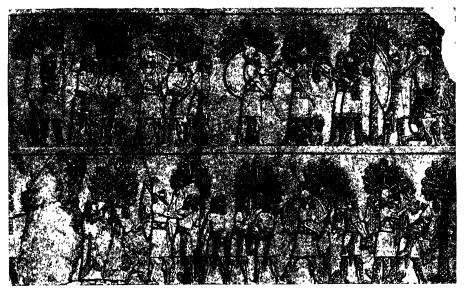
the province of Kammanu, constituted by Sargon. Some attempts of "Ionians" to land in Cilicia are also said to have been repulsed. No further conquests of importance were made there, and there was no expansion of territory by the formation of new provinces. Tyre had successfully stood a siege in 701 and maintained its independence. The reinforcements from Egypt who marched to Hezekiah's aid had been repulsed, it is true, but Sennacherib had not ventured to chastise them He now undertook an expedition against Egypt. Jerusalem, too, feared his chastisement, but once more fortune was tavourable. The Assyrian army did not enter the country, on the march thither it was destroyed, probably by a pestilence. Certainly the expedition was disastrous. Sennacherib had to return to Nineveh with the loss of his Assyrian army. There he was carried Army off by the fate of so many Destroyed Oriental kings he was mur-

dered during a rebellion headed by his sons.

The reign of Sennacherib had been nowhere successful. He had attempted to solve the Babylonian problem by force, and apparently had accomplished his purpose, but even in Babylonia he



ASSYRIANS CARRYING A CONQUERED PEOPLE AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY he Jewish people were taken into Assyrian captivity at least three times. Sargon and Sennacherib both deported is population of Samaria- the "Ten Tribes"—and Nebuchadnezzar took away the remnant of Judah to Babylon



CAPTIVES OF THE ASSYRIAN HOSTS ON THE MARCH TO THE CAPITAL

This is a continuation of the Assyrian bas-relief of which part is produced on the opposite page, showing a people carried away into captivity with their household goods and cattle Probably it is a representation of the Jewish captivity

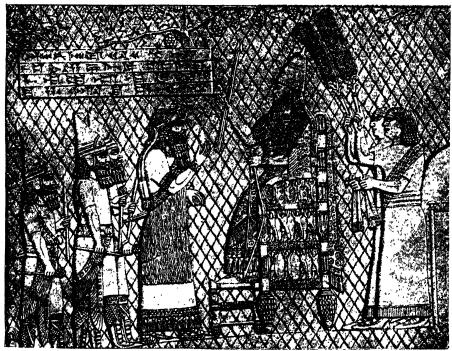
received from Elam at least as many defeats as he inflicted. Thus, in the year 694 B.C., while his army was plundering in Elam, the Elamites laid waste Northern Babylonia, and took his son Ashui-nadinshum prisoner. In the west, if we compare him with Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, he distinctly failed, since he was unable to take either Tyre or Jerusalem. He did not win any provinces of importance either in the east toward Media, or in the west in Asia Minor, where his predecessors had made their most valuable conquests. We notice especially the absence of any attempt to face the menacing danger in the north; the Aryan tribes were spreading more and more widely in the regions of Urartu and the Mannai.

Sennacherib's failures explain his end. He had come to the throne as the candidate of the "Assyrian" military party.

Sennacherib's and when he lost his aimy he fell a victim to the oppo-Reign a sition, the "Babylonian' Failure party. There must, however, have been separate sections within the latter. Its real and natural leader was obviously Esarhaddon, who administered Babylon. But one of his brothers must have attempted to forestall him in Assyria; and he was probably the leader of the rebellic n in which Sennacherib was murdered "as he was worshipping in the temple of his god," according to the Biblical account. Esarhaddon turned against him and defeated the army of the insurgents in Mehtene, to which country it had retreated, relying on the help of Armenia, the deadly enemy of Assyria. Esarhaddon thus became king of Assyria and Babylonia.

We know that he pursued a home policy quite opposed to that of his father; the Esarhaddon most lasting work of his reign was the rebuilding of Babylon. a Civilised The effects of this policy were King such as they could not fail to be; the civilisation of Babylonia and Mesopotamia once more flourished, and the supremacy over Nearer Asia was secured. It proved to be a momentous change for Assyria, which was the ruling power of the period. In other respects Esarhaddon is one of the figures in Assyrian history which harmonise most with modern conceptions. We read less frequently of cruel punishments inflicted on rebels. And, above all, at his court a taste for literary activity must have prevailed, which was certainly connected with his preference for Babylon. Ashurbanipal boasts of the literary education which was given him, and to it we are indebted for the collection of his celebrated library.

The Assyrian empire under Esathaddon, as under Sennacherib and even later, obtained no considerable additions apart from the valueless conquest of Egyptics.



SENNACHERIB, AN ASSYRIAN KING WHOSE REIGN WAS A FAILURE Sennacherib was put on the throne by the military party in Assyrian politics, but his wars were everywhere failures, and he was murdered in a rebellion of the pro-Babylonian party, headed by his own son, Esarhaddon. He is here shown in a bas-relief, now in the British Museum, on his throne before the Jewish city of Lachish

Esarhaddon's wars were, on the whole, merely directed to the maintenance and complete protection of the territory already subjugated. There were attempts at revolt by the Chaldwans in Babylonia during his reign, but matters stopped short at revolts, and did not go so far as the setting up of a rival prince. In the "Country of the Sea " a grandson of Merodach-baladan, Nabu-zer-napishti-ushteshir, made an attempt to seize Southern Babylonia and advanced to Ur, but he was forced on the approach of an Assyrian army to fly to Elam. There, however, contrary to the old tradition, he found no asylum, and was murdered. His brother Naid-Marduk considered it, therefore, more prudent to leave this place of refuge and walk into the very jaws of the lion; he was pardoned by Esarhaddon and installed as ruler in the "Country of the Sea.'

The affairs in connection with Bit-Dakuri serve to illustrate the conditions which the destruction of Babylon had produced, and to characterise the Chaldeans generally. We have already described how on Sennacherib's departure than Aramæan tribes had descended

upon the district of Babylon and Borsippa, and how they had been defeated and driven off by Erba-Marduk, who, in return for his services, was recognised as king of Baby-The Chaldwans appear to have been more successful than the Aramæans, and to have established themselves firmly in the province of Babylon, and the adjoining territory of Borsippa. The restoration of Babylon necessitated the recovery of what had been unlawfully appropriated, and this could not be done without force. Their "king," Shamash-ibni, was deposed in favour of Nabu-ushallim, a member of a different family. In the negotiations which subsequently took place under Shamashshum-ukin as to the conditions of the tenure and the rights of some villages situated in the district of Bit-Dakuri, the latter came forward as superior lord. The district of Babylon and Borsippa was evidently retaken from the Chaldwans.

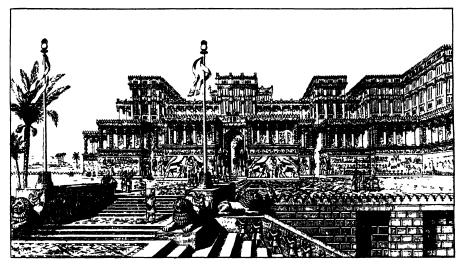
Khumbakhaldash of Elam, as we have already seen, had not received the fugrtive grandson of Merodach-baladan. Nevertheless, in the year 674 he raided Northern Babylonia as far as Sippar, which consequently suffered great loss. Esarhaddon

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was no better able than Sargon or Sennacherib to seek out this dangerous enemy in his own inaccessible country. He was content to secure the loyalty of the tribe of the Gambuli, settled on the Elamite frontier near the mouth of the Tigris, and to entrust their chief, in his fortress of Shapi-Bel, which was strengthened for the purpose, with the protection of the frontiers; a policy adopted at all times by Oriental states. Esarhaddon established friendly relations with Urtaki, the brother and successor of Khumbakhaldash. Urtaki sent back the images which had been carried off from Sippar in the preceding year, even obtaining assistance from

still bore the name of Sidon—and became the seat of an Assyrian governor. Sidon then remained a province, and did not again have kings of its own until the Persian era; the town of Esarhaddon became the nucleus of the later Sidon. Sanduarri of Kundi—perhaps Kyinda, the old name of the fortress of the later Aichiale—and Sizu, a Cilician prince, had been allied with Abd-milkot. After a three years' resistance his castles fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and Sanduarri's head was brought to Nineveh almost at the same time as that of Abd-milkot.

Tyre offered a more obstinate resistance. The "island" of Sidon must have been



NORTH-EASTERN FACADE AND GRAND ENTRANCE TO SENNACHERIB'S PALACE

It was the ambition of every Assyrian monarch to build himself a new palace, exceeding in grandeur and splendour those of his predecessors The above is a restoration, by Sir A. H. Layard, of Sennacherib's great palace.

Esarhaddon on the occasion of a famine in Elam, and this worked for peace.

In the west, Tyre, after 701, persevered in its resistance, and after 604 or so found a supporter in Egypt under the Ethiopian king, Tirhakah, who was eager for victory. Sidon also, which had been severed from Tyre by Sennacherib, now revolted in 678 under the new king, Abd-milkot, or Abdimilkutti, the successor of Ithobal. It was captured, and the old town, which, like Tyre and Arvad, lay on an island, together with the national objects of worship, was destroyed. A new town was built on the mainland, which received the name of Kar-Ashur-akhu-iddina, "the Castle of Esarhaddon"—in reality, of course, it

situated close to the mainland. The island of Tyre was more difficult to capture, and was taken for the first time by Alexander by means of his famous mole, which then connected Tyre permanently with the When Esarhaddon marched mainland. against Egypt, he was compelled to attempt the capture of Tyre, and be leged it by land, occupying Ushu, which is situated there, and cutting off the inhabitants of the island from all access to the land by means of counter-walls. But the island, which was supplied with provisions from the sea, held out until the news came from Egypt of the expulsion of Tirhakah, in 670. King Ba'al then considered further, resistance useless, and offered to per

tribute. His submission was accepted under the usual condition that he retained only what he actually then possessed—that is, he kept nothing but the island city of Tyre itself, while an Assyrian province was constructed out of the territory held by the Assyrians on the mainland.

In this year, 670 B.C., the stele of Senjuli was set up, which shows us Tuhakah and Ba'al as subject kings before Esarhaddon. The representation on it was finished, and the inscription was about to be engraved when Turhakah suddenly returned to Egypt, and Ba'al, who indeed had hardly anything left to lose, once more revolted.

The end of the inscription, in which it had been intended to give an account of Ba'al's submission, was therefore intentionally omitted Tu hakah had been driven out for the second time, in 668, and Tyre had been besieged for five years in all, from 673 to 668—the Assyrian blockading lines had practically remained effective throughout the period—then Ba'al once more submitted. Tyre, this time also unconquered, retained its independence, but its authority was restricted to the small island Its territory on the mainland was not given back, but remained under Assyrian government.

The possession of all the trading towns on the Syman coast, especially Gaza, the terminus of the caravan route, as well as of Edom, through which the route ran, brought Assyma into contact with the Arabian tribes who were engaged in the overland trade.

gaged in the overland trade. Sennacherib had tried to subjugate the Arabians of the plains, and had undertaken an expedition by which he overthrew the "kingdom' of Aribi which existed there, took the capital, and brought the queen, together with the gods, to Assyria. Esarhaddon now sent these back on receiving assurances of obedience. On the borders of Cilicia and Cappadocia there were constant disturbances. Esarhaddon tells us of an inroad into the district of the Dua in the Taurus adjoining Tabal. The Assyrian historical inscriptions tell us nothing of \$68o

conquered by Mukallu, probably the chief of a Tabal or similar tribe, and that the latter, in alliance with Ishkallu of Tabal, had become dangerous to the Assyrian claims. We learn of this fact from questions upon the subject asked of the oracle in the temple of Shamash, the sun-god. We may conclude that the Assyrian possessions in the direction of Asia Minor had grown less

These same tablets of oracles afford us the best account of the great Aryan movement in the north, in Armenia. The governors of the frontier provinces no longer, as under Sennacherib, report the reverses which Urartu has

from the Cimsustained merians, they now anxiously maune of the sun-god whether the threatening enemies, the Cimmerians, Saparda, Ashkuza, or the Medes who were already devastating adjoining districts, would spare the Assyrian provinces, they ask if the Assyrian troops will succeed in relieving leaguered towns or in recovering those already taken. That is quite a different story from Sargon's announcements of victories—And when Esarhaddon tells of victories over Cimmetians and Ashkuza, he cannot report any results gained by them We may, therefore, conclude that such victories at the best were won only over roving bands, if they did not actually consist in a reticat. On the whole, it is evident that Assyria's power was waning. Negotiations were now begun with the barbarians on a basis of



ESARHADDON Winself From the famous stele of Senjirli, showing the kings of Egypt and Tyre subject before Esarhaddon

equality. Esaibaddon looked found for allies against the threatening Cimmerians, and found them in their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, whose king, Bartatua, actually received a daughter of the king to wife. We shall again meet these Ashkuza as allies of Assyria in its last days.

The expedition to Media, where, after the disappearance of the Namri and Parsua, the Aryan element became increasingly prominent, are of no real importance. It was certainly an easy task for a disciplined Assyrian army to subjugate isolated tribes and bring

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booty and puseners home with them. But the expeditions as far as the "Salt Desert" to the south-east of the Caspian Sea and up to the Demayend had no lasting results; new tribes immediately pressed forward, and where one wave of this flood of nations exhausted itself, others kept rolling on. Here the destiny of the old Oriental civilisation, in spite of the victories claimed in the inscriptions, was inevitably fulfilling itself. Still, no blame can be attached to the Assyrian king if he did not recognise the full extent of the danger and fried to derive new revenues from the conquest of other lands.

Esarhaddon can record one success which had not yet fallen to any Assyrian king he conquered Egypt. In so doing he certainly took into consideration the necessity of conquest for Assyria, to provide employment and booty for the mercenary army on whose spears the existence of the empire depended He was further influenced by considerations of state policy.

Egypt was as much dependent on Palestine as the countries lying on the Euphrates. It these latter required the ports on the Mediterranean, Palestine was for Egypt the nearest and most promising country, if it ever wished to expand. As long, therefore, as we can trace back the

instory of these countries, Egypt is either in possession of Palestine, or is trying to win it back. It interfered, therefore, in all revolts against Assyria, but usually failed to render the promised help. 'The broken reed which pierces the hand of him who leans on it' was the phrase already coined by Isaiah for the false Egyptian promises of assistance. The continual unrest in Palestine made it prudent to prevent the disturber of the peace from doing further damage. Sennacherib had already tried to do this on his last expedition when he lost his army.

Esarhaddon renewed the attempt; all the more because Egypt had again become united under the Ethiopian Tirhakah, against whom Sennacherib's expedition was directed, and who was a bolder spirit than the last Pharaohs. We have seen that he was implicated in the revolt of Tyre, which broke out in 673. The Babylonian chronicle records in this same year a defeat of the Assyrians in Egypt; the first attempt to attack Tirhakah in his own country had miscarried. In 671, however, a new army advanced against Egypt, and Tirkakah could not withstand it. The Assyrians advanced irresistibly

from Iskhupri, where the first battle took place, as fat as Memphis in fifteen days Tirhakah five times offered resistance, and was himself wounded in battle; he then fled to Thebes. Memphis was taken in the advance "in a half day '' The family of Tirhakah and rich treasures fell there into the hands of the Assyrians; filty-five statues of kings were brought to Nineveh. Tu hakah seems to have been unable to remain in Thebes. His army was scattered, and as a foreigner he found no support in Egypt. He thus fled back to "Kush" --that is, Nubia-and evacuated Thebes.

The Assyrian king placed twenty-two "kings," or governors, over the separate districts of Egypt, who are

all enumerated for us by his son Ashurbanipal. But each of them received an Assyrian official as overseer, with a large body of Assyrian officials at his side. The most southern district named is Thebes. This fact shows within what narrow limits the Assyrian sovereignty was recognised. Esarhaddon therefore uses extravagant language when he styles himself after this success, "King of the kings of Musur, or Lower Egypt, Paturisi, or Upper Egypt, and Kush," Even the Senjirli stele, which, like as memorial carved at the mouth of the Mater.



ASHURBANIPAL

Son of Esarhaddon, whom he rebelled against, assuming the crown before his father's death.

cl-Kelb, near Benut, glorifies this victory, expresses rather the wish than the accomplished fact when it represents Tirhakah as a prisoner, a ring through his lips, imploring mercy on his knees before Esai-This supremacy lasted only a few months when Tirhakah came once more upon the scene. The Ethiopian Son Rebels was in fact no Egyptian, and we see that he had "fled" only Against in order to bring up a new Father army Meanwhile Esarhaddon was again in Assyria, where he had to cope with a rebellion, at the bottom of which was his son Ashurbanipal, Tirhakah had naturally been privy to this an "express messenger" came to Nineveh and announced that Tirhakah had occupied the whole country once more, and was again ruling as king in Memphis, having driven out or crushed the Assyrians The Egyptians who were in the land. must have looked on at this "restoration of settled order" with the calmness with which this people, accustomed for thousands of years to oppression, have acguiesced in their numerous masters before and since

After the internal affairs in Assyria had been arranged and Ashurbarupal and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin had been crowned in 668, the army was once more available for Egypt. Esarhaddon himself started (bither), he had become superfluous at home and was certainly sufficiently acquainted with the nature of an Oriental throne to see that there was little left for him but to die. He actually died on the march in 668. The campaign was therefore brought to an end in the reign of Ashurbanipal, as he himself records.

The causes which had led to the coronation of Ashurbanipal have already been mentioned in their place. When Esarhaddon wished to put the coping-stone to his work, and to have himself or Shamashshum-ukin, his son by a Babylonian Displaced woman, proclaimed king in the rebuilt city of Babylon, the by his time had come for the Assyrian Sons party to take action 669 B.C., so the Babylonian chronicle announces, "the king put to death many nobles 11. Assyria;' yet Ashurbanıpal reports that when he was proclaimed successor to the throne and co-regent at **the** beginning of 668 he had "interceded" them. Esarhaddon had clearly indided that Shamash-shum-ukin should

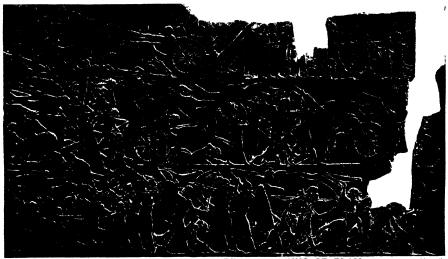
be at once crowned king of Babylon, in order that the power might be secured to him on his own death. This scheme was now frustrated. With Ashurbanipal the Assyrian inilitary and aristocratic party gained the day over the Babylonian priests and citizens. Under Ashurbanipal's long reign, from 668 to 626 B.C., the Assyrian military system, with its army of mercenaries, a strange medley from the lands of every ruler, achieved its final triumphs.

The success of the Egyptian campaign,

in the course of which Esarhaddon died, was rapid and complete. The army with which Tirhakah attempted to defend Lower Egypt was defeated near Karbaniti, the Egyptian city of Oarbana; he abandoned Memphis to its fate and withdrew to Thebes. In "one month and ten days" the Assyrian army a lyanced thither. Tuhakah, who could not repose any confidence in the population of the capital, preferred to evacuate this town and entrenched himself higher up stream on both banks of the Nile, obviously in order to bar the passage of the river plain. The Assyrian army did not advance beyond Thebes, and Ashurbani-Temporary pal, like his father, could im-Conquest pose kings only in the districts of Egypt up to this point. In the same year, or soon afterwards, Tirhakah died while holding his entrenchments successor in Napata was Tanut-Ammon, his sister's son who at once assumed the aggressive. The Assyrian army must have arready left Thebes, and the nephew of Tuhakah had no difficulty in seizing the rest of Egypt The Assyrian garrison in Memphis alone offered resistance. Tanut-Ammon invested it and took up a strong position at On, or Heliopolis, to the north of it. Once more an express messenger reached Nineveh with the tidings, and the Assyrian army started by forced marches to the relief of the besieged. Tanut-Ammon thereupon abandoned the siege and evacuated the country as far as Thebes, where he tried to hold his own. But the town was captured in 667 or 666, and the Ethiopians were forced to abandon Egypt Ashurbanipal was able once more to install his provincial princes. But this state of affairs did not last long. The Assyrian supremacy naturally enabled the Egyptian princes to get rid of the Kushites When that object was attained, they had only to devise a way of ridding themselves of their not less troublesome ally. Within two years

ASSYRIA—THE NEW EMPIRE

Psammetichus, son of Necho, to whom Ashurbanipal had given the districts of Memphis and Sais, declared himself independent. The Assyrian army was occupied elsewhere, and thus Egyptian diplomacy proved successful in its plan. It had driven the Kushites out of the country with the help of Assyria, and now seized the right moment for robbing their helper of his reward. Ashurbanipal complained of similarly base ingratitude from Gyges of Lydia. The Cimmerians, at the very time of his accession, had made aggressive movements towards Lydia, and had crossed the Halys. Since Assyria had aided the Ashkuza against the Cimmerians, Gyges asked help from Ashurbanipal, whose Ciliaccording to Ashurbanipal's account, in answer to his fervent prayer. Gyges failed to ward off a fresh attack of the Cimmerians. He fell in battle, and Lydia was overrun by barbarians. Gyges' son, whose name is not mentioned by Ashurbanipal, but whom Herodotus calls Ardys, offered his submission. But Ashurbanipal still refrained from sending any effective aid; the Lydians were forced to help themselves. The attack of the Cimmerians did not break up until it reached Cilicia, the Assyrian frontier, although its defeat hardly seems to have been due to any efforts on the part of Assyria. This all took place in 668 BC, and the succeeding years



ASHURBANIPAL DEFEATS TEUMMAN, KING OF ELAM Montell About 660 B C, the Elamites descended on Babyloma. This resulted in a succession of wars between the Assyrian and Elamite kings, which finally led to the capture of Susa, the capital, and the annihalation of Elam, thus destroying a "buffer state" which could guard Assyria from the advancing Aryan tribes of barbarians

cian and Cappadocian possessions, as they adjoined Lydian territory, were equally threatened. Ashurbanipal helped him, indeed, by offering prayers to Ashur, which proved so effective that in the end Gyges conquered the dreaded enemy. He sent two chiefs from among the prisoners in chains to Nineveh, where the strangelooking barbarians, "whose language was understood by no interpreter." caused great astonishment. The thankless Lydian thought that by doing this he had shown sufficient gratitude. He sent no more embassies or "presents," and actually supported the revolt of Psammetichus, not by prayers, but by auxiliaries. This outrageous conduct soon met with punishment,

In 668 also, after Tirhakah had evacuated Thebes for the second time, Ba'al of Tyre finally submitted. He was compelled to be content with retaining only his island city. The king of Arvad, Iakınlu, who had certainly reposed hopes in Tirhakah, now paid tribute again and sent his sons as hostages and pages to the Assyrian court. Another expedition against the rebellious Mannai on Lake Urumiya, in which district the Ashkuza, allies to Assyria, were expanding their power, talls within the first years of Ashurbanipal's reign. It is not difficult to imagine the reasons which induced King Akhsheri to suspend payments of. tribute. With the Ashkuza in the countries

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who were still allied with the suzeram, the revenues would be in a sorry condition But when the Assyrian army advanced, Akhsheri tell a victim to a rebellion, and his son Ualli submitted to the Assyrians.

About the same time there were expeditions against some Median chiefs.

War Ashiribanipal did not advance in this direction so far as Esaihaddon and Sargon, this region had already been flooded by the great stream of nations.

War with Elam broke out afresh in 660 B.C. or somewhat later, and once more the Elamites were the aggressors the last few years, since Esarhaddon's ome there had been peace with Urtaki. Now, having made an agreement with the chiefs of Babylonian tribes, especially those of the Gambuli, he tried to establish himself firmly in Babylonia, and for this purpose despatched an army thither. Ashurbanipal does not appear to have had his army ready; it was only when the Elamites appeared before Babylon itself that he interposed and drove them back over the frontier. He did not venture tarther. Assyria thus atter the one attack led by Sennacherib, which was accompanied by such disastrous consequences, always remained on the defensive against Elam Urtaki died soon after. The complications following on the change of kings led to war with Teumman, who advanced on Northern Babylonia, but was forced to return after reaching Dur-ilu. An Assyrian army now marched for the first time through the passes of the Zagros to Elam and up to the walls of Susa itself. The successes of Kurigalzu and Nebuchadnezzai I were thus repeated. This war concludes the operations during the first half of Ashurbanipal's reign

All the succeeding wars of Ashurbanipal are connected with the great rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukin, which broke out Rebellion openly in 652 BC. The Assyrian army asserted its superiority in the suppression of it, but the sympathy which Shamash-shum-ukin had found everywhere, the hopes which had been taised by his efforts in every part of the realm, showed at the same time that the empire was held together only by force, and that it would intallibly tall to pieces it the help of its tray of mercenaries should be withdrawn.

lon as Sennacherib did, but, as a representative of the "Assyrian" policy, he acted like Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser. This is shown very clearly from the fact that he himself, precisely as they did, assumed the crown of Babylon, and regned there under the name of Kandalanu from 647 to 626 B.C.

Once more Babylon had received from Elam the strongest support during the tebellion. The result of this was a succession of wars, which finally led to the capture of Susa and the complete annihilation of Elam. Assyria, however, which made no effort to retain the conquered territory, gained only one result placed the neighbouring country at the mercy of the advancing Arvan tribes. Just as in Urartu, so here she had destroyed the "buffer state" which could guard her from this enemy. The progress of the annihilation itself, during which we see that Elam suffered from continual disturbances, will be better treated in the history of Elam In Babylonia itself, as was naturally to be expected,

completely
Destroyed

Puqudu, as well as some Chaldean states, were chastised for it. The overthrow of Merodach - baladan's grandson in the "Country of the Sea" was connected with this campaign and contributed its share to the complications with Elam.

In Phœnicia, at this time, Ushu, the town on the mainland facing Tyre, and Akko were punished. The "province of Tyre" had, therefore, attempted a rebellion, this seems to have been the only practical result which the appeal of Shamash-shum-ukin effected in the west.

The king of Urartu, Sarduri III., now voluntarily courted the suzerainty of Assyria, and in 644°BC, sent an embassy to Ashurbanipal; the invasions of the Aryan tribes forced him to take this step. This is the last event which Ashurbanipal himself records of his reign.

We have no records for the last years of Ashurbanipal's reign—this is a rather long gap, ten or fifteen years, perhaps. We may assume generally from his victories that he upheld the prestige of Assyria. The fact that he remained king of Babylon up to his death is also in favour of this assumption. The rapid downfall which followed shows how this prestige was due to one man and his army.



When Nineveh fell in (0° BC its last king Sin shar ishkun set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. Legend also records this fate for Sardanapalus the famous Ashurbanipal and the celebrated picture by the Frankfull L Chalon from which the above illustration is reproduced is known as Tre Death of Sardanapalus.

Ashurbanipal's renown in the modern world rests rather upon his patronage of literature than upon his victories, which, however, made his name, under the form "Sardanapalus," celebrated even in classical legend. He founded in his palace at Nineveh a library of cuneitorm tablets, which contained copies of all the Babylonian

Sardanapalus, inscriptions which his emisliterary productions and old saries were able to discover Literature during a prolonged search through the ancient cities and temples of the land. We owe to the remains of this great library, which have now been recovered and are preserved in the British Museum, almost all our knowledge of Babylonian literature and of many valuable documents, of which the originals are lost. Ashurbanipal's victories do not stand alone in Assyria, but he is unique among Assyrian kings in that he found pleasure in obtaining copies of the ancient records and in reading them himself—Without the wealth of tablets which have come down to us from his royal library at Nineveh we should have no conception of the high level of literary achievement to which the Babylonians and Assyrians attained.

Assyria had at least two kings after Ashurbanipal, Ashiii-1 il-ilani and Sin-sharishkun. Little is known of their reigns. Babylon was lost upon the death of Ashurbanipal, but not the whole of Babylonia, of which some parts were kept until the end. We are not informed how long either of them reigned, nor are we certain that the throne was not addition occupied by other rulers in to them

We have at present only some slight accounts of the end of the Assyrian empire The Chaldwan Nabopolassai could no longer support himself on Elam, as his Chaldaean predecessors on the throne of Babylon had done, for Elam existed no longer. But he found instead a more powerful ally in the successor to Kings of Elam, the Medes. Assyria, on her side, had, since the time of Esarhaddon, been allied with the Ashkuza, who, as neighbours of the Medes, were their natural foes. In 600 we find Nabopolassar in possession of Mesopotamia. He boasts of his victory over Shubari, using the ancient designation of Mesopotamia. The power of Assyria must thus have been already broken, for soon wards we find the Mede Cyavares in

front of Nineveh. An auxiliary army of the Ashkuza, under Madyas, son of the Bartatua who had married Esarhaddon's daughter, advanced, but was defeated by Cyaxares. This sealed the fate of Nineveh, which fell about the year 607. The last king, Sin-shar-ishkun, is said to have set fire to his palace, and to have penshed in the flames—the fate which legend records of Sardanapalus. The Median bands attended to the business of plundering and laying waste far more thoroughly than their ally liked; for not only Nineveh, but all the towns of Assyria, and even those of Babylonia which had remained loyal to Assyria, were ruthlessly sacked. Nineveh never again rose from her ruins, a fortunate circumstance for us, for, buried beneath the soil, the remains have been preserved for us which otherwise might have served as building materials for a later age. Nabopolassar looked with very little

satisfaction upon the conduct of his allies for they were, after all, devastating his own lands. But it is noteworthy that the barbarians seem really to have kept their agreement, they evacu-Assvria ated the conquered country from History and observed the treaty by which the Tigris was to be the boundary of their respective provinces. A new condition of things was thus created. Media possessed all the country to the north of the river district of Flam as far as Asia Minor. - Babylon-kept Pabylonia, Mesopotamia -- Assyria would have re-

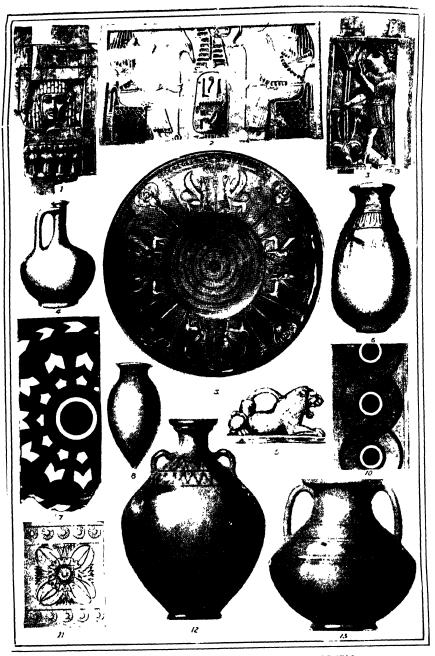
mained Median -- Syria, and Palestine,

about 655 BC.

Thus the "Assyrian Empire" disappeared from history. We have already suggested more than once why it was impossible for any attempts at revolt to be made. The "empire" was supported merely by an army of mercenaries and a host of officials. If was long since there had been an Assyrian people in the true sense of the term. In the provinces it was a matter of indifferen e whether the governor extorted money in the name of the king of Ashur or the king of Babylon. The only feeling excited was the wish for a new master, fostered by the vain hope of an anelioration of their lot. The provinces-Syria and Palestine—had long been incapable of action. Only in some isolated places, such as Judah, was any resistance offered, and this naturally could not withstand a large army.



eh fell, never to rise again, m 617 R.C., on the attack of the Median hordes under Cyaxares, who sacked ruthlessly not only Nineveh, but all the towns of Assyria. THE FALL OF NINEVEH . THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE FROM HISTORY



SPECIMENS OF THE APPLIED ART OF ASSYRIA

In its principal achievements Assyrian art exhibits little foreign influence beyond that of Babylonia Carved ivories, such as those shown above (1, 2 and 3), have, however, been recovered from the remains of Nineveh which show traces of Egyptian influence. The bronze ion weight (9) is distinctly Pheemician. Other warmles on this page are more purely Assyrian Such are the pottery, glazed (12 and 1.3) and unglazed 4, 8 and 6), and the painted bricks and tiles from the palace at Kalkhi (7, 10 and 11), which show the surging antiquity of some of the designs in modern use. The gem of the collection is the bronze plate (5).

ASSYRIAN CHARACTERISTICS

RETROSPECT OF ASSYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CULTURE

THE region farther up the riversnamely, Mesopotamia and Assyria has a distinctly different character from Babylonia with its hot climate. The vicinity of the mountains tempers the heat of the great plains, and a more ample rainfall, Climate with some snow in make its climatic c winter, conditions Assyria similar to those of the warmer countries of Europe. The two great rivers are here far apart, and flow mostly between rocky banks, so that any idea of the construction of canals on the scale of the Babylenian system is out of the question Smaller streams, especially the Khabui and Belikh in Mesopotamia intersect the plans and produce wide stretches of corn-land, between them he vast steppes which have at all times furnished the nomads with a welcome home, whence they pressed on toward the cultivated land studded with flourishing towns.

Until some considerable discoveries going balk to the pre-Assyrian epoch are made on Mesopotamian soil, we must abandon any attempt to settle the peculiar character of Mesopotamian civilisation in its variations from the Babylonian. Theneessary information cannot be extracted from the existing records. All that we can ascertain with certainty is the nature and condition of Assyrian rule.

The country on the left bank of the Euphrates above the Lower Zab did not develop an independent civilisation, it is in every respect an extension of the sphere of Babyloman civilisation. The sovereignty which it exercised towards the

Assyrian culture is
Babylonian Won by force. Our first duty is to ascertain the nature of that sovereignty.

We must assume that Assyria at the time of her first expansion in the four-teenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. still possessed an active and vigorous popula-

tion, this condition presupposes a numerous peasant class. We do not know how that class came into being, but that it had long been in existence is probable since she was able to send out colonies, and this can best be done when a thriving and multiplying peasantry exists. On the other hand, there are indications that the conditions attending the ownership of the soil were no longer satisfactory, that "over-population" was a growing evil, or, more correctly expressed, the distribution of the soil no longer conformed to the conditions necessary for a peac full and progressive development of the agricultural classes.

The later Assyria of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser II. had a quite different population, influenced in some degree by the Aramæan immigration. It is true that Ashurnasirpal was still able to lead colonies into the reconquiered or newly

acquired lands. But we may Extinction hardly assume that of Assyrian colonists were drawn from sur-People plus masses of the people, they were really parts of a population which had become indigent through faulty comomic policy. We have seen that it is only once recorded, and then under special circumstances, that Shalmaneser II had "summoned the country to arms." The wars of aggrandisement were waged by Assyria with a standing army—that is, with mercenaries. This points to a complete change of the basis of Assyrian power. Henceforth there is no Assyrian nation which expands by conquest, but only an armed predatory state, which, by the use of troops recruited from every country, crushes the nations, and wrings from them the means for keeping them dependent. The Assyrian people, so far as one existed at all, sank into insignificance before the priesthood, which had obtained the supremacy on the one side, and before the monarchy, with its teudal adherents, on the other. We saw in policy of Tiglath-pileser IV. an attempt to put the state once more upon a broader basis; but the attempt was unsuccessful, and the powerful reaction under Sargon restored the character of Assyria and sealed her fate.

The power of Assyria lay then in its This was an army of mercenaries, composed of heterogeneous elements, which the king was Mercenaries obliged to support and to provide with pay. The maintenance of the army furnished a motive for incessant expeditions of conquest and plunder. Such an army clamoured for employment and booty, and experience showed that in the East there were no means to support it unless they were from conquered lands country was mostly in the possession of the temple-lords and feudal owners; even the larger towns enjoyed freedom from taxation, and the insignificant oppressed peasant class was naturally unable to furnish the required supplies. Thus a perpetual incentive to new military expeditions was given by the very basis of the constitution This in itself would have forced Assyria forward on the path of conquest, even if richer or weaker neighbours had offered no tempting prev.

Ashurnasirpal's reign and the beginning of the age of Shalmaneser II. saw the overthrow of the newly formed Aramæan state of Mesopotamia. This ancient sphere of civilisation was thus mainly brought under Assyrian government, and became an essential part of the empire. The Aramaan population, so far as it consisted of the priesthood and feudal lords, was put on an equality with the Assyrian. Assyria, therefore, in widest sense, comprised the countries extending up to the Euphrates as its western boundary The perfecting of the system of government was the chief work of the second period of Assyrian history. The result thus obtained Constitution lasted until the overthrow of the empire and the destruction Empire of its constitution.

The advance beyond the Euphrates marked a new stage of development, which had already begun under Shalmaneser II. and his successors, but did not lead to permanent results until the rise of the new Assyrian empire after riglath-pileser IV. Under this latter the greater number of the countries

west of the Euphrates for the first time lost then own government and were constituted Assyrian provinces. But no definite successes were attained here; for the new provinces consisted of states which, in spite of everything they owed to the common mother civilisation, possessed a peculiar population and culture of their own. They were thus never assimilated by Assyria Here also the other sphere of civilisation, that of Asia Minor, exercised its influence and raised a wall of partition, which, in spite of arbitrary political arrangements, was never entirely thrown down, between the civilisations on the right and left banks of the Euphrates.

The policy of the Assyrians toward subject states was that which similar powers—the most recent example in the world's history is the Turkish Empire—have always adopted. The ceaseless unjest caused in the civilised country by nomads eager for booty and land made it necessary to reduce them to some form of subjection in order to be protected from their imroads. The first stage of this sub-

Assyria's tribute, smc · a complete sub-Turkish jugation and the institution Policy of a local government were impossible with such tribes. A similar policy would then be adopted toward neighbouring civilised states. The king is called upon to pay tribute, if he consents to pay it, he retains, as the vassal of Assyria, the absolutely free administration of his own land. Besides the payment of tribute, he is also bound to furnish troops. His suzerain does not as yet interfere with the internal government of his country

This, indeed, especially in cases where the taxes imposed were considerable and the land incapable of paying them, often meant little more than 4hat the prince filled the office of an Assyrian tax-collector, whom the responsibility for the punctual payment of the imposts rested. The great king did not consider himself in any way bound to render it possible for the vassal to perform his obligations by guaranteeing him complete protection against enemies. If the vassal, through the offers or the oppression of a neighbouring state, allowed himself to be seduced from his allegiance to Assyria, and accepted the suzerainty of the nevoppressor, then an Assyrian army appeared

ASSYRIAN CHARACTERISTICS

m order to call to account the "rebel," who had probably submitted only to compulsion. The vassal princes therefore usually stood between two or three fires. They were responsible to the great king, on the other hand, the people, who had to supply the takes, were discontented Thus parties were formed, each of which sought the advancement of its respective interests in an adhesion to Assyria or another great power. We have contemporary testimony to the existence of such parties in the utteranc's of the Israelitish prophets. We see how at the time of Amos the question stands in Israel and Judah adhesion to Assyria, such as

or to Ahaz represents, Damascus and Egypt against which Amos utters warning. After the fall of Damascus Hosca knows only of Assyria and Egypt just as Isaiah does, and again after the appearance of Inhakah an Egyptian party continues to oppose the Assyrian. The king stands between the two, usually in a very precarious position, since he can save himself only by joining the stronger power We can thus trace Hezekiah's vacillation. recognise from the activity of Jeremiah the pitiful position of the last kings of Judah who, faced by the choice between Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaohs, are in the end overtaken by their destiny

It is in the nature of things that such relations, which merely imposed buidensome obligations upon the vassal, were broken off so soon as any tayourable prospect of revolt presented itself—that is, if there was no immediate fear of an invasion by the Assyrian army.

Hard Case But if the army appeared, the of the fate of the rebellious state Vassal was virtually scaled, owing to the military superiority of the Assyrians.

If a state had been completely conquered by force of arms, it was confiscated; it lost its independence, and became an Assyrian province. So long as this process was applied to the districts of Mesopotamia, it caused, as we difficulty, owing to the population and the homogeneousness of the country. But when an advance was made into countries of different character, it was found impossible to force an Assyrian.

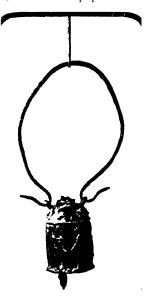
of the Captivities

government on a foreign population, which had shown the vitality of its peculiar customs and institutions by recent rebellion. Such a course would have been tantamount to abandoning the handful of Assyrian officials to certain death on the next recrudescence of discontent And a deportation of the majority of the population as slaves would have destroyed

> m great measure productivity of the new

province

After the time of Tiglathpilesei IV, when Assyria itself could supply no more colonists an attempt was made to remedy these difficulties by transplanting the population, and interchanging the inhabitants of newly-conquered provinces lying at opposite ends of the empire. The Pible has made us familiar with the carrying away of the population of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media, with that of the Jews to Babylon a, and with the replenishment of population of Samaria, by mhabitants of Babylonian towns under Ashurbanipal after the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukm, Such exchanges and resettlements are mentioned as



AN ASSYRIAN BELL From the Royal Museum of Berlin

matters of course in the inscriptions of Figlath-pileser and Sargon The districts were not only re-populated in this way, but the new settlers were naturally less able to trouble the Assyrian government. Torn from their native soil, themselves made up of different elements, and not yet blended with the remnants of the old population with whom they had no affinity, the new settlers found no firm support except in the Assyrian officials. The tribal organisation and class system which had bound them together in their home, and had enabled them to resist the oppression of the powers, was thus dissolved, and the

were rendered incapable of offering opposition to the new authorities.

Thus an administration, really capable of civilising and developing, would certainly have found in these products of the two great organisers of Assyria ample material from which a new population might have been formed, whose interests

Short-sighted Foreign Policy would have been inseparably connected with the continuance of the Assyrian empire. But the administrative arts

of a predatory state, based on militarism and a wealthy priesthood, are not adapted to the production of lasting works of civilisation — Assyria wished only to derive advantage from the new provinces, and could give them nothing in return ultimate object of Assyrian administration was the enrichment of the government officials, from the lowest tax-collector to the governor himself, each paid tribute to his superior, the governor finally had to pay it to the court a province "received," if anything at all, bore no proportion to that which was taken from it. The mevitable end of this was widespread destitution and When the mother country, desolation as a result of an unwise distribution of the ownership of the soil, had no more vitality, but lived on the impoverishment of its subject states, the transference of its own system of administration to them could have only the same consequences.

If Assyria granted to her vassal states no compensatory advantages for the burdens imposed upon them she conceived her obligations towards her newly-acquired provinces in an equally short-sighted spirit. The governor, or shaknu, who ruled a province was much the same as the former prince of the country, only the administration, which had formerly been in the hands of fellow-country-men of the subject people, was now in

Rule of the Provinces The material position of the people was not essentially affected by this change. We need not assume that the Assyrian lords extorted more from their subjects than the former native princes, at least, that was hardly possible where the greater civilised states were concerned. The governor, who had taken the place of the feudal prince, the administration offered more

security to the great king's interests, because he, in a land which was still strange to him, had to rely on the support which Assyria gave him; whereas the native prince, on the other hand, was adverse from Assyria, both from tradition and from national feeling. In other respects the position was unchanged. The shaknu was obliged to meet the requirements of his province out of its revenues, and to fulfil his obligations toward the court. He had to furnish for campaigns a detachment of troops, which he was compelled to keep out of the resources of his province; but for the security of his own territory, unless its loss seriously threatened the empire, he had, out of his own personal resources, to provide money and men. The king had his own army, "the toyal army," for the support of which he was responsible. and he was therefore at pains to let this duty devolve, it possible upon his officials, the governor also had his own troops, whose duty it was to guard the safety of his province, and to furnish a contingent for the royal army in the event of war. The

Independence of the Governors

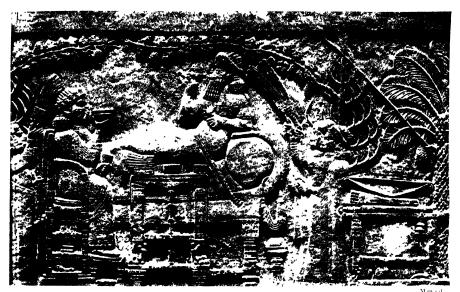
position of the governor was therefore very independent. He was an imperial officer, and at the same time a reign-

mg prince—It is obvious that he must have had many temptations to push his fortunes elsewhere than in Assyria by joining a new conqueror, or by declaring his own independence in the time of her deteat, for there was no organic tie between

empire and province

If, therefore, the Assyrian "Empire" which had no united population, and by its administration promoted in no degree the cohesion of its separate divisions, disappeared after the fall of Nineveh without leaving a trace, and without inspiring an attempt at its reconstruction, we can feel no surprise. All that held it together was an army of mercenaries and an official class; when these were destroyed the empire also perished. We can easily comprehend that no one came forward to revive the two institutions, which had served only to impoverish the subject classes of the population.

Assyna subdued the Nearer East with an army of mercenaries, and there was necessarily little selection of recruits; any were taken who could be found. We may assume without further remark that the adjoining barbarian countries furnished



ASHURBANIPAL FEASTING WITH HIS QUEEN IN A GARDEN BOWER

Assyrian monuments do not display the pleasure felt by the Egyptians in scenes from domestic life, and this bas-relief showing the monarch feasting with his consort is an exception. It is an example of the skill of the latest period

the supply of men in the first instance, just as the Germanic tribes did for later kome, the Normans and English for Byzantium etc. When a state was conquered, the king as a rule drafted part of the conquered army into his troops.

Among the various sections of the army the war-chariot was the heaviest, the most dreaded, and the most honourable engine of war, the king in battle is always represented in a war-chariot is familiar from ser plured representations, in which it appears drawn by two horses, and hold a driver and a fighting man [see page 1652]. It is still uncertain where this method of fighting had its origin. We know little yet as to the military system in Babylonia during the earliest period, except what the "Stele of the Vultures" teaches us; this seems to show that in the time of the kings of Lagash a closed phalanx with shield and lance formed the chief method of attack. This subject is closely connected with the question as to the time when men became familiar with the horse and where its original home was. In the Babylonia of 3000 BC. there is no discovered trace of it, the chariot of Eannatum was doubtless drawn by asses. In the Kassite period horses and war-chariots played a prominent part, as in contemporary Egypt. Had they been introduced by the "Canaamite" immigration, or from the north through "Hittite" and similar conquests? At any rate the Greek epic teaches us that in Asia Minor at a time which corresponds approximately to the last period of the Assyrian empire, war-chariots were in general use

The cavalry was unimportant in com-The nobles drove to battle in then war-chanots, but the cavalry. never very numerous, seem, at time with which we are more intimately acquainted to have been a disparaged arm of the service - they were apparently used only for skirmishes and pursuit Riding without proper saddle and without stirrups prevented their development into an effective body of troops The chief strength of the army lay in the heavily armed battalions, who carried lances and short swords, and were protected by shields, armour, and helmets. The archeis stood by their side as the light-armed troops [see illustrations on pages 1648 and 1650].

The siege methods were developed proportionately to the numerous wars. Ordinary fortifications did not as a rullong resist the Assyrian attack. A mound—the Roman "agger"—was built up to the walls of the town, on which heavy battering-rams could be brought into position, and brick buildings could not

ong resist their shock. This device failed against stronger masonry. Damascus, with its walls of stone, defied Shalmaneser II., and we do not yet know whether Tiglath-pileser took it by storm. At the siege of Tyre, which Alexander was the first to capture, an attempt was made to isolate the town by constructing Ancient an earthwork, but no result Siege Methods was accomplished, owing want of a sufficient naval force. The arming of the troops was naturally the concern of the person who retained them--namely, the king or governor. The building of a palace, which was the consummation of an Assyrian reign, included the erection of an arsenal

must be stocked with weapons maintenance of the irmy does not be a payment in money rused by a definite tax, or out of the total revenues of the king; traces of the nature of its origin may still be detected in the inscriptions

Originally the duty to bear arms depended on possession of of real property. This duty may have still applied to the noble vassal, but it had been replaced. after the decay of the peasant class, and owing to its inability to perform military duties, by a tax, or military impost, which the small owner had to pay instead of tendering his services. This was assigned to the mercenaries, and, indeed, an attempt has been made to prove that the individual mercenary was assigned a peasant

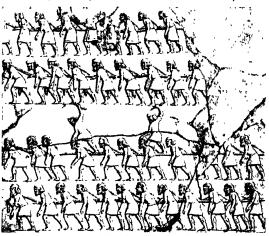
who had to pay him his taxes. The king, when he could not provide sufficiently for the aimy, tried to place the burden of supporting bodies of troops on high officials, who, naturally, were unwilling to pay the king's troops in addition to their own; thus there were abundant occasions for conflicts and disturbances to

Payment of the Mercenaries mercenaries which was closely surrounded and limited in its natural resources, had no longer any previnces to impoverish and plunder.

The most complete and productive excavations up to the present time have een carried out in Assyria, and we are

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therefore better informed on many subjects there than in Babylonia. The first place may be given to our knowledge of architecture and sculpture, of which important examples have been discovered in the palaces of Nimrud, or Kalkhi, and Kuyunjik, or Nineveh. These familiarise us with the art of the builders and sculptors of the ninth century B.C., with Ashurnasırpat in Kalkhi, and of those of the eighth century—Tiglath-pileser IV. Kalkhi, Sargon in Dur-Sharrukin, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, Esarhaddon in Kalkhi. The recent excavations at Shergat, the site of Ashur, the earliest Assyrian capital, have also furnished information concerning the ground plans and construction of private



ASSYRIAN SLAVE LABOUR f continuation of the bas-relief on the opposite page.

and royal buildings, temples, fortifications and river-side quays, built for the most part in the earlier period.

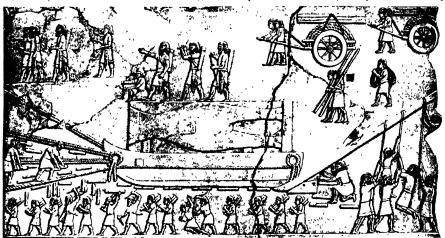
It is a constantly recurring phenomenon in the East that a powerful and wealthy monarch finds a satisfaction to his pride in the erection of colossal buildings, and above all in rearing a palace destined to his own use and enjoyment. This ambition is no doubt dictated in the main by the desire for a splendid abode which n'ay outwardiy express his grandeur. Political reasons also combine to influence the change of the royal residences; and, finally, the king may wish to have a worthy place of sepulchre for himself and his family, for it was necessary to remain after death beneath the protection of the household gods if the shade of the dead man was

ASSYRIAN CHARACTERISTICS

not towander about restless and homeiess. With very few exceptions, the monuments of Assyrian art which have come down to us belong to the later historical periods. But, even so, its Babylonian origin is unmistakable; the material of the vast buildings is the same brick which ancient Babylonia employed. Assyria, too, was unacquainted with blocks and columns of stone, although the vicinity of the mountains would have furnished ample materials for them. The Assyrians built with clay bricks after the Babylonian model, and employed as supports cedar trunks fetched from the Amanus and Lebanon The country was more favourably situated as regards stone for sculpture than Babyloma, where Gudea was obliged

the colossal bulls of Assyria, and were believed to guard the buildings on the walls of which they were set up.

The ample store of material which was available for facing the brick walls, and the ease with which the soft alabaster could be worked, gave Assyrian buildings their peculiar characteristics. While we have to imagine to ourselves in Babylonia the walls of a temple or palace covered with a plain lime-wash, or, at best, decorated with enamelled tiles, here the walls of the palace are covered by slabs of alabaster, bearing inscriptions and sculptured representations of the achievements of its founder. One or two rows of bas-reliefs and the commemorative inscriptions of the king in question usually



HOW THE COLOSSAL BULLS WERE MOVED GREAT DISTANCES
One of the few bas-reliefs giving an insight into the employment of slaves in building operations. A huge stone figure is being dragged by gangs of slaves, others carrying slips of wood for the sledge to slide on.

to obtain the slabs for his statues from Sinai and Palestine. The mountains to the north of Nineveli supplied alabaster and limestone with which the brick buildings could be faced, and the colossal figure of Arban shows that a pre-Assyrian age was acquainted with the gigantic bulls which guarded the palace doors and city gates. Babylonia has not yet furnished such products of art, for stone was not available for their construction. But the recent excavations at Babylon have proved that brick was employed there for the construction of reliefs on a large scale. In many cases the representations are formed of coloured tiles, and the dragons and other monsters thus depicted undoubtedly served the same purpose as run round the walls. These inscriptions form one of the chief sources of our information for the history of certain periods. The sculptures are, as yet, the only available commentary on the bare record, and they furnish us with details which cannot be gathered from the inscriptions themselves.

These monuments do not show the pleasure telt by the Egyptian in scenes from domestic life—it must be admitted that we have not any sculptured tombs or decorated buildings of non-royal personages; the sculptures as yet recovered represent only incidents worthly of a king of Ashur. Nine-tenths of them are devoted to the glories of campaigns or hunting expeditions, and the rest to the buildings.

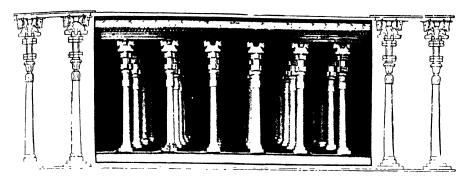
the king, for a king of Ashur was interested in little else. It was only the highly developed skill of the latest period in let Ashinbampal which attempted anything of a difterent character, but pictures like that of the monarch teasting with his consort are exceptions in the long series The Latest battle scenes. There we see the king driving out in his A et war-chariot, the camp life, the Period battle, the pursuit of the enemy, the capture of towns. The splendid exploits of the king in building are also duly commemorated. We see how the terraces on which the palaces stand were raised by the employment of enormous numbers of men, how the colossal stone figures, in crates, drawn by topes were moved upon rollers by means of levers, and were thus transported from the rafts upon the Tigris to the palace platform, but we learn little of the domestic life of the Assyrians We do at the same time learn isolated details of the daily life of the people, but these are introduced only incidentally in scenes depicting war or building operations tew scenes of camp life may be reckoned under this head, and we also gain some insight into the life of the slaves and the methods employed in building operations. We have afready noted how great weights were moved. The earth is carried in baskets on the backs of long rows of slaves; an overseer walks here and there and lets his whip fall across the shoulders of the laggards.

Art shows a progressive development, especially in the execution of details. It is possible to trace accurately the progress from the sculptures in the palace of Ashurnasirpal to those of the New Assyrian Empire. While the former still exhibit figures that are comparatively stiff and notably fail to represent large masses of men in battle, a far greater freedom and variety in conception and execution is traceable in the latter. The scenes from Development the wars of Ashurbanipal show the climas of Assyrian skill. of Assyrian This royal Assyrian ait—we know nothing of any other grows in exact proportion to the power and the wealth which was acquired. We cannot decide whether art was practised by wider sections of the native population, and whether this latter had any large re in the development already noted. ercenaries fought the Assyrian battles

and Pheene ian shipwrights built to the Beet artists and sculptors were also collected from every conners delicio ivories and examples of metalino have 1 0500 indeed, been recovered upon A vin sites which show unmistakable trace a Egyptian and Phæmeian influen e in its principal achievements Assyrian arr exhibits little foreign influence, except in so far as it was a development of the earlier art of Babylonia A comparison of Assyrian art with that of the early Babylonians and Sumerians proves that it made no advance upon the high level of excellence attained by these carlier peoples. The stele of Naram-Sin, for example, is unrivalled by any artistic product of the later periods. The first vague efforts to attain in ideal of beauty were abandoned in favour of a stereotyped art, which aimed only at an exact copy of outward forms. We may more certainly regard it as a result of Semitic art, since the same spirit is evident m all we know of Semitic life. It is the complete want of the imagination which dreams of a more beautiful Superiority of Babylon's world The Semite has remained a child whose imagina-

tion sees bliss in the limitless accumulation of material delights

The reason why the Assyro-Babylonian art, in spite of all delicacy of technique. could not advance to an idealisation has been thought to lie in the fact that it never took as its subject the nude human figure. In the first place, that is not quite correct, we actually possess small Babyloman statuettes of Ishtar, or Venus, and the torso of a large female statue from the time of the Assyrian king, Ashur-bel-kala It is true, on the other hand, that the Semitic spirit regards the nude human form as something mean. That again is a practical proof of an undeveloped and childish spirit, to which the Semite, even in theory, has never risen superior. glory of this world finds outward expression in trappings of costly stuffs: therefore he represents his ideal of beauty by infinitely delicate reproduction of costly apparel [see page 269]. In this way we may explain the decline which characterises Assyrian art when compared to the products of the earlier periods in Babylonia. Moreover, the genius of Assyria exhibited itself in war and in political administration rather than in art. In the latter realm she learnt from Babylon, and she did not improve upon her teacher.



THROUGHOUT the whole of Babylonian history we have been able to trace a struggle with Elam, the neighbouring state on the east, which has often led to the dominion of the Elamites over Babylonia and temporarily even to the subjugation of wider districts, until the power of Elam was finally broken by Ashurbanipal But just as Babyloma, which had become Chaldwan, finally triumphed again over Assyria so Elam in the end became the seat of the power which ruled the whole Nearer East: but then it was no longer Elamite but had been conquered by the Arvan Persians - As Nebuchadnezzai once again restored the old sphere of Babylonian power, at least towards the west, so Elam under the Persians became the sept of sovereignty for all the countries which had once been subject to the most successful Elamite conquerors and for a still wider circle

The real Elam is the region, with Susa for its centre, which in the north is separated from Media by the chain of

The Scat the Kerkha and the Karun. of Persian In the south the Persian Gulf Power forms the natural boundary: in antiquity it extended far more to the north-east than it does at present, and into it the Euphrates, Tigiis, and Karun flowed by separate channels. The head of the gulf has been filled up by the alluvial deposit carried down by the rivers, and it now forms the marshy country on the edge of which Basra hes. It was called by the Assyrians Nårmairati, "the bitter water." On its northern shore lay Dut-Takin, the capital of Merodach-baladan, the prince of the "Country of the Sea," which surrounded

the shores of the gulf and from its perpetual contact with Elam has already frequently occupied our attention the direction of Babylonia, the further natural boundary is the mountain range Boundaries on the Median borders which shuts off the river valley, the of Ancient Jebel Hamrin, with its eastern E!am spuis. Toward the east we cannot fix a frontier for the pre-Persian Elam, with which we are now concerned. as the newly discovered inscriptions from Susa do not throw much light upon the expansion of Elam on the east, while from those of Babylonia and Assyria we can, in the nature of things, obtain information only as to her relations with the west.

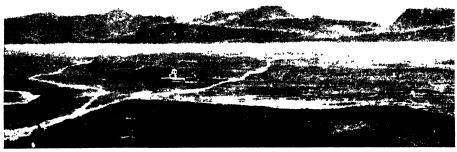
The district of Susiana stretched in Persian times almost up to the Shapur; a line drawn thence in a northerly direction to the Zagros represents, roughly, the extent of this Persian province. This may, perhaps, have been regarded by the Elamite kings also as their peculiar territory. But precisely as Babyloma considered the country of Mesopotamia to belong to it, so the district which was most closely connected with Elam extended still further, for, even in the seaport of Bushite, Elamite kings raised buildings, and inscriptions by them have been found. We may reasonably assume that kings whose armies had perhaps penetrated as far as the Mediterranean Sea would not have stopped at the frontiers of their native land in an easterly direction. Elamite armies, in times when the empire flourished, may have traversed countries which on this side correspond to the extent of the later Persian empire.

The position of Elam in relation to the sphere of Babyloman civilisation is the decided from the first. As the

firmly organised state against which the influx of nations pressing westward from the great steppes of Central and Eastern Asia must have struck, it was for the civilised region of the Euphrates the "buffer state" which warded off the barbarians from it, or, if conquered itself, it received them and civilised them first before they extended their conquests turther to the west. We may perhaps, discover some traces of this last rôle in the different Elamite conquests.

Down to the year 1868 the only Elaunte inscriptions that had been recovered were the bricks of some kines of Susa, and a few scarcely more important inscriptions on stone, also from Susa, which Loftus discovered, some bricks with similar inscriptions from Bushine excavated by F. C. Andreas, and two longer royal

long series of inscriptions of the native kings and princes. They have, mereover, resulted in finds of the first importance with regard to the history and development of Elamite art. The inscriptions confirm what we must deduce from the course of history—that we meet in Elam a civilisation developed under Babylonian influence, and borrowed from Babylonia, which, however, for its part had impressed its character to a large extent on what it borrowed. The native inscriptions are written in a character modelled on the Babyloman and, what is more significant, they are composed in the Elamite language. This language, into the structure of which we thus gain an insight, is not closely allied to any of those otherwise known to us if we except the language of the second column of the inscriptions of the Achiemenida The capital of the country



THE PLAIN OF SUSA AND THE MOUNTAINS OF ELAM A view from the great tunnilus of Susa . The mosq is in the centre is said to be the tomb of the prophet Daniel

inscriptions which were found by Layard at Mal-Amir and Kul Fira'un in the Zagros on the upper course of the Karun. Lottus, and more recently Diculatoy had excavated at Susa the extensive works of the latter having mainly brought Persian remains to light. But in the winter of 1807-98 those French excavations at Susa, under the direction of De Morgan, were begun which have resulted in the recovery of a series of unique monuments throwing a flood of light upon the listory of Elam and the position which she occupied among the early races of the Nearer East.

It is true that the most valuable of the finds made by the French mission consist of Babylonian monuments which diad been carried off to Susa as spoil, apart from these foreign imporwas at all times, so far as we can see, Susa, or Shushan, which is to be regarded as the centre of Elam properly so called, the heart of the empire. Here was the sanctuary of Shushinak, the national god of Susa, and the city must have been the common centre for the different provinces and tribes. The kings of Elam resided in Susa which was, therefore for the empire in question what Ashur and Kineveh had been for the Assyrian empire. Elam,

Susa the Heart of the Empire of many towns and tribes, one of which, the Hapirti, was governed by separate kings. The numerous cities, called by the Assyrians "royal cities," are difficult to locate. For information as to these, and as to the political division of Elam, we are indebted to the

accounts by Ashurbanipal of his own wars. We can distinguish three or four parts of Elam with their chief towns: Madaktu in the west, then Susa in the district of Bara'she; further on, Bubilu in the east, and finally, adjoining the Persian Gulf, in a northern situation in the Zagros, Khidalu, which is expressly described as a mountain province. The general Semitic name for the whole country was Elam, while Anshan, or Anzan, was the general native name for the greater part of it.

The language in which the native inscriptions are composed was probably much the same as that spoken by the first Elamite conquerors of Babylona, for the names which they contain are the same, and belong to the same language, as those of the first conquerors, and of the last kings of Flam. This proves that

classify its language under a larger group. The relation of Elamite to Kassite still remains undecided, in view of the fact that only a few words of the latter have as yet been recovered. On the whole, distant affinities are possible, and, in fact, may be assumed. A large Elamite number of clay tablets have Cuneiform recently been discovered at Writing Susa. They are inscribed in what we may term the proto-Elamite writing, in all probability a pre-Semitic system; most of the signs and characters impressed upon them are very different from those of the Sumerians and early Babylonian Semites Although these texts cannot be fully deciphered

at present, it is certain that they contain lists of figures and accounts. Some

the ideographs, such as that for

THE MOUND THAT COVERS THE REMAINS OF THE CAPITAL OF ELAM
This view, looking towards the tumulus, is taken from a point exactly opposite to that shown on page 16'93

the "Elamites" have been of as great importance in the history of the state of Elam as the Semitic Babylonians in that of Pabylonia Obviously, in the period of two thousand years for which these names are authenticated, Elam not less than Babylonia, had been mundated by other peoples of various ethnic affinities. The fact that, notwithstan ling this, the language was preserved points to the same conclusion as the corresponding phenomenon in Babylonia. It was

Original Language Preserved this people which imprinted its own intellectual stamp on a previously existing civilisation, and, under the influence of Babylon, created the Elamite civilisation and the organisation of a great state, which afterwards became dangerous to Babylon itself.

We have a difficult task to find the ethnic affinity of this people, and to

"tablet" with which many of the texts begin resemble those of Babylonia, but the majority are entirely different and are developed upon a system of their own. We have, in fact, in these lately discovered tablets a new class of cunertorin in an early stage of its development when the pictorial origin and hieroglyphic character of the signs can still be recognised

On the Semitic invasion of Blam in the third millennium B.C., it is probable that this proto-Elanite system of writing was the one generally employed throughout the country. But the invaders brought with them the system which they themselves had adopted from the Sumerians, and in the subsequent period we have the strange spectacle of native Elamite princes employing the Semitic character and language for their own inscriptions. The native

proto-Elamite character indeed continued to be employed for the common purposes of life, and we even possess an inscription of the age of Karibu-sha-shushmak written in Semitic Babylonian, to which an addition ĥas been made in Intercourse Elamite. In course of time a with Mesopotamia modification of the Babylonian system was adopted by the Elamites for writing their own language phonetically, but for a considerable period Semitic Babylonian was largely employed. This fact, which is amply proved by recent finds at Susa, is a striking proof of the intercourse which took place at this early period between Elamand the Mesopotamian There was only one road by which communication could be made between Babylonia and Elam since the region round the head of the Persian Gulf was entirely impassable owing to the swamps caused by the water from the rivers – namely, through the passes of the mountain chain of Media and Elam, which led to the plain of Northern Babyloma. We have noticed that Dur-ilu was the town where the Elamites entered Babylonian territory, and that Northern Babylonia was the first object of their Of large towns at a greater invasions distance, Nippur usually was exposed to their attack, and Uruk or Erech, if they penetrated farther toward the south

Erech, known at the period of the early city-states as the seat of a separate kingdom, was the centre of a particular

sovereignty certamly down to the times of the "kingdom o f Sumer and Akkad'', for we have inscriptions of "kings of truk" who belong approximately to the same period as the dynastics of Isin and Larsa. Later distress in Nippur,

and in this very Erech, caused by the Elamites; and one of the first historically authenticated accounts relates to a conquest of Erech by the Elamites. These conditions are reproduced in a Babyloman hero-legend. Gilgamesh, the chief great Babyloman epic, which the Babyloman story of the forms an episode, is the hero

of Erech, the "builder" of the town, and its liberator from the yoke of Khumbaba, king of Elam.

This legend, no doubt, is based upon episodes in early Elamite and Babylonian history, and, though Khumbaba may not have been an actual historical ruler, he may be taken to personify the power of Elam in its early relations with Babylonia.

In the earliest historical inscriptions which have yet been recovered we find the princes of Elam owning allegiance to suzerams in Babylonia, for they bear the title of patesi, or priest-king, proving that they did not enjoy complete political independence. One of the earliest of these native rulers, to judge from the archaic forms of the characters employed on an inscription of his that has been recovered, was Ur-ilim Of the suzerains to whom these early priest-kings owed allegiance we have evidence from the Babylonian Sargon of Agade and his son, Naram-Sm, both held sway in Elam, and the latter conquered the Elamite district of Apriak Another early conqueror of

Babylonian Sway in Elam

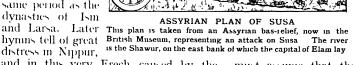
<u> อนักได้ที่ที่ที่กับการการสอบแพน</u>ร

Elam was Alu-usharshid, or Urumush, kmg of the city of Kish, a number of whose inscriptions have been found near those

of Sargon at Nippur, proving that he subdued Elam and Para'se, the district in which Susa was probably situated Victories over the hosts of Anshan, the western boundary of Elam, and the dis-

Elam, and the district of Para'se, are also recorded in an inscription of Mutabil an early governor of Durilu, and Gudea, the famous patest of Lagash, also boasts of victorious wars against Anshan But, as neither Mutabil nor Gudea enroyed the

Gudea enjoyed the position of independent kings, we



must assume that their conquests were undertaken on behalf of their own suzerains in Babylonia. The kings of the Dynasty of Ui appear to have exercised a more enduring influence over Elam, for bricks have been found at Susa proving that Dungi, and his three successors, Bur-Sin I., Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, all included Elam within the limits of their

empire. The excavations of De Morgan have turnished us with numbers of inscribed bricks, cones, steles, and statues, bearing inscriptions of a number of native Elamite rulers who are to be assigned to this early period. The records consist chiefly of building inscriptions and foundation memorials, commemorating the construction or repair of temples, the cutting of canals, and the like We do not, therefore, gather from them much information for settling the problems connected with the external history of Elam at this time, but they enable us to form a true conception of the internal administration of the country. By their help we may picture the Elamites period as a nation without of this ambition to extend its boundaries, and content to own allegiance to foreign suzerams. The native princes are not engaged in warlike operations or in the conduct of campaigns, but devote then energies to the worship of the gods and the beautifying of their temples. It is to this period that we may probably assign Karibu-sha-Shushmak, Khutran-tepti, and his descend int Idadu I, who was followed

A Nation Without Ambition n direct succession by Kal-Rukhuratin and Idadu II Names of other priest-kings are known, of whom we may Beh-arugal, and Urkium both of whom were probably contemporaneous with the later kings of the Dynasty of Ur

The first authenticated account of the succeeding period deals with a conquest of Babylonia by the Elamitic king Kuturnakhundi. Ashurbanipal, to whom we owe it, states that the latter, sixteen hundred and thuty-five years before his time, therefore about 2280 had carried away the image of Nana, the goddess of Erech, from her temple to Elam. Kuturnakhundi had pillaged Babylonia and oppressed it in every way. We have here to do with a time similar to that described in the Gilgamesh epic, although it was not the first of such epochs in Elam. We have already referred in Babylonian history to the tablet carried away from Erech and rediscovered by Kungalzu in Susa, this may have been taken away by Kuturnakhundi on that occasion. The account of Ashurbanipal refers us to an earlier age than that of the "First Dynasty of Babylon" in Northern Babylonia, and of the dynasty of Larsa in the South, but Kuturnakhundi's invasion may well have been one of these earlier episodes in the Elamite

wars carried on by the kings of the "First Dynasty." In that case we must conclude that the figures given by the scribes of Ashurbanipal are unreliable, having been based on an exaggerated estimate of the period separating Ashurbanipal's conquest of Susa from the age of Kuturnakhundi If Ashurbanipal's figures be accepted, we must set Kuturnakhundi's Elamite invasion and his conquest of Conquests in Erech some two or three hun-Babylonia died years before the rise of Babylon to a position of pre-emmence in Babyloma In favour of retaining Ashurbanipal's estimate of the period at which Kuturnakhundi's invasion of Babyloma and conquest of Erech took place, we find that the inscriptions recently discovered at Susa furnish us with the names of many rulers who are probably to be set within this period of Elamite conquest and expansion which was brought to an end by Hammurabi and his son Samsu-iluna The change in the political condition of Elam appears to have been reflected in the change of title, and the native princes discarded their former designation of patesi or "priest-king" in favour of a title which may have corried with it the implication of suzerainty over a portion of Babylonia. However this may be, we find that like their predecessors, they continued to reside at Susa, and carried on their work of temple building. To this period we may probably assign the rulers Shuukdu, Temti-agun, his nephew, Temtikhisha-khanesh, the son of Temti-agun, and Simebelar-khuppak, a descendant of Shirukdu. Another allied group of rulers who probably came to the throne rather later are Shilkhakha, and his brother-inlaw Lankuku, whose son was Kuk-Kirmesh, and Attapakshu, Kurigugu, Temtikhalkı, Kal-Ulı, and Kuk-Nashur, all of whom were descendants of Shilkhakha.

Under the earlier kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon Elam was still the suzeram of Southern Baby-Suzerain lonia This state of affairs meets of South us in a clear and distinctly Babylonia attested form during the reign of Rim-Sin, the last king of Larsa and of Sumer and Akkad. He had been appointed king by his father, Kutur-Mabuk, as the successor of his brother, Arad-Sin, upon the throne of Larsa, and he reigned in his tather's name. In dealing with the history of Babylonia we have already described the defeat of Rim-Sin by Hammur

and his death at Samsu-iluna's hands. With his death Elam relinquished her claims to Babylonian territory

In the period of Elamite expansion before the downfall of Rim-Sin must be set the series of events referred to in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, with its noteworthy narrative of a campaign by

the kings of Elam, Babylon, Expedition and other countries against Against Palestine, and of the wonderful Palestine rescue of Lot by Abraham It is permissible for us to conjecture that we here have before us an account which been derived from Babyloman chronicles or legends. It is there stated that, at the time of the kings Amraphel, or Hammurabi, of Babylon, Eri-Aku of Larsa, and Tidal of Goum, the king of Elam, Kutur-Lagamar, or Chedorlaomer he was in the original account the only one who conducted the campaign—undertook an expedition to the west The connection of this account with the legend of the destruction of Sodom and with the story of Abraham brings the narrative into conformity with that of the Baby-Ionian chronicles. Kutur-Lagamai might have been the king of Elam at the time when Kutur-Mabuk, father of Rim-Sin, was king of the Elamite district lamutbal. which adjoins Babylonia, and was therefore a vassal of Elam.

These are the principal facts at present known to us of this expansion of the power of Elam, which was brought to an end by Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna. We may perhaps regard it as a precursor, upon a smaller scale, of the Persian power which ruled the east from Susa, accordingly the Elamite kings, who fought with Assyria for the possession of Babylonia, undertook no unprecedented task, but could appeal to a tradition of former power.

The succeeding period, that of the early Kassite supremacy, is obscure for Babylonia, and still more so for Elam. We may avail ourselves of this inter-

The Kassite avail ourselves of this interruption to enumerate here the more important kings known from Elamite inscriptions, who,

it has been suggested, may be assigned to this period. But we will first trace the steps by which, according to our recent information, the Kassites, who were settled in Elam, obtained control over Babylonia. Towards the close of the test dynasty of Babylon we have evidence are that an Elamite king named Sadi, or

Taki, was defeated by Ammizaduga, the last king but one of the dynasty; but in the subsequent period it is certain that the empire founded by Hammurabi quickly crumbled before the onslaught of more vigorous and less civilised invaders

In dealing with the history of Babylonia we have seen how Huma-ilu succeeded m founding an independent kingdom in Southern Babylonia on the shores of the Persian Gult, whose kings must have harassed and weakened the later Semitic rulers of the first dynasty. Moreover, as early as the ninth year of Samsu-iluma the Kassite tribes which were settled in the western mountains of Elam began to make raids upon the Babylonian plain. is clear that they were repulsed for a time, but, when the first dynasty had been brought to an end by the Hittite invasion, and Babylon lay defenceless and with her great temple and her palaces in ruins, the Kassite hordes poured down from their mountain fastnesses, and probably met with small resistance in their occupation of the city. Large numbers of the Kassite tribes remained behind Kassites ¹¹¹ Elam at this period. and the Kassite conquest of Babylon represented Elam advance of what was merely the vanguard of their host. For a considerable period Northern Babylonia only was in their hands, and the kings of the ' Country of the Sea" succeeded in retaining their hold upon Southern

The Kassites of Elam must have harassed the "Country of the Sex" in the same manner as then predecessors had harassed Babylon, and it was probably to put an end to such raids that Ea-gamil, the last king of Iluma-ilu's dynasty, mvaded Elam But he had underestimated the number and vigour of his opponents, for Ulum-Buriash, the brother of Bitiliash, the principal Kassite chief in Elam at this period, not only succeeded in driving him from Elamite territory, but followed him into Southern Babylonia, and conquered and occupied the "Country of the Sea." By this conquest the whole of Babylonia became Kassite, and it is probable that a new and extensive migration took place by which fresh Kassite tribes advanced from the Elamite mountains into the Southern Babylonian plain.

Babylonia.

The next question is that of the relation of the Kassites to Elam. Since the

Kassites migrated into Babylonia over the mountains of the Median border - that is to say, since they came through the passes by which the Elamites themselves made their inroads, they also may have left permanent traces in Elam. We may, indeed, assume that they were a later group of the same family of peoples to which the Elamites themselves belonged. There is no evidence one way or the other as to the affinity of their language with the Elamite. The remnants of the Kashshu, who did not advance to the conquest of Babylon or to that of Southern Babylonia and of the "Country of the Sea," remained behind in the mountains, where they were attacked by Nebuchadnezzar I., and agam by Sennacherib, and in Alexander's time they are mentioned as Kossæans. A tribe of the Kissians is also mentioned as dwelling in Elam, near Susa , it is possible that they were descendants of the Kassites who had settled in Elam, but this cannot, of course, be proved. It is difficult to imagine that Elam did not experience a Kassite conquest, which must have followed its own course apairt Kassite from those of Babylonia, but Conquerors hitherto we have found no trace of it in the inscriptions victories would be more difficult to prove, since a Kassite name is easily distinguishable from a Babylonian , whereas Elamite names bear a stamp resembling those of the Kassites a fact which points to the

affinity of the two races There are two imaginable theories It is possible that the Kassites who settled in Elam exercised authority over the whole of the country, and had had case such a ruler as Bitiliash, the 1 sther of Ulam-Buriash, must be regarded not merely as a Kassite mountain chief, but as a genuine king of Elam. The other alternative is, that the Elamites proved themselves capable of offering adequate resistance, and thus the conquest of Elam by the Kassites did not lead to a definitely established Kassite supremacy In any case no lasting union with Babylonia, under Kassite kings, was effected. Agum II. does not mention Elam, and under the later Kassites we find Elam at war with Babylonia. In accordance with this latter alternative, which on the evidence at present available appears the more probable of the two, we may imagine that while the Kassites occupied portions

of Elamite territory, particularly the mountainous districts in the west, there was a regular monarchy established at Susa

In that case it is possible to assign to this period of Elamite history such Elamite rulers as Pakhir ishshan, the son of Iri-khalki, and Attar-kittakh, his brother, Khumban-ummena, Early Kings of and his son Untash-gal, who married Napir-asu, and Elam an enthusiastic pation of the arts, as the very beautiful bronze statue of his wife, which we have recovered, testifies , and Untakhash-gal and Kidin-Khutian, both sons of a ruler, Pakhirishshan, probably the second of that During this period we can trace no point of contact between Flam and Babylonia, and they do not appear to have come into direct contact until well on in the Kassite dynasty, when we find that Kurigalzu, the great-grandson of Ashur-uballit, waged war with Elam. It is evident from the accounts that Elam was once again the aggressor, at the beginning she oppressed Babylonia, but she was afterwards driven from Babylonian soil, and from an inscription that has been recovered we may infer that Kungalzu invaded Elam and besieged and captured Susa - Khurbatila was king of Elam, according to the account of the Babylonian chronicle, to which we are indebted for information as to this war. We learn that, after being defeated at Dui-Dungi, he was taken prisoner by Kurigalzu, but he was afterwards released in return for the cession to Babylon of a considerable tract of Elamite territory. For the next record of Elamite history

we are also indebted to the same Babylonian chronicle. During the reign of Bel-nadm-shum I., king of Babylon, Kidin-khutrutash, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, captured Nippur and Dur-ilu, devastated the open country, Babylonia and carried away the inhabitants as prisoners, this was the the Prey of Elam time when Tukulti-Ninib conquered Babylonia. We thus have the scene presented to us which is so familiar from the later Assyrian age—that is, Babylonia the prey of Elam or of Ashur. Kidin-khutrutash, like Tukulti-Ninib, must have considered himself the protector of Babylon. The invasion was soon afterwards renewed "after that Adad-shum

iddina was returned," as the chronicle says. We may imagine that Adad-shumiddina, who maintained friendly relations with Assyria, and, perhaps, governed

with Assyria, and, perhaps, governed under the suzeramty of Tuk-ulti-Ninb, was attacked by Kidin-khutrutash and dethroned, and that the Assyrian could not help him because a rebellion broke out in Assyria at the same time; that is the same series of events which we see later under Sennacherib and Ashur-nadin-shum. Babyloma had once more to suffer greeyously during this invasion. Once again the country was laid waste, and this time in particular Isin was pillaged; and it is noteworthy that this ancient royal city

is mentioned, together with Nippur, in hymns of lamentation and peintential psalms as being sacked by Elam.

A king of Elam who followed Kidin-khutrutash, after no long interval, upon the throne was Khallutushin-Shushinak. Little known of him beyond the fact that he was the father of Shutruk-nakhundi, who succeeded him upon the throne and proved himself dangerous enemy of Babylonia. For he invaded the country, and defeated and slew Zamama-shumiddma, the last king but one of the Kassite dynasty With the assistance of his Kuturnakhundi, he sacked the city of Sippar, including the stele of Naiam-

Sin and the famous stele inscribed with Hammurabi's code of laws, both of which documents have recently been recovered by the French mission at Susa. He also defeated the king of Ashnunnak, and from the city of Kish in Northern Babylonia he carried away the Obelisk of Manishtusu. which is now in the Louvie. His booty also included numerous Kassite "boundary stones." Though many of these were hammered to pieces by the Assyrians at the sack of Susa in the reign of Ashurbanipal, those that have been recovered during the recent excavations have thrown considerable light upon our knowledge of the bylonian system of land tenure during

the Kassite period. Shutruk-nakhundi had three sons, two of whom, Kuturnakhundrand Shilkhak-in-Shushinak, occupied the throne in turn. Numberless remains the latter's activity as a great builder of temples to the gods have been recovered at Susa. Remains of numerous steles have also been found dating from his reign, from which we may infer that he conterred great benefits upon his land and preserved peace and prosperity within the borders of his kingdom. He had nine children, of whom Khuteludush-m-Shushmak, the eldest, Shilkhma-khamiu-Lagamai each in tuin eccupied the throne. The interference of Elam in Babylonian affairs,

> which took place towards the close of the Kassite dynasty was brought to an end under the most powerful king of the succeeding dynasty Nebuchadnezzai I. with whose reign there begins a new independence of Babyloma which once more proved herself superior to Assyria, this was the last era of Babyloman pros-The statue of Marpenty duk had been carried to Elam in the reign of one of Nebuchadnezzar's cessors probably Bel-nadinakhi, whom he mentions and we may conjecture with considerable probability that it was Shutruknakhundi who carried it off. Babyloma was therefore, without the lord of the land, who alone could confor the crown upon the king

son, Kutumakhundi, he sacked the city of Sippar, and carried a 11th booty back with him to Elam, to black beach with him to rown skins, and black hair and eyes

After his successes in the west, Nebuchadnezzai proceeded to break down the supremacy of Elam, and, if possible, win back his god. We have fragments of numerous songs written on these wars, as well as two records of enfeotment, one of which expressly mentions the recovery of Marduk from Susa, the other describes the war, with Flam, and records

War with Elam, and records that during it the king of Elam, whose name is not given, died.

The property of the states

The recovery of the statue would, in the first place, presuppose a capture of Susa. It is however, conceivable that on the change of sovereign the new king lost no time in concluding peace,

and surrendered the statue. In any case Nebuchadnezzar had shown himself an independent and well-matched opponent of Elam, and by the recovery of his god he had destroyed the outward token of his vassalage. He now could once more style himself with all right and justice king of Babylon.

The success of Assyria after Nebuchadnezzai, under Tiglath-pilesei I. was only

temporary Babylonia remained for some time still in possession of Mesopotamia, and was, therefore, probably able to free herself from Elamite tutelage We are entirely without inscriptions referring to the relations existing between the two countries at this period. We saw that among the successors of the second dynasty of Ism a king of Elamite origin was reckoned by himself as forming a distinct lynasty, we may therefore fix a new advance on the part of Elain at that time about 1000 BC when Babylonia and Mesopotamia were exposed to every kind of devastation and even could not protect herself against the plundering hordes of the Arama and the Sutu

If we judge by the events of later times we may reasonably suppose that in the cusuing period. when Chaldacan princes for the most part sat upon the throne of Babylon Nabu-shum-ishkun and others. Elam also exercised an important influence. It does not seem in leed to have been able at first to interfere actively in Babylonian affairs. We cannot ascertain the cause, whether internal disorders or an invasion from the east, or both; but it is a noteworthy feet that Shalmaneser II, when he entered Babylonia, found no resistance offered by Elam regards Elam in a manner which

does not correspond to its earlier or its later position as a great power. After this we hear nothing more of Elainte affairs. A period of weakness is also implied by the fact that Shalmaneser, as protector of Babylon, received presents from Bactria, especially Bactrian camels and Indian elephants. We may, perhaps, gather from this that attempts had been

made by this country, which had been long cut off from Babylonia by the power of Elam, to come into renewed touch with the lord of Babylonia. A fresh access of power by Elam nipped these attempts in the laid.

Thus the Fai East remained outside the horizon of the Western peoples until in the Persian age Elam became involved with the Persians against



His successor, Shamshi-Adad IV., able resemblance to his forefather, illustrated on the opposite page,

the West, and Alexander once more restored communication by his victories over Persia and her allies. When Tiglath-pileser IV, appeared upon the scene the power of Elam had revived; Bactria was again under Elamite dominion, and the Chaldæans thenceforth found support in the Elamite kings of Susa, who alternated with the Assyrians in being the pations.

or feudal lords of Babyloma It is only a momentary gleam which is thrown on the relations to the east by the Bactrian embassy, but it is sufficient to make us recognise that Elam, in consequence of her position and civilisation, was really the connecting link between the civilised countries of Nearer and Further Asia, and the predecessor of the eastern A Connection the pressure empire The Middle Assyrian empire Far East did not come into contact with Elamite territory before Tiglathpileser IV, the nearest approach was made by Adad-mari IV, who reckoned Ellipi among his tributary states. We may conclude in any case that Elam in the ninth and the first half of the eighth century BC had not yet encroached upon the west After the accession of Nabonassai, in 747 B.C., and Tiglath-pileser IV in 745, we have continuous records of Elamite history Γ he Babylonian chronicle, which begins with this period, describes very clearly in its condensed and abbreviated style, the actual conditions in Babylonia, and it continuously refers to the kings of Elam and of Assyria and their relations to Babylonia. It notes only facts, and never draws the slightest general inference from them. But the conclusion which results from the frequent occurrence of these notices has been already drawn in dealing with the history of Assyria, the ensuing period is taken up with a struggle between Elam and Assyria for Babylonia. are two parties - an Assyrian, which sees the patron of Babylon in the king of Ashin, and a Chaldwan-Elamite party, which sees him in the king of Elani; and the chronicle

In 743 B.C. it is recorded that Ummanigash, or Khumbanigash, became king of Elam . his lather according to the account by Ashurbampal, was called Umbadara, and had also been his pre-Struggle decessor on the throne. Hefor **Babylonia** reigned until 717, when his death is related to have taken place. Tiglath-pileser, who exercised his rights as protector over Babylon after 745, does not allude to him, even when, in 720, he drove out the Chaldaan Ukin-zir. We may, perhaps, assume that Khumbanigash had at least favoured the latter, although he was not in a position to interfere yigorously in his behalf. Even under

takes account of both by recording the

reigns of kings in both countries.

Shalmaneser, who indeed reigned in Babylon unopposed, nothing transpires about him. On the other hand, on Shalmaneser's death he entered the lists in support of his protégé Merodach-baladan, who under his suzeramty became king of Babylon; and when Saigon tried at once to eject him, Khumbanigash advanced into Babylonia and compelled Sargon at Dur-ilu to abandon the territory of Babylon and Southern Babylonia.

In 717-699 followed Ishtar-khundu, as the chronicle has transformed his name or Shutur-nakhundi, as Saigon more correctly calls him. When Sargon, in 710 on e more attacked Merodach-baladan, he began by separating the two confederates He first turned against Elam, conquered the countries on the Lower Uknu took the border fortresses erected there by Shutur-nakhundi, and occupied the border countries of Lakhiri, Pillatu, etc. Meiodach-baladan hastily sent presents to Elam, and advanced with his army to the province of lathui on the Uknu, adjacent to the districts occupied by Sargon, but the Emalite "accepted his present

yet forbade him to advance Sargon farther" or to enter Elamite Attacks fernitory This is a strange Elam Did he really abandon situation his vassal in order that war might not reach his own land, or had Merodach-baladan perhaps tried previously to set hi uself free from him? In any case he did not venture to advance into Babylonia, and avoided the contest with Assyria. Sargon was able to secure the frontier districts which he had occupied, and to place them partly under Assyrian administration. Soon afterwards, in the disputes for the throne of Ellipi, when Nibe, one of the two brothers, sought help from Shuturnakhundi, and the latter had installed him in Elam, he did not venture to take any steps in support of his protégé when Sargon brought back his own candidate, Ispabara. The battle at Dur-ilu must have taught Elam a severe lesson, and the army of Sargon became as formidable as that of Tiglath-pileser.

Merodach-baladan, after his expulsion from Bit-Iakin, had in his flight an asylum in Elam, and he was again welcome there, now that he had no army. When Sargon was dead he was brought back to Babylon by an Elamite army in 703, but was immediately expelled by Sennacherib. In the battle of Kish it was the Elamite

700

troops especially who fought for him. Once more he found refuge in Elam, and he again found assistance there when he advanced from Bit-lakin to Babylon and forced Bel-ibni to join him and thus to recognise the protectorate of Elam They were once again driven out by Sennacherib in 700. These failures of Shutur-nakhundi possibly contributed to a transference of power into the hands of his brother Khalludush, or Khallushu, who rebelled in the following year, took his brother prisoner, and mounted the throne himself in 699, and ruled for six years. His reign at least produced a more vigorous action against Assyria, and he achieved successes in Babylonia, which balanced those of Sennacherib In 694 the latter made a descent on the Elamite provinces situated on the great lagoon of the Euphrates and colonised by fugitive Chaldwans from the "Country of the Sca" while at the same time Khalludush invaded Northern Babylonia capturing and plundering Nippur -Sennacherib's son, Ashur-nadm-shum, was brought as a prisoner to Elam, and Nergal-ushezib was placed upon the throne of Lordship Babylon Elam had thus be-

Over Babylon

come liege lord of Northern Babyloma while the South was still in the hands of Assyria Nergal-ushezib maintained his power in Babylon as long as his protector reigned. The latter must have found it difficult during the next year and a half to interfere again on his behalf, for the Assyrians invaded his territory from Southern Babylonia and took him prisoner, without any Elamite army coming to his assistance An explanation may possibly be found in the statement of the Babylonian chronicle, that almost simultaneously a rebellion broke out in Elam in which Khalludush experienced the treatment which he himself had shown to his brother. nakhundi, the third of the name known to us, was raised to the throne as head of the rebellion in 692, but did not retain the position for more than ten months. He had been only a short time on the throne when the Assyrians invaded Elam by land that is, from Northern Babylonia. Kuturnakhundi was in Madaktu, the town which commands the western part of Elam, but he ventured on no resistance and withdrew to Khidalu, the province and town in the Zagios. Since he thus abandoned Susa, we must suppose that

he was not acknowledged there. He may have been paince of Madaktu in the same way as there were independent princes of Khidalu, and was therefore forced to relinquish any attempts at occupying Susa, the capital of the empire. It is thus explained why, although he had just proclaimed himself king by means of a rebellion, he had been unable

Rebellion to raise an army with which Follows to face the Assyrians. These Rebellion ravaged the western provinces, and retook some border districts which

had once been held by Sargon and had subsequently been recovered by Elam under Khalludush

This failure could not have served to strengthen the power of the new king He thus fell a victim, only three months after his flight from Madaktu, in another rebellion, by which Umman-menanu was raised to the throne. His reign marks a new era of success for Elam, and thus of insecurity for the Assyrian possessions in Babylonia Even while the Assyrian army was in Elam, Mushezib-Marduk had usurped the sovereignty in Babylon, and hastened to make sure of the protection ot Elam – Northern Babylonia was once agam, as under Khalludush, lost to Assyria Sennacherib in 691, attempted to win it back, but Umman-menanu was strong enough to perform his promises made to Babylon He appeared in Northern Babylonia, and in the battle of Khalule victory was at least so far on his side that Sennacherib was forced to retire to Assyria. It is also important in estimating the situation to notice that the tall of Babylon did not take place until 680 B.C., when Umman-menanu had been struck down by apoplexy and was, therefore incapacitated from marching to the defence of Babylonia The Babylonian chronicle in its laconic style leaves this fact to be inferred, by placing the notice of the capture of Babylon between

the announcement of the illness Death of and death of Umman-menanu, Babylon's thus "On the 15th Nisan Protector (680 B.C.) Umman-menanu, King of Elam, was struck down by apoplexy; his mouth was affected and he was incapable of speech. On the 1st Kisley the city (Babylon) was taken. On the 17th Adar Umman-menanu died."

His successor was Khumbakhaldash I., who reigned from 689 to 681 B.C. He reigned during the last eight years of

Sennacherib, when, according to the expression of the chronicle, "there was no king" in Babylon, though, according to another chronicle, recently discovered, Erba-Mariduk was, for a portion of that period, recognised as king in Babylon and in Botsippa. In fact, after its destruction Babylon was abandoned alike

Babylon
Neglected
by Elam

by Assyria and Elam, and she
liad to rely upon her own
weakened resources to defeat
the plundering expeditions of

Aramæan and Chaldæan tribes. We have already seen that it was in consequence of his success against the Aramæans that Erba-Marduk secured the throne. In the absence of help from Assyria or Elam, the Chaldæan invasion was at least partially successful, and it was not until the reign of Esarhaddon that the immigrants were driven from Babyloman territory. We have no accounts of Sennacherib at this time and the Babyloman chronicle states metely that a few months before his murder, in 681 BC, Khumbakhaldash died of fever

He was followed by Khumbakhaldash Π , who ruled from 681 to 676 B \subset and whose reign falls in the first six years of Esarhaddon Nothing is at first said of complications with Assyria, indeed, in the attitude adopted toward Nabu-znkitti-lishir, king of the "Country of the Sea," we may well see an effort to establish friendly relations with Assyria and an express repudiation of any claims on Babylonia This may, perhaps, be the explanation of a statement in the Babylonian chronicle that in 680 BC the gods of Dur-ilu and of the Babylonian Dursharrukin not to be confused with Saigon's capital had come back into their own cities. This can hardly refer to anything else especially since Duralu is mentioned than the statues of the gods which had been brought to Elam, presumably by Khalludush, and were now cent back by Khumbak-Babylon's haldash. But friendly rela-Gods tions did not last to long Restored Only six years afterwards, in

Only six years afterwards, in 674 B.C., the chronicle announces as laconically as ever, "the king of Elaminvaded Sippar and caused a massacre." No details are told us. Esarhaddon is naturally as silent as Sennacherib was over a similar disaster eighteen years before. We thus know nothing of any leations having been entered into with

Babylonian rebels. Soon afterwards Khumbakhaldash died "without being siek, in his own palace." In this way Assyria was again freed of a dangerous rival.

Urtaki, the brother and successor of the deceased, seems from the very first to have been equally anxious for a good understanding with Esarhaddon, who was certainly glad, for his part, to have in Elam a peaceful neighbour. The Babylonian chronicle reports during the year the arrival of the statues of the gods of Agade, the sister city to Sippar, from Elam This plainly refers to those which had been carried away by Khumbakhaldash in the preceding year, and were now surrendered to cement the triendship. The famine reported by Ashurbanipal, during which permission was granted by Assyria that distressed Elamites should seek a refuge on Assyrian soil in order to send back this "property," is the only other event which we know of this period The institution of the frontier guard, which Esarhaddon attempted to form by winning over the Gambuli is a proof that he did not trust merely

Peace to the good will of Elam, but with was anxious to secure peace Assyria effectually by other means. The peace lasted during Esarhaddon's life-By the reconstruction of the kingdom of Babylon a most favourable opportunity was presented to the Elanutes of once more realising their old ambitions m Babyloma Urtaki advanced into Northern Babyloma, in order that, in concert with the sheikh of the Gambuli, who was dissatisfied with the role assigned to him, and with a Babylonian prince, he might march on Babylon itself. Nothing is said of any measures of defence undertaken by Shamash-shum-ukm. Ashurbampal, as protector of Babylon, acted as the Elamites Khumbanigash and Umman-menanu had done, he advanced against Urtaki, and compelled him to evacuate Babylonia He did not march against Elam, from which we may argue that the border districts once accupied by Sargon and Sennacherib had long since been abandoned.

Urtaki died soon afterward—certainly before 665 B.C. His death furnished Assyria with a motive for interfering in Elamite affairs. This was the beginning of the series of wars which were destined to lead to the destruction of Elam.

Uttaki did not die a natural deith Ashurbampal's inscriptions are full of expressions about the misery of his violent death but they do not state the method of it. He was deposed by his brother Lemman and the latter was bound to not like other Oriental rulers in the same position—to kill all the sons of his brothers in order not to experience the same face some day it their hands

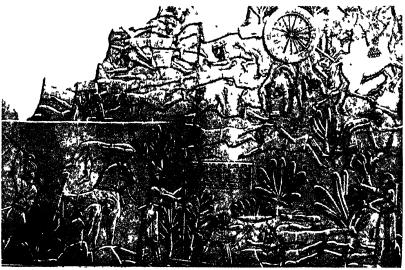
He placed himself like a fiend upon the throne. Ashurbampal writes. The sons of his two brothers and predecessors Khumbakhaldash and Urtaki with sixty other members of the royal house and an escort of adherents successfully made then escape to Assaria where they implored Ashurbampal to protect them and to rest a their to their home. Teaming a demanded the surrender of the first rives and when this was refused be anomore peremptory sending every morth misolent letters. It is shown breach of the law of hiplomatic country between my alcounts.

Teumman Invades
Assyria and continued his preparations for an invision of Bibyloma. He appear at this time to have had in epileptic attack which seemed to Ashirib impalar drying but it did not deter the Hamite from curving out his threats and from marching a junst Assyrian territory. It is not clear how far he idy unced. Ashirib impalar in cell, we also now compile to

take scious meisures. Judging by the display of indignation omens and prayers which he exhibited on the occasion we feel that it was a very difficult task for the burner of the army into the held a unit laim. But at last there was no other alternative in label halfly occupied. Duralu in order thus to but the road into Baltyloni.

feummin dec not appear to have calculated on any opposition, for now he did not venture to defend his frontier but retreated before the As virus unity to Susa. Ashurl and it lets need as the settle ULI as the Karum and its tributures were called by the As virus—the river in question is the Shawir on the eastern Link of which Susa Lay—and defeated the Hamit—army—which here me—him in the open field at Tullis before the walls of Susa—Leumin in fell in the bitthe.

A hurlar will wis now tole to install in Susiane of the fugitive pinces a sor of Urtike named Ummanigish is the A virin reproduction of the name Khumlanigeh (H1) runs 18ht i nall under that is Shuta kind humb who had recinct in Khudaha is in ind pendant king and u whem we may preladity see a son of Leuminim also met his leath in the battle I ummatu another on of Urtika was appointed in his stead by Ashud impalato who masch a trace of after could not be whom such a trace of after could not assert.



URTAKI COUSIN OF TEUMMAN SURRENDERING TO THE ASSYRIANS IN BAITLE



THE BATTLE WHICH DESTROYED ELAM'S POWER

A i Assyrian bas-relief representing the battle of Tullis, before the walls of Susa, in which Elam was finally defeated by the Assyrian forces under Ashurbanipal Teumman, the king, is seen under an inscribed tablet Leing decapitated

relation existed between himself and his brother in Babylonia. Flam was thus subject to Assyrian influence a success which Assyria had never hitherto attained and was now by Assyria's no means secure, since the Unwonted new king must bave been Supremacy anxious to shake off the vokc. When, therefore, Shamash-shum-ukin, who revolted from his brother, began to secure allies and sent "presents" to Khumbanigash—that is, besought and acknowledged his protectorship — the latter was prepared to become a protector instead of a "protected," to restore the influence of Elam in Babylonia. Ashurbanıpal vainly demanded the surrender of the agents Shamash-shum-ukin; the Elamite granted the help requested and marched to Babylonia But at the right moment for Ashurbanipal a rebellion broke out in the rear of the army. Tammaritu, the son of Khumbanigash a fourth brother of Khumbakhaldash II., Urtaki,

but be welcome, according to the principle

"divide et impera". But the same

and Teumman, proclaimed himself king. and Khumbungasn met the fate of his predecessors, he was murdered together with his family. Ashurbanipal secured however, no further advantage from this at the time, for even l'animaritu, according to Elamite tradition, considered that to be ruler of Babylon was far more desirable than to be ruled by Assyria He too sent an army to the aid of Shamash-shuniukin, and began, as we shall see, to form alliances in Southern Babylonia His army was already menacing Nippur, and the tribe of the Pugudu was on the point of joining him, when the same fate happened to him as to his predecessor. He, too, fell a Assyrian Machinations victim to a rebellion, the opportune outbreak of which suggests the thought that Ashurbanipal did not rely solely on the prayers to his gods, which were prominent on this occasion, but had taken the precaution of securing help by other means. Tammaritu was, however, more fortunate than his predecessors;

he made good his escape. He fled to Ashurbanipal, and was actually welcomed

by him.

The new king, Indabigash, who reigned from 648 to 647 B.C., was not a member of the royal family. He immediately set bout establishing friendly relations with Assyria, and refrained from interfering in Babylonian affairs. He merely Friendship looked on when Shamashwith shum-ukin prematurely met his Assyria fate in 648 B.C. It was, however, phossible to avoid complications for any long period, and this time, as so often before, the "Country of the Sea" was the determining cause Ashurbanipal had despatched an army thither to prevent the advance of an Elamite army, which Khumbanigash had despatched during his The reigning king, Nabu-belshumate a grandson of Merodach-baladan, had to submit with the best grace he and was could to these "protectors," forced to join his troops with them -He succeeded, however in thus getting the power into his own hands. He compelled the governor of Ur to join him and delivered the Assyrian troops probably under Lammaritu into the hands of the Elamites All this took place about 651 -049 B C

After the taking of Babylon, Nabubel-shumate when the A_{SMHans} one more occupied the south according to the tradition of his house, to Elam, where in the interval Indabigash had become king. The latter had sent back to Assyria the Assyrian troops which had been handed over to his predecessor, but he refused to surrender Nabu-belshumate Ashurbanipal thereupon threatened war, and the result was a rebellion by which Ummanaldash, or Khumbakhaldash III., son of an otherwise obscure Attametu, was raised to the throne in the stead of Indabigash. But he also refused the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate and the

Assyria abandonnent of the Elannte claims to the "Country of the Sea." Again there was a rebellion under an Ummanigash, or Khumbanigash, son of an otherwise unknown Amedirra. But this time the prayers of Ashurbanipal were not so effective as on the three previous occasions, and Ummanigash maintained his position. There was no course left for Ashurbanipal the wished to secure Southern Babylonia but to abandon prayers and intrigue, and

to declare war; he advanced into Elam, and occupied the frontier fortress Bit-Imbi. Ummanaldash had hardly yet been able to set his own home affairs in order, and was not, therefore, able to hold the west and Madaktu, he withdrew "into the mountains"—that is, to Khidalu.

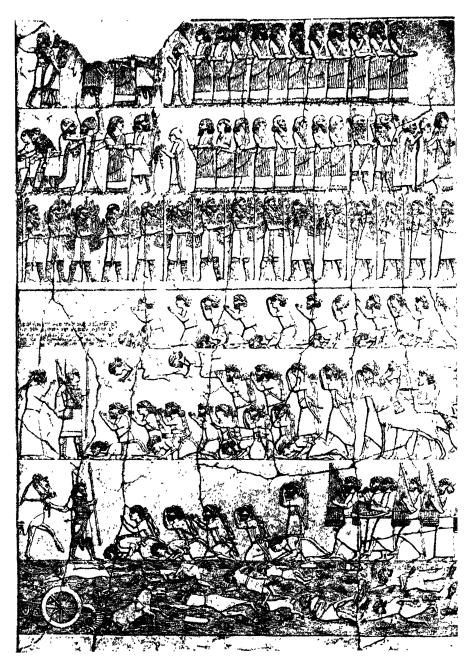
It seems as if an attack had also been made upon Elam from the side of the "Country of the Sea." A king of Bublli, the eastern part of Elam, by name Umbakhabua, who had made himself independent there during the preceding disturbances—an analogous case to what we have seen in Khidalu, abandoned his country, and capital and retired to an island, where he was safe, at any rate from the Assyrians.

Thus the country was in the power of the Assyrians and Ashurbanipal once more installed there the fugitive Tammaritu as his vassal. But hardly was that done and the Assyrian army on its return, when Tammaritu, who saw his throne in jeopardy, found himself forced to draw the sword against his "benefactors" Ashurbanipal, it is true speaks of a second subjugation of Tamser.

Outwits marth and of a plundering and laying waste of Elam but, if we may judge by the usual style and method of Assyrian accounts of wais this is nothing but a plausible periphrasis for a forced retreat. In this way Assyrian diplomacy was for a time outwitted by that of Elam.

Ashurbampal's accounts of the succeeding years are vague. He says that Tammaritu had been deposed—clearly that happened only after the withdray of it the Assyrians, not before—the new king was put on the throne by Ashurbampal—He was Ummanaldash, or Khumbakhaldash H. The latter had returned from Khidalu for the second time—and had either himself driven out Tammaritu or had commanded his followers to do so.—In any case Tammaritu fled—to Assyria, where he was detained in dishonourable captivity at the court of Ashurbampal.

Ummanaldash, when he had established himself firmly on the throne, drove out the Assyrian garrison from Bit-Imbi, this left Ashurbanipal no alternative but to take up arms once more. He occupied Bit-Imbi and the border province of Rashi Ummanaldash abandoned the west with Madaktu, and entrenched himself behind the Idide, the Ab-1-Diz. near Susa. The



THE TRIUMPH OF THE ASSYRIANS AFTER THE BATTLE OF TULLIS

From a relief in the British Museum, showing the Assyrians' triumph. After the battle the victors were met by a throng of people from Susa, which opened its gates to the Assyrians, with priests, singers and harpers, to welcome the new king, Khumbanigash II, appointed by Asnurbanipal He is seen at the beginning of the second row from the bottom. Note how the river Shawur is choked with corpses of men and horses and battle debris

Assyrian army long hesitated to attack this strong position, and contented itself at first with scouring the defenceless country and occupying the fortresses Finally, after much questioning of the soothsayers, the Assyrians ventured on an attack, and met with no resistance. The cause of this is not revealed. Ummanaldash had once more withdrawn to Khidalu, and abandoned Susa as before. The old capital was sacked and pillaged, the sacred grove desecrated, the temple and royal castle plundered and destroyed. Twenty statues of gods and thirty-six statues of kings were carried away to Assyria, and the tombs of the Elamite kings were violated. The statue of Nana, which, according to Ashurbanipal's account had been carried away from Erech by Kutur-nakhundi 1,635 years before—a record which we have already discussed -was then brought back to Erech - An oracle was found which Nana had presumably given on her removal from Erech to the effect that "Ashurbanipal will bring me back from the hostile land of Elam." Nana had thus predicted the reign of her liberator, an interesting Sack contribution to the history of oracles. The excavations conducted by the French mission at Susa Susa have revealed numerous traces of the havoc wrought by the Assyrian soldiers on their capture of the city. The damage they wrought is much to be regretted, as it destroyed many memorials of the old centre of civilisation, which often dominated a wider world than Babylon itselt

The task of the Assyrian army was thus fulfilled. No attempt was made to form an Assyrian province, for that would have given rise to endless insurrections army was withdrawn. Ummanaldash was able to occupy his devastated country afresh and to return to Madaktu. But his power of effective resistance was broken. When the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate was again demanded, he assented to it. But the descendant of Merodach-baladan freed him from the necessity of surrender, since he and his armour-bearer died together by their own hands. Thus Ummanaldash could send only his embalmed body to Nineveh. There Ashurbanipal outraged his dead enemy with the insults he would have offered to the hving man. Ummanaldash had by this act declared his submission. For this reason he secured Assyrian support against an opponent who

clearly had been pitted against him by the anti-Assyrian party. This was Pa'e, who held his own for a time, but could not in the end resist the threats of Assyria and the attack of Ummanaldash, and like Tammaritu, made his way to Nineveh

Ummanaldash himself could not long submit to be a vassal of Assyria incurred the fate which befell all kings in his position he οf Elam stood between two parties, one of which urged defection from Assyria, and the other, with the help of Assyria, frustrated the results of any such defection—So soon then as his loyalty toward Ashurbanipal began to cool, the usual rebellion of the Assyrian party broke out at the "command of the Assyrian gods" -that is to say, at Assyrian instigation Ummanaldash had to seek refuge from this party on a mountain, which was probably in the vicinity of the Assyrian frontier, there he was taken prisoner by Assyrian troops and led to Ninevch Here there were now the three rivals together—Tammaritu, Pa'e, and Ummanaldash and they were employed by Ashurbampal to enhance, as his servants, the magnificence of his triumphal processions.

This happened somewhere about 635 BC. We learn nothing more of Elam Ashurbanipal does not name the successor whom the rebellious subjects had proclaimed king. We are inclined to conclude from this that Elam, through this rebellion, had shipped out of his hands. We have, besides approached the time when Elam again came forward as an opponent, after the year 626 BC. Babylon was once more

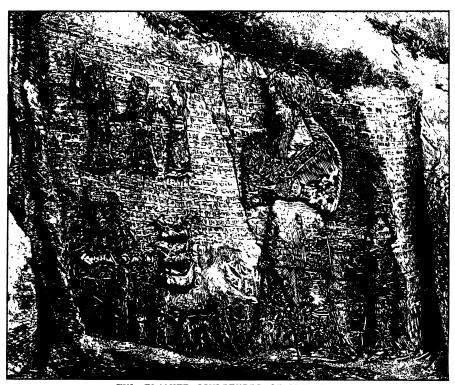
in the hands of the Chaldaeans. The old game would certainly have begun again had not another force appeared upon the scene. It is no longer with the help of Elain that Nabopolassar titles to assert his power in Babylon and acts against Assyria, but with that of the Medes. This is indeed a great change, and yet it is only the continuation

Displaced of the old policy, the Medes have simply taken the place of the Elamites. We can at most insert a period of twenty years between the time when Ummanaldash was brought to Nineveh and that when Nabopolassai entered into an agreement with the Medes, it indeed he had not been supported by them from the very first. If we take this fact into consideration, the question involuntarily suggests itself whether

Ummanigash after all was not the last king of Elam, and whether Ashurbanipal's noteworthy silence over the subsequent conditions in Elam is not to be explained from the fact that the land had then fallen into the hands of the invading Arvan tribes. If we reflect that Esar-A Buffer haddon had already shown some Destroyed anxiety in his attitude towards State them, that he was not ashamed to enter into alliances with one of these new peoples, the Ashkuza, against the other two, the Cimmerians and Medes, it is a probable supposition that Ashurbanipal himself may very soon have understood the case; he had himself placed the country at the mercy of these dangerous antagonists, whose power he had only succeeded in checking. The result of deposing Ummanigash was that he suddenly found fresh enemies in Elam, who soon adopted the policy of their predecessors, and helped then protégé in Baby-Just as in Urartu, lon against Assyria

so now in Elam, Assyria had herself abolished the natural "buffer-state." Elam, therefore, according to our theory, fell into the hands of the Medes soon after, and was occupied by an Aryan population. It did not play any prominent part during the Median rule. But it was once more raised by Cyrus to be the seat of empire, and Susa became the capital of the East. We shall treat this subject more fully in dealing with the history of the Medes and Persians.

The French excavations at Susa have yielded material remains of Elamite activity ranging from prehistoric times down to the period of the Achaemenian kings. The influence of the early Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia upon the artistic and social development of Elam was so great that it undoubtedly furnished the mould in which Elamite civilisation was cast. On its artistic side this Babylonian influence can be traced in a remarkably complete degree



THI ELAMITE SCULPTURES OF MAL-AMIR

Elamite sculptures, though artistically inferior, show distinct evidences of Babylonian influence. The bas-relief illustrated here is one of three hundred in the valley of Mal-Amir, portraying princes of local Elamite dynasties.

On the whole, we may regard many of the attainments of the Elamites as imitated or borrowed from Babylonian civilisation, this is shown by the script, as well as in works of art, the style and technique of which correspond in many particulars to the art of the Babylonians - If it were not for some details of dress, the sculptures of Mal-Amir, for example, might well be taken for Babylonian. But in spite of the strong Babylonian element in Elamite art, the Elamites themselves added something of their own which serves to differentiate their productions from those of contemporary artists in Babylonia. their work in bronzes, ivory, and the precious metals, the Elamites attained to a high level of design and technical perfection, and it is now possible to talk of Elamite art as quite distinct from that of Babylonia and Assyria

The large number of votive and building inscriptions that have been recovered throw some light upon the number and names of the great temples and other sacred buildings in Susa, while the sumptuous foundation deposit found in the The Art temple of Shushinak is of the greatest interest from the nature of of the offerings which it com-Elam But for the character prised. of the Elamite religion as a whole, and of the details of the ritual, we are still to a great degree dependent on conjecture

The Elamite inscriptions and Ashurbampal give us a series of Elamite names of deities, but they still remain little more than names for us. An exception may be made, perhaps, of the principal "Susan" goddess, who was identified by the Elamites and Babylomans with the Nana, or Ishtar, of Erech. It is inevitable, with the multifacious conquests and relations of Elam with Erech, that legends of one shime should have been interwoven with those of another, and that a dispute as to the antiquity of the two should have been decided empirically by making the statues accrue as spoil to the victors.

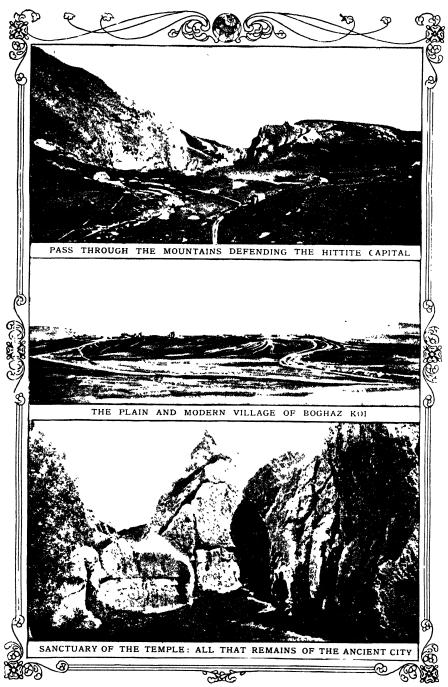
There is little doubt that Susa was the principal city of Elam from the earliest times throughout the whole course of her history. But we are still without information with regard to the relations of the capital to other great cities in the land. Ashurbanipal designates all important places—that is to say, all fortified towns—as royal towns, thus departing from the custom in other countries where

only the capital is so called. Were all fortified places, in contrast to the Babylonian and Assyrian usage, the property of the king, and were there thus no municipal rights emanating from that ownership of the land by god and temple, which is se characteristic of the Semitic idea? This would point to a great diminution, as compared with the Semitic Priesthood civilised countries, in the influ-Influence Diminished ence of the priesthood, which, with its large possessions, formed a prominent factor in the development of the Semitic peoples and states.

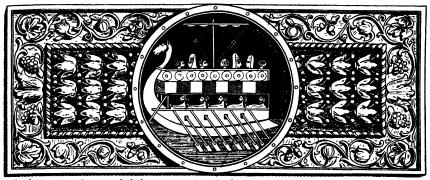
That the Elamites were great warriors is fully proved by the history of their battles with Babylon and Assyria. When the Assyrians speak of Elamite spoil the baggage waggon plays a prominent part in it. The Assyrian is acquainted only with the chariot as an offensive weapon The Elamite has carts drawn by mules, on which he carried his baggage. The principal weapon of the Elamites is not the spear or sword, but the bow. It is obvious, however, that Babylonian civilisation influenced their mode of warfare Still the bow must have been the original weapon, and for the noble Elamite it was the badge of the warnor

It the geographical position of Elam makes us fix our attention on countries and peoples of another kind than those which determined the fortunes of the Nearer East, we might expect information from this quarter as to the migrations and extension of Babylonian civilisation to the East It is only under the Persians, Alexander the Great, and the Caliphs, that history shows us events which must have been foreshadowed even in the times of the real prosperity of the If the trade with India and Eastern East Asia is one of the most important factors in the history of the world, Elam must also, in the days of her power, have Importance interfered in the decision of points at issue, obstructing if of Elam unable to assist, but always in History having an important word in the matter. Her position on the borderland of Western Asia thus endowed her with a strategic and commercial importance, which explains the prominent rôle she played among the civilised races of the ancient world.

HUGO WINCKLER LEONARD W. KING



BOGHAZ KÖI, THE GREAT CAPITAL OF THE MYSTERIOUS HITTIFE EMPIRE $1716\,$



EARLY NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER, L. W. KING, M.A., DR. K. G. BRANDIS & H. R. HALL, M.A.

SYRIA AND THE HITTITE EMPIRE

THE tract between the Euphrates, the Armenian mountains, the Taurus, and southward as far as the end of the Lebanon -that is as far as Hermon -is roughly what is designated Syria. The name has an historical development, and is, therefore applied here with some freedom, in a way, perhaps, more suitable to later ages Its origin is now known. The Babylonians termed the land which runs northward of Mesopotamia to the mountains and westward to Cappadocia, Subartu, or, as the characters in the original ideograph for the name may very probably be read. the latter name survives even in classical times in that of the Leuco-Syrians in Cappadocia. When Assyria and the southern part of Syria became Aramæan the name was then extended to the more southern countries, since Aramæan and Syrian became to a certain extent synonymous terms

Syria, in our sense of the term, had no uniform history. Situated between the civilisations of Babylonia and Syria's Egypt, it was exposed to their Varying Egypt, it was a remarkable influence, and its history is History completely dominated by them. But yet a third civilisation had great power here; one which for the least obscure part of its history had this region for its scene, so that Syria appeared until quite recently to be the country where we were best informed as to an otherwise unsolved riddle of the East. But recent discoveries have shown that it is to

Cappadocia we may look for further enlightenment upon the subject. We call this civilisation the "Hittite," after the people, the Khatti, who are the most clearly recognisable representatives of it. Khatti is the title of this people among the Assyrians, in Egyptian, Kheta. The reader must, however, understand that in

what follows we designate by The this name only this one people, Hittate while by this term Hittite a Peoples complete ethnic group is meant, to which the Khatti belonged According to our present knowledge, they appear to us to be the most important people of the group, for the recent discoveries at Boghaz Koi in Cappadocia prove that on that site stood the ancient capital of the Hittite empire, which bore the name of Khatti and gave its title to the Hittite people. Here, as we shall see, was the original centre of the great Hittite empire, and it is probable that the city from the earliest times played a prominent part in the history of the race

We know nothing of the Syria which was contemporary with the Old Babylonian empires. Since, however, Phænicia was subject to their influence. Syria must also have received its share of the "Semitic Babylonian" and "Canaanite" immigrations. What sort of nations invaded or tried to invade simultaneously from the north, whence the "Hittites" were advancing, is a question about which we know little as yet, though the Hittite

invasion of Babylonia at the close of the first dynasty of Babylon is proof of the early date of the Hittite southward movement. We do obtain further information at the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty when Egyptian accounts and the letters from Tell el-Amarna and the despatches recovered from the native Hittite archives at Boghaz Koi afford us some of the insight into the conditions. We Hittites see from them that in the meantime a non-Semitic population had forced its way forward, and that other portions of the same race were pressing on behind, and from this period we can form at least a rough idea of Syrian history.

This is the population which we call Hittite, and its characteristics may probably be traced in a number of monuments which give representations of early dwellers in Asia Minor, or are covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphic writing Hittite type differs considerably from the Semitic race, dress, finally technique, show that we have to do with representatives of a peculiar civilisation distinct from the two great Oriental forms dress we find a characteristic feature in the Hittite cue and the shoes, usually with points bending upward. The writing is also characteristic—a clearly defined hieroglyphic script employing pictures, which has no affinity with the Egyptian or the Babylonian script [see page 1720]. We possess a number of these hieroglyphic inscriptions; but hitherto no one has succeeded in deciphering them and in making the language or languages of those who engraved them speak to us in their own form But since the Mitani population and the "Urartæans" probably belong to the same group, we have in them two languages of "Hittite" peoples, although not of that section which employed this picture-writing. The native inscriptions, written in Babylonian chai-Languages

acters upon clay tablets, which have been found at Boghaz Kor furnish numerous examples of the principal Hittite language employed during the period of the empire; and it is probable that we shall be able to recover the linguistic outlines of other Hittite dialects. Moreover, when the new material is published and made available for study, it will be possible to form a more definite opinion on the disputed question of

the Hittite origin of the hieroglyphic inscriptions

The Hittite civilisation was brought to Syria from outside by the conquerors, especially by the Khatti. The question arises, whence? The Khatti were settled, before then invasior, in Cappadocia that is to say, in North-east Asia Minor. There we possess in the rock sculptures of Boghaz Kör conspicuous monuments of "Hittite" art, and it is on this site, as already stated, that recent excavation has brought to light a wealth of table's inscribed not only in Babylonian, the early language of diplomacy, but also in the native tongue. Similar monuments are found over the whole region of Asia Minor as far as the west coast, where the "Sesostris" sculptures in the vicinity of Smyrna are the best known. We conclude therefore, that Asia Minor was the home of Hittite civilisation. Future research will, perhaps, throw light on the relation of the Hittites in question to the pre-Aivan populations of the West, and render it possible to compare them with Etruscans Iberians, and other types which loom in the mists Whence Came the of primitive history We cannot, at present, do much more than Hittites? conjecture that the population of Asia Minor in the second millennium, and even carlier, was Hittite, and that we must look there for the centre of this civilisation which here concerns us only in so far as it spread over the Taurus. Here, again it is impossible at present to establish proof of the mutual connections and affinities of the separate nationalities, but it is unreasonable to suppose that in an organised and united movement of nations different ralls took part promis-When, therefore, the problem of the "Hittite" hieroglyphic writing is solved, we may, perhaps, find different dialects represented in the inscriptions of the different countries, inscriptions having

Aleppo, Carchemish, Maiash, and Cilicia. The Hittites at the epoch when our information begins, had already forced then way into Syria, Mesopotamia, and even Northern Babylonia, for our earliest mention of them is in a recently discovered chronicle in the British Museum, which proves that they succeeded in capturing and sacking Babylon at the end of the first dynasty of Babylon before the Kassite conquest. Later on, in the

been found in Syria, especially at Hamath,

SYRIA AND THE HITTITE EMPIRE

fifteenth century, Mitani possessed the supremacy in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, especially Khanigalbat, or Melitene, and in Musri, the tract which lies south of it, reaching away to the Anti-Taurus and the Taurus. This is the most ancient Hittite people with whom we are acquainted by means of their own inscriptions; it is, however, to be conjectured that they formed by no means the first detachment of the race which penetrated to Syria and across the Euphrates. In the Tell el-Amarna letters we find many indications of a Hittite population even in the southern district of Syria, the name of a prince, whose town we must look for in the territory of the Phœnicians, is undoubtedly Hittite. It cannot be ascertained at present to what extent we must look for Hittite names among the many which have not a Canaanite sound, especially in Syrian towns. This much, however is clear that the Hittites by that time had penetrated far into Syria

By the side of these early Hittite tribes the empire of the Khatti, or Kheta must have already existed being called so uninterruptedly after the time of Thothmes III. We can now accurately determine from its own records. and from the letters of Tushratta that it still had its capital in Cippadocia. We do not yet know how far it extende I to the west, but we can trace both in the Tell el-Amarna letters and in recently found documents at Boghaz Korats later advance toward Syria - Tushratta himself was attacked by the Khatti and before the end of the reign of Am nophis IV the kingdom of Mitani had been broug't to an end by the victorious advance of the Hittite king Shubbilulium i and his Phoenicia it was known how to make far as the west coast. This is one of the "Sesostris" sculptures, their menacing into ads not less alarming in a Smyrina, showing the pointed cap and turned-up boots. successors, Murshih and Muttallu to the Pharaoh than the plans of the Babylonians Aziri, the Amorite, in particular based his attacks against Nukhashshe, in the district of Aleppo on the invasion of the Khattian king, from whom he professed to wish to rescue the land for the Pharaoh. As it turned out, Sapalul had already invaded Nukhashshe—that is to say, had advanced south of the territory of Mitani. Some tragments of the correspondence between him and the Pharaoh are extant. They testily to a strained position. Matters

had gone to the extent of a refusal to show respect, since in the correspondence the king of the Khatti placed his name in front of that of the Pharaoh instead of after it, the position which is demanded by courtesy. This furnishes the subject of a special letter of the Pharaoh.

The advance of the Khattı, which is thus attested, was favoured in the next period by the impotence of Egypt. Accordingly, Assyria and the Khatti were natural rivals in Syria. So long as Adadnırarı I, Shalmaneser I., and Tukulti-Nınıb



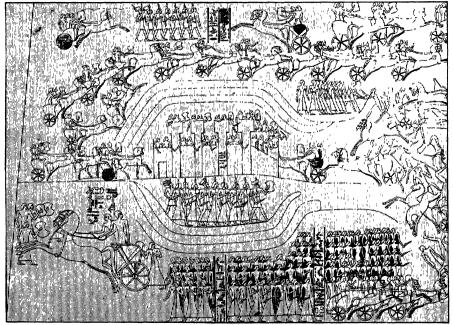
In A HITTITE SCULPTURE FROM WESTERN ASIA

asserted their power and kept possession of Mesopotamia, their advance must have still been blocked, indeed, under Shalmaneser, Assyria advanced as far as the borders of the Khattian empire itself However, by the precipitate downfall of the Assyrian power, owing to the death of Tukulti-Ninib, about 1270 B.C., they obtained a tree hand in Syria.

We now find them, on the renewed advance of Egypt in the twelfth century B.C., in possession of almost all Syria, and it is to this period that the large and

important find of tablets at Boghaz Köi mostly belongs. It was already known from the Egyptian inscriptions that under Rameses II. friendship existed between the kings of the Khatti, Sapalul, and Mautenra —that is, that Egypt had tolerated their advance. Seti I, records wars against the king of the Khatti, when he begins to reconquer the Asiatic provinces; Egypt's but it is improbable that he had Hittite already won victories over him Wars Ramses Η. on his advance into Palestine, had been forced to fight several battles with the Khatti, and boasts, in particular, of a great victory at Kadesh, on the Orontes, one of the towns which even in the Tell el-Amarna period had a prince with a name that is probably non-Semitic. The battle is more important from its description than from its results. Sixteen years afterwards a solemn treaty was concluded between the two powers, in virtue of which both states mutually acknowledged then respective rights, and pledged themselves to guard their common The king of the Khatti was Khetasar or, as we now read the name in his own inscriptions. Khattu-shili While Egypt, by this agreement, claimed Palestine roughly as far as Mount Carmel, Syria was completely conceded to the Khatti, and belonged to them as absolutely as it did, for example, to the Assyrians in the eighth to the seventh centuries. Henceforth the term "land of the Khatti" was adopted by the Assyrians to designate Syria; and the title remained, and was even extended further to the south in times when the Khatti had long since disappeared, or only the small remnant of their former greatness, the kingdom of Carchemish, still existed.

It is interesting to note that among the tablets recently found at Boghaz Korone of the most important of the diplomatic communications as yet deciphered is a version in the Babylonian Treaty language of the treaty drawn with up between Khattu-shih Egypt Ramses II, which was viously known to us only from the Egyptian copy upon the walls of the The tablets and temple of Karnak fragments of tablets, found upon this site. during the excavations carried out since the summer of 1905 number several thousands, and it is probable that the site is still far from exhaustel-They are all



A PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE VICTORY OF RAMSES OVER THE HITTITES AT KADESH From a sculpture in an Egyptian temple commemorating the victory of Khatusaru



HITITE SPIES CAUGHT BY THE EGYPTIANS

From a picture in an Egyptian temple, illustrating an incident before Ramses battle with the Hittites at Kadesh. The spies, being beaten, disclosed the secret of a Hittite ambush, thereby contributing to the Hittite defeat.

written in the cunciform character of Babylonia – but while some are composed in the Babylonian language, the majority are written in the native language of the country. Those in the former category, like the Tell el-Amain'i letters, are composed in Babylonian since that was the language of diplomacy throughout the East. Of these several represent diplomatic communications which passed between Ramses II and the Hittite king Khattu-shih, the most important being the Babyloman text of the freaty already referred to From these documents we learn that the native name of Khattushih's wife was Padu-khipa and that among his predecessors upon the Hittite throne were Shubbiluliuma. Murshili and Muttallu, under whom the Hittite advance As might into Northern Syria took place. be expected, the tablets also begin to furnish information concerning the kingdom of Mitani, and the names of other members of the family of Tushratta who occupied the throne have recently been recovered. We may note that in Khattu-shih's correspondence Egyptian the full name of Ramses II. Letters is given as Uashmuaria Shatepuaria Riamashesha mai-Amana, which appropriate pronunciation. doubtless slightly altered in a foreign tongue and writing, of the Egyptian name which we conventionally read as Usermaa(t)ra setepenra Ramses meri-We thus see, as in the Egyptian names which occur in the Tell el-Amarn i

that no modern transliteration letters of ancient Egyptian represents accurately the true pronunciation of the characters. It is natural that of the documents discovered, those in the Babylonian language should be the first to be deciphered. When the whole "find" has been made available for study we shall be able to trace in considerable detail Babylonian the history of the Hittite em-Hittite pire at the period of its History greatest prosperity A preliminary examination of the documents composed in the native tongue seems to indicate that this was employed for communications to vassal states, for matters of internal administration, and for local and commercial intercourse The decipherment of this class of tablets is facilitated by the fact that the language is written upon them in the Babylonian character, which was thus employed by the Hittites of this period in much the same way as the Arabic character by the Persians and the Turks. The language itself, it is already noted, is very similar to that of Arzawa, in which two of the letters found at Tell cl-Amarna are written, and it is not improbable that the tablets will furnish us with examples of other native languages and dialects. These documents, both Babylonian and Hittite, are already yielding the names of a large number of provinces and cities of the Hittites themselves, and of the races with whom they were in contact, and when they have been completely deciphered



CARCHEMISH A LANDMARK OF THE VANISHED HITTITE POWER IN SYRIA
This mound at Jerabis on the Euphrates probably covers the remains of the Hittite state of Carchemish

and translated there is little doubt that they will reveal an entirely new chapter in the ancient history of the Neuer I ist

The supremacy of the Khatti in Syira did not list long they were not driven out by Assyrra which did not stand in the way of their advance but when lighth pileser i un invided Syrri then empire had alienly lost its power. It had been overthrown by peoples of its own rice those which followed the very same read as the Mitani in former tim's. We find these people in 11 o 1 c in the extreme **nor**th of \mathbf{M} sopotimize in London the Lordons of Asia Minor in conflict with Tislath They may have destroyed the empire of the Khatti in Northern Asia Minor and occupied the most northerly part of Syrre is well as the adjacent dis tricts of Asia Minor invading them from the north The sole remnant of

Khattian empire was the state of Cuchemish on the Luphrates which may it first have also possessed part of Syria. After this time this state is termed whattian by the Assyrial and this is the

transference of The above is reproduced from The the term land of the Khitti to Sviit proper But soon being hid pressed on the south by the Arameans it lost its importance, and after the time of Shal-

maneser II at meets us as an insignificant tributary state of Assyria or of the other great powers which dominated Syria such as Unutum before 745 Becombasts taking Pishis

The n wly immigrated peoples which thus took the place of the Khatti and were recording to the theory referred to il ive Hittites also were especially the Kummukhi oi Kumani who had been settled for some time in the district south of Aimenia en bota lank of the Luphrates when Tisl thapiles i mentions them for the first time. They remained permanently settled there in I their name (Commucene) was retuned for the district on the right bank up to Hellenistic times In the Assyrim era they were governed by kings of their own but like Cuchemish they were gradually brought under the yoke of Assyrra or had to obey the

CVISTING TULCES OF SVIII During the wars of the Assyrrans with Uritu the princes of Kum mukhi being situated exactly between the two powers natui ally -vacillated from one to the

Hittite prince and his daughter office. The Hit struggle of the Nations SPCK tite population here is throughout Armenia wa first direct back by the immigrating Indo Arvans Besides this older stratum of the Kummukhi, the Kaski are mentioned who



Cause of the From an Experian sculpture of the Hittite prince and his daughter transference of The above is reproduced from The Struggle of the Nations SPCK

SYRIA AND THE HITTITE EMPIRE

dwelt towards Northern Asia Minorroughly speaking, Armenia Minor -and soon disappeared from the Assyrian horizon; it is possible that their name is identical with that of the Colchians. Tiglath-pileser mentions together with these, for the first time, the people of the Muski, some of whose levies tried in his time to conquer the territory on the left bank of the Euphrates, which had already been occupied by the Kummukhi. They were repulsed, and likewise disappeared from view, until their name meets us 400 years later, when Mita of Muski, as sove-

reign of a powerful kingdom in Asia Minor, waged war with Sargon on the Halys and in Ciliera, and was solicited by Carchemish for help against the Assyrian The fact that the last representative of the Hittite power in Syria did this proves that the Muski were regarded by him as the successors of the Khatti, who once dominated

under an over-lord, which amounted to a regular Tabal kingdom. Thus Sargon actually gave his daughter in marriage to Ambaridi, the "king" of the Tabal, and ceded to him, as a dowry, a portion of Cappadocia. He evidently intended by this favour to secure for himself a sort of "buffer state" against Midas, and thus to bring the Tabal -- who had never been subjugaced—if not under Assyria, at least under a native yoke These were considerable nations, which had preserved the bond of national homogeneity, and in the highlands, a district more remote from the



TYPES OF HITTITE SOLDIERS

A PRINCE OF THE KHATTI HITTITES

Asia Minor. They must, therefore, have replaced these in the supremacy of the Halys and further westward—tor Mita of Muski is none other than the Midas of Phrygia, who, soon after 700, met his death in the wars with the Cimmerians.

Melitene itselt was also a separate state under princes of its own. The inhabitants were closely akin to the Tabal, who adjoined them on the soi, h, and were settled mainly in Cappadocia as far as the Taurus, which separated them from Cilicia. They were split up generally into a number of cantons, which were governed by their own princes, their neighbours in Melitene were occasionally included among them, although sometimes we hear of a union influence of Babylonian civilisation were better able to retain their characteristics as well as the organisation of their tribal life. These immigrations also left some trace in the Syrian towns. We can clearly distinguish in them down to the Syrian age a non-Semitic as com-

pared with an Aramæan population—But in them, just as in Carchemish, we should on the whole, see not component parts of this new wave, but rather remains of the conquest by the Khatti, or of the "Hittite" immigrations which preceded them least, no definite people is here named by the Assyrians, but the accounts speak of princes who had long been in possession of the land, bearrig both Semitic and non-Semitic, that is, Hittite, names.

We must equally reckon among the Hittites the population of Cilicia, called by the Assyrians Kue, and here hieroglyphic rock-inscriptions have been found right up to the Taurus. We may see in this population a wave of the great stream

which flowed thither from the Tabal. We ascertain from the Tell el-Amaina letters that the Lukki, also mentioned in Egyptian inser ptions, engaged in piracy on the coast of Asia Minor and proceeded as far as Cyprus; this was the people which gave Lycia its name, and from which Lycaonia also derived its title. If we add to this the Leuco-Syrians, who naturally

Western Group of Hitties are not "white Syrians," as the popular Greek etymology signifies, but are the Lukki from Suri, or Cappadocia, we thus have another branch of the Hittite migration which we may probably bracket with the Khatti We might include in it the Hittite inhabitants of Cilicia. They would thus form a broader stratum than the Kummukhi, Muski, and Tabal, and would have entered the country almost contempora-

neously with the Khatti.

If we consider these and the Tabal to compose a western group as compared with the eastern, which is represented by the Mitani and the Uraitu nations - the Kummuki also belong more to this group—we can find authority for this division in a fact which, in the lack of other evidence. rivets our attention. The eastern group worshipped as their chief divinity Teisbes or Teshub who was identified with the Semitic Hadad, or Ramman. In classical times we find him still represented as Jupiter of Dohche in Commagene, with thunderbolt or lightning and the Hittite double axe. The chief deity of the western group, on the contrary, is Tarkhu, or Tarku, whose name meets us in the composition of many proper names. The hicroglyphic rock-inscriptions which we possess from Syria and Cilicia probably date from a period before Assyria was supreme there, or, indeed, had appeared upon the scene, and they may belong to the period of the earliest Hittite migration. The most ancient Hittite sculptures on Syrian soil have been brought to light by Most Ancient the excavations at Senjirli in Amq. They belong to the pre-

Hittite
Sculptures
Amq. They belong to the preAssyrian age, the most ancient
of them probably to the second
millennium
B.C.; in Senjirh we assume
at all events only an old Hittite population,
springing at latest from the Khatti;
Aramæans forced their way there later.

The result of this development is that Syrians and Arameans are treated as synonymous, although this is true only in later times. In reality the Arameans did not

immigrate into Syria first, but became predominant there only after they had already spread over Babylonia and Mesopotamia. The reason of this is not far to seek; the Hittite migrations had been able to advance only so long as no state powerful enough to offer a vigorous resistance was formed in the valley of the Euphrates. Mitani and the Kassites had advanced from two sides of the civilised country; the earliest waves of the Hittites had equally profited by the weakness of Babylonia and Assyria. with this stream, the flood of the Aramean migration spread from the south over the Fuphrates valley and Syria, meeting with no resistance from the Kassites who had settled on the river banks but forced to fight in Syria with the Khatti and then successors. Thus districts which appear to us at a subsequent period as completely Aramæan can have been occupied by Aramæans only at a comparatively Damascus Aleppo and the late date towns of Northern Syria thus became Aramæan last of all, when Mesopotamia and Babylonia had long since been mun-Limits of Such as Pethor on the Euphrates, until then Hittite like Carchemish, was occupied only Influence by Aramaans under Ashur-itht, Catchemish had always resisted them, and the more notherly districts of "Suri," like Commagene, had never been conquered at all by Aramacans, but had remained, until the annexation by Assyria, under the government of Hittite princes and tribes—a state of things which does not exclude the possibility of an advance

The picture which Syria presents to us of the Aramaan migration about 1500 B C. is as follows: The old Canaanite population was driven out or subjugated by the Hittites, and now the Aramæans were advancing against these latter. Since Hittites still possessed in the twelfth century Cœle-Syria as far as Kadesh, the advance of the Aramicans into Syria was not, like that of the Arabians, immediately connected with the Syrian hinterland -that is, with the occupation of the countries of Damascus Hamath, and Aleppo. They first went in a more easterly direction along the Euphrates, and, having seized Mesopotamia, they crossed the Euphrates and advanced towards the west—that is, toward Central Syria. Tiglath-pileser I.

by sections of the Aramaan population.



HITTITE ARI AND ARCHITECTURE IN CAPPADOCIA

the river, where they occupied places of retreat on the right bank The Hittite towns of Syria, with the exception of Damascus, were not occupied by them until later. It was only, therefore, in the Assyrian time that Aramaic supplanted the old Canaanite language. In the inscriptions of Senjirli from the time Growth of of Tiglath-pileser IV, we have Aramaic perhaps the first attempts at Language Aramaic writing in these districts. Further to the north the Aramæan migration came into contact with the last wave of the Hittites, the Kummukhi, etc., and was thus hindered from any further advance. On their side they again prevented the advance of these latter into the regions once occupied by the Khatti as far down as Cœle-Syria The action of Assyria after Ashurnasiipal prevented the Aramæans from occupying the larger cities and thus completing the subjugation of the countries already overrun by them. When that happened the power of the Hittites to resist had certainly been broken, as is shown, for example by the abovementioned occupation of Pethor by Aramæans But now everything was subdued by the Assyrians, the supremacy rested with them, and in a few districts with the Hittites. The failure to gain the political control is no proof indeed that the population was not becoming Aramæan, this tendency indeed would increase, unlin-

drove the Aramæans at Carchemish over

dered, by peaceful methods The interference of Assyria explains the fact that we do not meet Aramæan states -that is, states where Aramæans ruled, a point which is almost clearly shown in our authorities by the names of the princes in the old seats of civilisation of Central Syria, we may disregard those settled in the open country, since they could have had little influence on history. The only considerable Aramaan state which had for its home one of the centres of civilisation was Damascus, Damascus this, the farthest from Assyria Ruled by of all those which we have Aramæans mentioned, was the last to

When Ashurnasırpal undertook his Phœnician expedition in 877 B.C., Amq, the tableland extending north of the lake of Antioch as far as the spurs of the Taurus, was united under one government, the kingdom of Patini. This is called in the Bible Padan-Aram, and is therefore re-

be attacked by the Assyrians.

garded as Aramæan, the document which so calls it being the late Priestly Code. Nothing more need be inferred from this than that the population here at a later · period was Aramæan. It does not seem probable that Aramæan princes ruled here in the time of Ashurnasiipal, and that the kingdom was therefore Aramæan; the names of the princes are indeed non-Semitic, therefore Hittite probably, so that we may see in this state a product of the Hittite conquest. We can determine from the Assyrian inscriptions the names of several kings, these are, Lubarna or Liburna, in the time of Ashurnasirpal, then Sapalulme, Kalparunda, Lubarna II., who died in 833 B.C., under Shalmanesei H., Surri in 832 BC, and Sasi after 832 B.C. The centre of the state is Amq, with its capital, Kinalia. The whole state had, like all these products of the Hittite time, a feudal constitution based on the system of cantons and tribes, the separate princes of which were independent or subject, according to the power of the suzeram. When, therefore, subsequently, Tiglathpileser appeared upon the scene, the princes Break-up of the separate districts acted independently, and the king-dom of Patini apparently of Patini ended We find therefore, in its place the following separate states. Margasi, the present Marash, Guigum, Unki, or Amq, the former capital of the kingdom, Sam'al, and Ia'udi, and they were gradu-

ally annexed by Assyria The inhabitants of these countries, whose kings were, as compared with the Assyrian kings, merely large landowners, became in the meantime strongly tinged by Aramæan influences, although this does not prove that the Aramæans were rulers. Indeed, the names of the princes, such as Panammu and Karal, are hardly Semitic, and the only Semitic name, Azina'u of Ia'udi, is probably not Aramæan, but Canaanite, and therefore belongs to the pre-Hittite stratum; the former have actual analogies in Cilician proper names, and may therefore be Hittite. other hand, the spread of the Aramæan language is noticeable, and the use of Aramaic and of alphabetic writing begins. It is also illustrative of the composition of the population, and of the persistence of an old Canaanite strain, that even now Canaanite was written in the "Phœnician" style, as is proved by a small fragment found a mile or two west of Senjirli.

The traces of the Aramæan script and language of this period were derived from excavations carried out in Senjirli at Amq, the capital of the small country Sam'al. These documents were drawn up by Barrekab, the vassal of Tiglath-pileser IV.. the son of the Panaminu mentioned by Tiglath-pileser, who died, according to his son's inscription, in 732 or 731 B.C., in the camp of Damascus, to which place he had tollowed the army. A somewhat older monument comes from Geriin, a place five miles east of Senjirli, and was erected by Panammu the elder, "king" of the neighbouring district Ia'udi. The inscriptions are the most ancient texts in Aramaic which we at present possess, and they show by an unskilled employment of the language, and the want of any uniform orthography, that we have here the first attempts made in these regions at writing Aramaic It follows from this that Aramaic was now spoken here, and that Aramæans had established a dominion by peaceful measures, such as they could not have founded by iorce

To the east of this district lies Aleppowhich is not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as the seat of a Aleppo separate state When Shala Separate man ser II came there on his first expedition against Damascus, in 854 B C, he sacrificed to Hadad, but he tells us nothing as to the political position of the town, we might suppose that it then had its own government, and was therefore a relic of the Canaamite-Hittite power. In the Tell el-Amarna period we find in this country the state of Nukhashshe, which had a constitution sımılar to that of Patını - İts süzeram writes to Amenophis III, that his grandfather had been appointed by Thothmes III., he himself was being hard pressed by the Khatti. Aziri, the Amorite, speaks of kings of Nukhashshe, the land was governed, therefore, by various cantonal princes.

To the south of this, Hamath commands the country between the territories of Aleppo and of Damascus. In the Tell el-Amarin letters the towns Ni, Katana, and Kadesh are named in its place. We may see in the first two the most important towns of the country, Apamea and Hæms, or Emesa, or their predecessors. They were occupied by a Canaamite and Hittite population; we have already become familiar with Kadesh as the home of the

Khatti in the twelfth century. Here, too the Aramæans were unable to make conquests. We therefore find in the kingdom of Hamath, which soon afterwards comprised the whole country, a state with a mixed population of Can ianites and Hittites When Shalmaneser, in 854 B.C., marched against Damascus, among his "allies," in reality his vassals, Hamath a Vassal were Buidri and Irkhulini, king of Hamath Like the Kingdom other vassals, he broke away from Damascus on the change of dynasty under Hazael, and appears to have joined Assyria, since after that time no more is heard of Hamath We meet Hamath again, under Tiglath-pileser IV, as an Assyrian vassal state, but un lei Sargon in the rebellion of Ia'ubidi it lost its in lependence.

The territory of Damascus, the last great city toward the desert, adjoined that of Hamath on the south. At the period of the Tell el-Amain's letters it plays no more important part than Hamath, although it is mentioned as still subject It then suddenly to the Egyptians appears contemporaneously with the kingdom of David as the scat of another kingdom, which had arisen during the impotence of the greater nations. From the very first it was in the possession of Arangeans, for the kings of Damascus were Aramæans, and this state is always expressly designated as Aramæan is the only instance in which the Aramæans, generally speaking, were ever rulers of a considerable state, based on an old centre of civilisation, and in which we can speak of any encroachment of the Aramaans on the political field of world history

Damascus owed this advantage to its situation, which long protected it from the attacks of Assyria. On the other hand, it lay the nearest of all the centres of civilisation to the plains, and its importance consisted then, as now, in its peculiar position as the starting point of the

Damascus
Syria's

Greatest City
Arabian and Babyloman trade
with Syria and Palestine. It was therefore
the great city in Syria which was first
exposed to the attacks of the Aramæans
invading from the plains, and it thus first
fell into their hands. Even among the Tell
el-Amarna letters a short despatch to the
Egyptian court speaks of a menacing advance of Aramæan hordes; it is not clear

from what place they came, but the writers must have been settled somewhere in Syrian territory The advance of the Aramæans and their successes in this district are further proofs of the fact that to the south of Damascus in the time of Saul and David there was a small Aramæan state in Soba, and also, stretching right up to Israelitish Scene of territory, the state of Geshur, Absalom's Banishment where Absalom lived in banishment But these states attained no position of importance, nor did they endure for long. It is indeed a probable conjecture to associate the rise of Damascus under such cucumstances with its occupation by the Λ ramwans According to this view the empire of Damascus would rank from first to last as a creation of the Aramaeans, and may, from the standpoint of political development, be regarded as the focus of Λ ramæan history

The first references to the empire are found in the Bible According to these in the time of Solomon Rezon son of El-yada, threw off the yoke of his lord Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah seized Damascus, and thence like David from Hebron, increased his power Zobah must thus have been a centre of the Aramaans who had pressed on against Syria. The occupation of Damascus would accordingly be the next stage in their advance, as well as their greatest success in this region. Rezon is said to have been continually at war with Solomon Galilee and the district east of Jordan are henceforth a constant object of contention between Damascus and Israel. The Bible mentions other kings of Damascus, the tradition is uncertain, however, and the names are corrupt. It is most probable that we have in them the next two kings, the first of whom is called by the Bible Hezion, and may well have been named Hazael; he was followed by Tab-Rimmon, or Tab-el, but nothing beyond then The Rise names is known. In the period of after their successor Bir-idri, Damascus the Ben-hadad of the Biblical narrative, our accounts are more copious Damascus under him, about 885 844 B.C., comes into prominence as the leading state in Syria. In the year 854 B.C. Bir-idii was attacked by Shalmaneser II. On this occasion the latter enumerates the states

dependent on Damascus, which had been

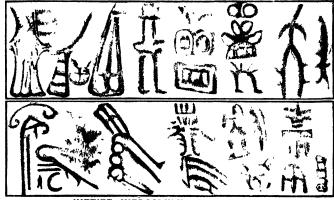
forced to supply troops, as follows:

Hamath, Israel under Ahab, Moab and Judah are included as being dependent on Israel, and Edom, in its turn, dependent on Judah—the North Phænician states to the north of Gebal, Ammon, and Kue, or Cilicia, in fact a list of vassals which represents an empire such as cannot be shown to have ever existed there before. The battle at Karkar did not result in any success for Shalmaneser—Equally fruitless were the attempts in his next expeditions to defeat this vanguard of Syria So long as Damascus was not subdued. Assyria could not get a firm footing there. While this was the case, it was impossible for any states in those regions to side with Assyria even if they wished to, for they were always exposed to the attack of Damascus so soon as the Assyrian army was withdrawn. We can trace this fact in the history of Israel. The issue now always turns on the question whether Assyria or Damascus should be supported, and this question continued to influence the policy of the smaller states until Damascus was taken by Tiglath-pileser

We must regard the increased power of Damascus which we now first notice as due to Bu-idir – Even in later Powerful years he and his successor Kings of Hazael were taken by the Damascus Israelites as types of the greatness of Damascus Amos (v. 4) mentions the palaces of Ben-hadad as signs of the flourishing power of the state, which then for the last time was interfering in the history of Israel Damascus is not alluded to before Shalmaneser But we may, perhaps gather from the silence of Ashurnasiipal on his way to Patini, and from the road which he then took, that the empire of Bir-idir already existed at that time, and that the Assyrians avoided any collision with it For this reason he did not extend his movements beyond Patini. and did not march further southward into Phoenicia, with the exception of Arvad he mentions no tributary Phoenician states, beyond a few which Shalmaneser does not enumerate as vass ils of Damascus. It is possible that here also a critical state of affairs may have existed. In any case he avoided an attack on the hinterland or even a demand for tribute from it; this may account also for his silence as to Israel—then, perhaps, under Omri which was tributary to Damascus, while Tyre, for example, pays tribute to Assyria. The Bible tells us—in 2 Kings vin.—

SYRIA AND THE HITTITE EMPIRE

of the death of Bir-idra in one of the narratives of the prophet Elisha, but in a way which does not make it clear what part his successor Hazael played in the matter. This change of monarchy is clearly connected with the fall of the house of Omri --- that is, of the great Yahve movement in Israel and Judah, which had brought Jehu to the throne. Since Jehu quickly submitted to Assyria, it may be concluded that Assyria



HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS FROM ALEPPO An untranslated inscription representing a distinct Hittite dialect.

had a hand in the revolution, which she fostered in the hope of weakening an enemy

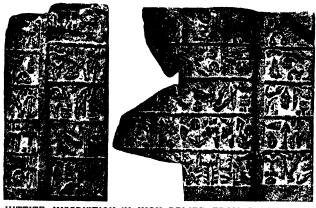
Hazael now stands alone, and while the Assyrians had always hitherto been re-

 ${\color{blue} \textbf{AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM IN HIEROGLYPHS}} \\ \textbf{This Carchemish inscription, like all other Hittite inscriptions, has not been deciphered} \\$

pulsed, they advanced this time right into the territory of Damascus itself. and Hazael was forced to defend himself in the capital. The other strong places were naturally not captured; Shalmaneser was obliged to content hanself with laying waste the open country in the true Assyrian tashion. The expedition of 839 BC met with equally small success, and after that Assyrra renounced for the time any further efforts to reach her goal

she could not subdue in the field. Hazael A disastrous time now dawned for the

may also, perhaps, have courted Assyria in order to secure his throne, but, so soon as he was king of Damascus his interests demanded resistance to Assyria and an attempt to recover his old power We therefore find him at once, in 842 B.C., at war with Shalmaneser. But a vast difference is now perceptible, which shows how Assyrian diplomacy had carried out its task. While under Bir-ıdri the vassal princes were always mentioned,



HITTITE INSCRIPTION IN HIGH RELIEF FROM CARCHEMISH

M 24 G

states—Israel among the number—which meanwhile had joined Assyria, for Hazael began to subjugate them once more. Their position was the more unenviable, since a renewal of submission to their old lord implied a defection from the new lord, whose vengeance was then to be They were thus placed between dreaded. two fires Israelite history Israel shows us the distress to which Between this state was reduced, and the Two Fires Bible has preserved the recol-

lection of it when it makes Elisha bewall the evil which Hazael would bring upon Israel

The successor of Hazael must have been Mari, who is familiar to us from the inscriptions of Adad-mair III, the Bible in 2 Kings xiii 25, appears to mention him also under the name Benhadal. He had been again attacked by Assyria, and had submitted after a siege of Damascus. Through this the other vassals of Assyria at least enjoyed peace, among them Israel The decadence of the Assyrian power after Adad-nirari had once more given Damascus a free In 773 we have evidence of a new expedition under Shalmaneser III., then nothing more transpires as to Damascus until Tiglath-pile-er IV appears to resume and to conclude the struggle

We must see the successor of Man in Tab-el, whom the Bible in Isaiah vir 6, names as the father of Rezon, nothing further is known of him. With his son and successor, Rezon, we have once more additional sources of information. We find him in 738 B.C., on the first appearance of Tiglath-pileser IV, still among the tribute payers. But soon afterwards he revolted, and at the same time, by contriving the tebellion in Samaria, which caused the fall of Pekahiah, the son of Manahem, who was loval to Assyria, he faised his partisan Pekah to the throne. We then find the two together in 735 B.C.

before the gates of Jerusalem (Isa vii.) attempting to over-throw Ahaz, who adhered to Assyna, and hoped with its aid to gain Israel. But in the very next year Tiglath-pileser appeared in Palestine, subjugated Philistia, overthrew Pekah in Samaria in 733 BC, and besieged and captured Damascus in 732 BC. Rezon lost his throne and his life, and Damascus became an Assyrian province. This virtually completed the subjuga-

tion of Syria, since no further resistance of a serious nature was possible. The rebellion of Ia'ubidi of Hamath, which had hitherto supported Assyria, was easily suppressed by Sargon. Syria after that time was ruled by Assyrian governors, or feudal lords, who were unable to follow out any independent policy of their own

There never was a Syrian civilisation in the sense in which we speak of a Babylonian or Egyptian culture. History has shown us how Syria, lying between the two great zones of civilisation, was almost always subject to their influence. Such investigations, as was the case with the political history, present far greater difficulties than in the region of the Euphratean empires, since a system of petty states has always prevailed in Syria, which renders it hard for the historian to adopt a comprehensive view, even if Le were sufficiently acquainted with the ne essary details. Here therefore, we must content ourselves for the present with ascertaming isolated facts of which chance has informed us. At the same time we possess in the monuments on Syrian Civilisation soil the productions of a civil-That is S.ill isation the history of which is Obscure

only beginning to be revealed to us. The explorer looks with longing eyes. at the so-calle I "Hittite" hie oglyphs, in which an increasing number of inscriptions are Leing found. The materials are as yet, comparatively speaking, insufficient to furnish a key to their decipherment, which a more copious supply of specimens or the dis overy of a lengthy bilingual inscription may reveal in the future. We can demonstrate that the system of writing employs the same fundamental notions as the cunciform characters and the hieroglyphs, the main principle being the employment of separate signs for the syllable and for ordinary ideas, but a simple conjecture might have deduced that from the mere number of the written characters. Only their outward forms, therefore, are clear to us as yet, and these show. apart from their shape, a fundamental distinction from those of Egypt and While the Egyptians or Babylonia Babylonians scratch or cut the writing into the material, the greater number of the Hittite inscriptions which we at pre ent possess are executed in high relief upon the stone. It is idle to speculate as to the origin of this custom from the

SYRIA AND THE HITTITE EMPIRE

comparatively late documents which have been found on a foreign soil. but, since the incred cunciform writing is the reproduction of what was originally scratched or impressed on clay, the reverse usage must point to a different origin. It is, indeed, a point to be considered that we have as yet to do only with monuments engraved with this hieroglyphic character, simple documents, corresponding to the Babylonian clay tablets and our written papers, with which the writing originated, are wanting, for the tablets found at Boghaz Köi, including the native Hittite

texts without exception employ Babylonian sylla-It is worthy barx of note that the tyle of the older Arama, n mscmptions on Syman soil meets us in those of the eighth century. while, on the other han be the oldest inscription found on Carra nite soil the stele of King Mesha of Moab the contemporary of Omir is scratched upon th -t∈n If we are to recognise in the latter anfluence of Babylonia and Assyria it is clear th Hittite custom continued to operate in a district once occupied by the Kheta As we have stated, the already tablets discovered at Boghaz Kor

tablets discovered at Boghaz Kor will stone, while Hittite inscription found on Cana stone, while Hittite inscription by the may decide the disputed question as to the origin and date of these hieroglyphic inscriptions, which are usually regarded as products of the Hittite civilisation.

Granted that the Hittite culture exercised an influence which for a time matched that of the other bank of the Euphrates, this will have shown itself in many achievements of civilised life which are as yet unknown to us. We possess perhaps an important testimony of this in the mina of Carchemish, which was distinguished by

the Assyrians from their national one—It is not, indeed, established whether that was a weight adopted from the Hittites. But if such was the case, this alone would indicate a far-reaching influence of the Hittite spirit upon trade and business transactions, and indeed even on the conditions of the tenure of the soil—From this it would result that not only a dominant section of the Syrian population represented the Hittite strain, but that in reality a population had developed which preserved its national characteristics, and under the change i conditions of life in their

new home continued develop ındependently It an art, which existed there only for the powerful and ruling classes, and was toste ed for them alone, had httle comparatively with do the subordinate sections of the people, the universal adoption and recognition even by the later Assyrian rulers of the Hittite weights and measures show that the population of Syria in all its classes must have been Hittite, or permeated with Hittite customs—This would, besides tally in every respect with what we are as yet able to ascertain as to the religious conditions We have not regarded

appearance of "Hittite" peoples in Syria, and we may assume that, both with them and after them, other kindled nations settled there. The conquest of Syria, evidence of which we begin to see in the Tell el-Amarna letters, was one undertaken by a great state, which had its seat and the central point of its civilisation and power in Asia Minor. It thus differed little from the Assyrian conquest two centuries later; just as this did not give Syria an Assyrian population, so that of the Kheta, or Khatti, did not make the country "Khattian" down to the plain of



the THE MOABITE STONE

This stele of Mesha, king of Moah, is the oldest the conquest by the will stone, while Hittie inscriptions are in high reher. We have not regarded the conquest by the will be stone, while Hittie inscriptions are in high reher.

the Orontes. The actual result was only a military occupation of the country and its impoverishment by officials. If, therefore, we may conclude that the population even of the ninth and later centuries B.C. contained an admixture of the earlier Hittite elements, we must equally see in it the result of occurrences which preceded and

Hittite Influence in Syria

tollowed the conquest. Out of the countless waves of this great immigration that of the Khatti represents only one, possibly the most far-reaching in its effects but not for that reason the most lasting. Similar migrations of homogeneous tribes which inundated the empire of the Khatti in its original home, and gave it a new population, must have also affected the Syrian conquests of the Khatti. So soon as a foreign power ceased to hold in subjection the separate countries which were ruled by their native princes or governors, the result immediately followed that these

hitherto dependent countries constituted so many small "kingdoms" which waged war with each other. The result of the Khatti conquest was a "Hitticising" of the country in so far as the country was open to the advancing tribes. The same conditions prevailed when

the Aramæans a little later advanced from the south. The result of this contest between the two great movements which here crossed each other's path was a popu-

lation mainly Aramæan in the south, a mixed population in the and centre, predominantly Hittite one in the north. It was organised in separate petty states, which remained independent until conquered by Assyria, a power as strong as that of the Khattı.

Such conditions could not develop any true Syro-Hittite culture. The state of

things was too precarious, and revolutions followed too rapidly to allow anything peculiar to the Syrian soil to be formed which might be compared with the

Babylonian civilisation. All, therefore, that we possess of the productions of "Hittite" art is very rude. Of course, an unimportant provincial town like Sam'al, or Senjiili, to which we owe the oldest sculptures, cannot be regarded as determining the extent of Hittite achievements on Syrian soil.

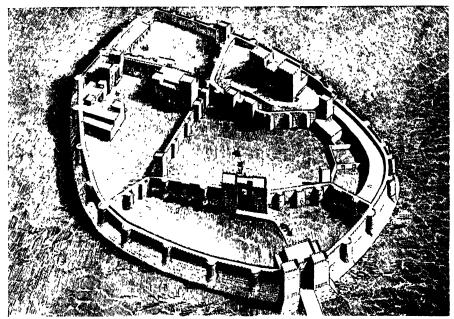
We may expect to full a genune Syro-Hittite art in Carchemish, which remained for the longest period the most flourishing seat of the Hittites. Indeed, a large number of monuments have been discovered there, but not sufficient to enable us to pass a final judgment upon Hittite art. Those brought to Europe are for the most part fragments on which all that is preserved is the inscription; other sculptured stabs were not removed from the mound during the excavations on this site, and they are still to be seen above the soil They include representations of Products of two Hittite gods, the figure of a Hittite goddess, and Aramæan the like. We can summarise Skill briefly the productions of Aramæan skill The only specimens, indeed, to be considered are the sculptures of the last period of Sam'al-Senjuli, the statue of the god Hadad, the statue of Panaminu, and the reliefs of the palace erected by his son Bar-sur

Just as the execution of the writing in

high relief imitates that of the Hittites here again hardly anything original is to be found If it were not that Aramaic inscriptions are cut them would be included with the rest as merely Hittite We have little else that is Aramaan, nothing actually from a soil which was more purely Aramaan than the San'al of the eighth century The Aramæans display but small

HITTITE KING AND A WARRIOR From the remains of Senjirli, Northern Syria

capacity to produce independent results in culture and intellectual achievements. Just as the Arab lived on the powers of Byzantium and Persia, so they lived



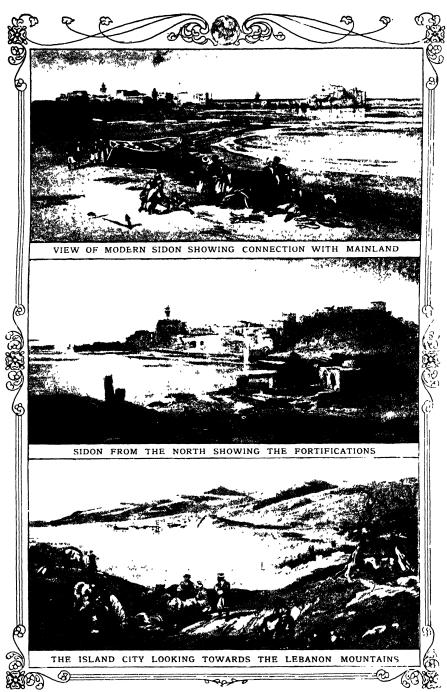
A HITTITE CASTLE IN ANCIENT SYRIA A reconstruction, from remains at Senjirli, Northern Syria, of a brick castle of the Syro-Hittites.

on those of the Babylon ans. Assyrians and Hittites.

Senjirli, the only ruined place in Syria which has hitherto been thoroughly excavated, has given us information as to the architecture, since it has transmitted to us the form of a midgal, or castle. This, from being the centre and place of refuge of an originally open settlement, became later the nucleus of a walled city. The influence of Babylon is noticeable in the choice of brick as the building material. It would be premature to form from this one building any opinion of the construction of the rich and powerful Syrian towns, the different centres of civilisation. Carchemish or Hierapolis, Aleppo, Hamath, Damascus, etc.

It would be still more tash to attempt to formulate the Aramæan ideas of faith and religion. A few names of deities in later tradition comprise nearly all that could serve as a basis for such speculation. The Aramæan characteristics are most strongly marked in Southern Syria, owing to the comparatively weaker influence of the Hittites, which the old Canaanite life of the second Semitic migration had successfully resisted. The ideas of Canaanites and Aramæans may, indeed,

be assumed with some probability to have been originally identical, and the question is mainly one of different names for similar religious conceptions Thus, in view of the traditions of a time which had no longer any comprehension of the old stratification of the peoples and their different characteristics, we are hardly in a position to single out anything as peculiarly Aramaan. If, even at the period of the eighth century B.C., traces of the Canaamte language can be proved to have existed in the district of Senjirli, we must also regard the few names of gods in the inscriptions found there as a Canaanite, and therefore pre-Aramæan, inheritance which was not affected by the intermediate rule of the Hittites. At the same time, it is of course to be remembered that foreign influence must have made itself felt in great centres of culture sooner than in remote provincial towns. Thus the divine name El is clearly common to Canaanites and Aramæans. Rekab is originally Canaanite, and is found in Southern Judah. Only Hadad, whose cult is proved to have been the most important in Damascus, may be Aramæan; his Canaanite name was Ramman, or Rimmon, the god of weather and fertility.



SIDON, THE ANCIENT SFAT OF PHCENICIA'S RELIGIOUS CULT

EARLY NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA



II PHŒNICIA AND CANAAN

PHŒNICIA AND CANAAN

THE strip of land which is bounded by the Syrian desert and the chain of Antilebanus on the cast, and by the Mediterranean on the west, has never been the home of a great unified kingdom. Being chiefly mountainous and intersected by the two streams which rise in the centre and are of no importance for communication the Orontes from south to north, and the Jordan from north to south, it was never able to advance far beyond the cantonal system natural to highlands, and was always hindered by the system of The sea, indeed, afforded petty states a natural high-road of commerce for the towns on the coast, but these lacked the hinterland, which would have offered the requisite territory for a larger population bent on developing a higher civilisation. They were thus prompted from the first to extend then power beyond the sea, and the more so since they were hard pressed in the The Need rear by a succession of new of Oversea and still uncivilised nations Expansion The country, in consequence of its situation between the two great civilised states on the Euphrates and the Nile, must have been a natural geal for the efforts at expansion made by both nations long before we have any record of it history of these regions varies according to the power, whether Babylonian-Assyrian or Egyptian, to which they were subject The ever-recurring spectacle, which has continued from the Hellenistic period through the Middle Ages down to our own time, is due to the position of the country and its configuration, which prevents the formation of a large state.

Accordingly in the millennia of the development and full expansion of the Sumerian and of the contemporary Egyptian civilisations a population was settled there which was probably of mixed origin. That there was a pre-Semitic element is certain. We cannot say that the pre-Semitic Palestinians were connected by kinship with the Sumerians. It is most improbable that the Sumerian race ever

extended itself west of the Mesopotamian valley. And the pre-Semitic elements in Palestine are quite different from the pre-Semitic elements in Mesopotamic are elements in the Semitic cultures of both Palestine and Mesopotamia which must be put down to the pre-semitic inhabitants of these lands, but Nature of Pre-Semitic whereas in Mesopotamia these elements are evidently of Su-Influences merian origin in Palestine they are to be ascribed to the older inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin, whose race is to be found in Spain in Italy, in Greece, and probably also in the Egyptian delta and the Northern African littoril - the short, dark dolichocephalic race which is collectively known to us now as "Mediterranem." It is to this race that the distinctivery "Canaanitish 'elements in the culture of Palestine must be Semiti ascribed in Palestine as in Crete, sacred ston's and groves were venerated and modern British archæological labour has made it very probable that these elements of religion are in Crete of pre-Hellenic, in Palestine of pre-Semitic origin. This is but a cursory reference to a revolutionary theory, which considerations of space forbid us to elaborate further here.

the earliest ages of Egyptian history settled in the Smartic peninsula and possibly also in the highlands of Southern Palestine, pressed northwards, and supplanted in Palestine and Mesopotamia the older inhabitants Henceforward Semitised Canaan, connected by kinship with the ruling people in Babylonia, was subject to its influence and acknowledged its Semitic sovereignty alternately with Migrations to Palestine that of Fgypt. Just as all subsequent Semitic migrations probably brought to Palestine a new stratum of population, so the first of them, the Semitic Babylomans, may have discharged there some portion of its tribes. Even if this stratum of the population is more tangible for us, since it is historical in Babylonia at least, and if we can

Eventually, the Semites, whom we find in

therefore see traces of it later in Phoenicia, in much that strikes us as Babylonian, yet we know nothing of any tribes which pushed on toon the north toward Phoenicia, we are still without detailed accounts of the civilisation of Asia Minor at this early period.

The real history of Canaan and Palestine begins for us with the immigration of the new inhabitants. These nations really developed themselves Canaanite there and on the soil of that Group land sustained the part they played in the world's history. Since during this time Canaan in its peculiar way was comparatively independent, we term this group, which alone has given a certain importance to the country, the Canaanite. We have assumed that this migration led also to the occupation of other countries of Babylonia, and thus of the whole Euphrates valley - and not impossibly influenced early Egypt In Canaan and Palestine we can distinguish two sections of this immigration -an older one, which, already settled at the time when our sources of information are more copious, had long been in possession of the towns, especially of the scaports; and a younger one, which at this very time was on the point of conquering the country. The former is called the Phænician, after its chief representatives; the second, in conformity with the Bible and the Tell el-Amarna letters the Hebraic group While therefore we understand by the former almost all the tribes which immigrated first, and accordingly settled in the towns and on the sea coast, the latter comprises the section which the documents at our disposal distinguish as still migrating and conquering, and thus opposed to and at war with the former. The best known of these are the tribes which the Israelite national confederation comprised, the Moabites, Aminonites, and Edomites. They spoke, on the whole, the

Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites.

They spoke, on the whole, the same language, but the distinction between the two main groups is noticeable by differences of dialect. It is not improbable that the red-headed Amorites were not of true Semitic origin, but were Berbers, or Libyans, from Africa, possibly ultimately, like some of the Egyptians, of "proto-Semitic" affiinties. They then represent at it d element in the land—the Libyan or Kabyle—as distinct both from that of the Mediterranean and the Semitic.

Our present task is to treat the clibthe two Semitic groups, the settled group according to our accounts. This contains first and foremost, the inhabitants of the towns on the coast, the Phœnicians, as they were called by the Greeks. They immigrated into Canaan probably before the middle of the third millennium, B.C., and overran the country at first, until, pushed on by the masses following after them, they established themselves in the maritime district. The kindred tribes which pressed on after them are the Canaanites of the Bible, whom we then find, at the time of the Hebrews, in the towns of the interior, and of whom we hear nothing except their struggle with the "Hebrews." The immigrating "Phœnicians" were

naturally not a people under a uniform government and rule, but tribes which usually pressed forward independently, swept on by the general stream, pushing and being pushed, until the suiviving fragment of them finally found in some place rest and settlements. There they distributed themselves among the various fortified towns, or the districts lying under their protection. Phonicians Thus they were not the founders of these towns, but took over People what had been already achieved by the earlier population. Their destinies were those of settled nations. entered into alliances with each other when their method of life brought them together, they separated when it kept them aloof. The Phænicians proper are a settled people, and, as such, a product of the conditions which had forced them to settle permanently. Their individual groups did not migrate as compact units, and it was not until the new homes were reached that these combinations were

We can distinguish some of these groups, taking them from north to south, which correspond in their main features to the important towns. The most northerly of the Phænician states proper is Arvad. The towns lying to the north certainly belonged to it. Its exact site is known, and to the present day retains its name, Ruad. The town was situated on an island, as are Sidon and Tyre. As we go further towards the south, we come on Gebal, or Byblos, the modern Jebell, built on the mainland, with the cult and temple of the "Ba'alat of Gebal." This town already existed before 2000 B.C., when it was

PHŒNICIA AND CANAAN

known to the Egyptians at the beginning of the twelfth dynasty as Kapuna, a name which it preserved always in Egyptian. South of this comes Beirut, a separate kingdom at the Tell el-Amarna period, afterwards usually joined to Gebal; it is never mentioned by the Assyrians. Then comes Sidon, also originally situated on an island Its chief cult was that of Astarte, and it contained the acknowledged national sanctuary of the Phœnician tribes. Finally, the most southern state, Tyre, possessed the sanctuary of Melkart, Melek-kirvat, "King of the city," who was afterwards imported by the Tyrians into Greece as Melikertes of Corinth More of the coast was also originally in the possession of kindred tribes, these, however, either did not, or could not, join the Phænician tribal league. Even in the Tell el-Amarna period we find independent princes there, whom we must call, according to the Biblical designation, "Canaanites" But then these towns, so far as they did not belong to Tyre, like Akko, Dor, and Jaffa, were occupied by the Philistines, who were not of Semitic race at all, but European immigrants Independent the Egean. Their connection with the Phœnician league was Princes thus once for all frustrated

To these larger states belonged the separate small towns. These, in part originally occupied by portions of the tribes which conquered the chief towns, in part subdued in the natural course of affairs or by force, had been compelled to join them. Many of these may occasionally have had their "king," or some other form of self-government, though they never attained any importance.

Of the four states of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, not one ever extended its dominion beyond its own coast territory; thus their position was quite small, or even insignificant. The most influential of the four were Tyre and Sidon, and they were consequently always rivals. This rivalry led for a long period to the subjection of the one by the other—the kingdom of the "Sidonians," with its capital, Tyre. A union of all the Phænicians, or even the subjugation of the hinterland, was never accomplished. There never was an empire of all Phænicia.

Only Sidon and Tyre attained any importance in the world's history, while the two northern states sank more and more into the background. We must not over-

estimate, however, the importance of the former; it was their reputation which made them prominent in comparison with the other two, rather than a conspicuously powerful position They owe this reputation to the fact that precisely at the time when they appear on the horizon of the west-that is, when they came Eminence into touch with the Greeks— of Sidon the Sidonian empire of Tyre of Sidon was in existence, which was in reality somewhat superior to the Thus the name of the Sidomans and Tyrians is prominent after the ninth and eighth centuries. Two or three centuries previously there was not the slightest trace to be observed of it. In the Tell el-Amarna letters in the fifteenth century they are all equally petty, Sidon and Tyre perhaps more so than Gebal, and all alike threatened by the Amorites, who had then already occupied Arvad.

Sidon must, however, have occupied a peculiar position. The "Phœnicians" were designated by the neighbouring peoples, as by the Israelites, by the collective name of Sidonians, and it is proved that they must have so called themselves, since the same appellation is found among the Greeks of the oldest period in Homer, and the kings of the united kingdom of Tyre and Sidon bore the title "King of the Sidonians". This does not imply merely the inhabitants of Sidon, but the entire people, so far as it was then a coherent whole That designation shows that Sidon must have assumed a commanding position, which, in conformity with these conditions, can have been only that of a universally acknowledged federal sanctuary. This position is clearly demonstrated in the veneration which was shown to the sanctuary of Sidon, the famous temple of Astarte; it was for the Phoenicians somewhat the same as Delos or Dodona was for Greek races. This did not lead to any political supremacy any more The Famous than in Greece the common devotion of certain states to

of Sidon a certain deity meant the recognition by them all of any political supremacy of the state in whose territory the common sanctuary lay. On the contrary, the only case of a permanent subjugation of a considerable tract of the coast, which we shall have to notice, originated with Tyre.

The accounts of the earliest times are more than scanty. The traditions



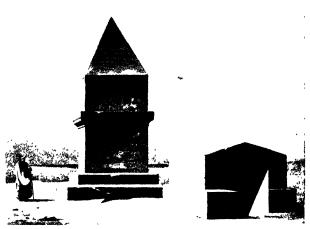
ALL THAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF ARVAD, ONE OF THE PHŒNICIAN STATES. The most northerly of the four Pho-meian states was Arvad, now known as Ruad. It was situated on an island.

coacerning Sargon of Agade and his western conquests at the beginning of the third millennium, though they have come down to us in documents of a late date are probably trustworthy so far as they record his conquest of the Palestinian coast and are evidence of Babylonian influence in that region. We have merely a few statements of the Sumerian patest Guidea as to the intercourse of his country with the West. We require to realise the significance of this influence not less

than that of the succeeding period, and must not judge it by the paneity of such records Even then it is po sible that ships put out to sea from the settlements which afterwards the Phoenicians occupied, and were the medium of intercourse with the West. The nameless inhabitants of this coast may even then have distributed the products of Babylonian civilisation to the rising peoples of the eastern Mediterranean

A change in the situation was later produced by the immigration, which made the Phoenicians and their congeners lords of the land. It may have been this same immigration that brought. Babyloma, and

Egypt also into the hands of Semitic "Canaamites," in Egypt called the Hyksos." Thus during this period the bind of union with the great civilised country on the Euphrates had been drawn close, on the other hand intercourse was maintained with their kinstolk in Egypt. It is thus intelligible how the influence of this connection meets us later in the civilising effects of the Tell el-Amarna period, and how the Palestinian chiefs wheresthesic to Egyptian rule exchanged



PHŒNICIAN TOMB OF EGYPTIAN DESIGN
A Phænician adaptation at Arvad of tumbs at Memphis It contained several stories, with chambers for the bodies From a reconstruction by Eriest Revan

PHŒNICIA AND CANAAN

with the Pharaoh letters written in cuneiform characters.

While the "Canaanite" rule in Babylonia was being ended by the Kassites, Egypt was in revolt against the barbarian Hyksos, and the revival of prosperity induced the Pharaohs to turn their attention to Palestine, which the Kassites, who met the opposition of the bands pressing forward from Asia Minor, had been obliged to leave to its late. There now legins the period of the Egyptian rule which was founded by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, notably Thothmes HL, and lastel for a long time.

Under he successors Amenophis III.

attitude towards Egypt. There are letters from all the places there as far as the southern frontier of the country. All these letters are written in cuneiform, and composed in a language which may be described as Babyloman adapted to Phænician, a lingua franca which employed the Babyloman vocabulary, but often modelled it on the laws of Phænician, and constructed new forms, particularly in the conjugation of the verb, which is very distinct from the Babyloman.

We are now concerned chiefly with those states only—among the number represented in the letters—which he to the west of Lebanon and further to the south in the



CHŒNICIAN TOMES AT ASVAD AFTER CHALDÆAN MODELS
Two chapel-tombs in the Phoenician cemetery at Arvad, with the Chaldwan round tower and cupola. Like the pictures on opposite page, the above wis obtained by the official French mission to Phoenicia under Ernest Renan in 1862.

and ${
m IV}_{+}$ we have in the Tell-el-Amarna letters the most trustworthy documents as to the condition of Palestine under the Egyptian rule, and we can by then aid picture to ourselves the state of the country in the second millennium, the ra into which the immigration of the second or Hebrew, group or the Canaamte population falls. We possess some 300 of such letters, which were sent by princes of Syria and Palestine to the Pharaoh or his officials. All countries, so far as they acknowledge I the Egyptian suzerainty, ire represented in the collection most northern country, corresponding to he district of Aleppo, is Nukhashshi, which maintained a very independent territory of the subsequent kingdom of Israel. We will begin with the most important the Phænician. These states, like the whole land, were governed by then own native princes, under the sanction of the Pharaoh. No actual Egyptian administrators on the model of the Assyrian provinces were appointed. We may lest call the established system an Egyptian "protectorate." as that will serve to give a picture of the local independence controlled by Egyptian residents and subject to state service which prevailed under the Pharaohs in the outlying lands of their empire

The most northerly Phenician town, Arvad, precisely at this time fell into the

hands of a prince named Aziru, advancing from the hinterland. He is described as an Amorite. His rise determined the entire policy in Northern Phænicia: for, being dissatisfied with Arvad, he advanced further toward the south, where the nearest state was Gebal -then the only one of any considerable extent—and conquered in the hinterland towns of the Beka'a, such as Tunip, perhaps Heliopolis-Baalbek, and, further to the north, Ni. He extended his territory northward as far as that of Nukhashshi. His career proves that we have to do with all the phenomena of a feudal state, and one without a strong

superior lord The Phataoh indeed does not admit any obligation to secure tranquillity in the country. His vassals have the right of declaring war, and only when they declare themselves independent, or throw themselves into the arms of another great power, or are suspected of so doing, is there any excuse for taking active measures against them. Accordingly we find continual wars waged by one neighbouring prince against another, and each one tries to make the court consider his opponent disloyal Suspicions thrown on the loyalty of others, and assurances of their own fidelity, with protests against the accusations of the others and requests for support against them—such matters compose the contents of the letters

Aziru was a prince of tribes which first conquered the land, and so belonged to the later stratum of the great Canaanite immigration. The goddess of Sidon. and thus stood in natural opposi-

tion to the inhabitants already permanently settled. These latter we described as Phœnician, from their oldest and most powerful representatives; the former, as Hebrew, for, as in the Old Testament, "Hebrews" is the designation of the first tribes who immigrated, living in the open country and aspiring to the possession of the towns. That the Hebrews are the same as the tribes called in the letters of the Egyptian national archives "Khabiri" is doubtful, since the initial guttural is quite distinct in the two words, but is by no means impossible.

Azıru, advancıng southward from Arvad, and conquering two or three small towns, among them Arka, ruled by princes of their own, which lay on his route, reduced to great straits the territory of Gebal, whence the prince, Rib-Adda, sent letter after letter to the Egyptian court asking for help. Sumur, or Simyra, a town on the coast north of Gebal and belonging to it, was captured, and Aziru invested Gebal itself without the Pharaoh's intervention. Rıb-Adda went to Beirut to obtain assistance, and thus lost his throne to his brother, who did not relinquish it again. Aziru then advanced still further; he was indeed the ultimate cause of all the disorders in that country. At last, however, he was forced to appear

> at the court to answer for himself, and was kept under arrest. We possess a letter of condolence sent to him in Egypt by one of his loyal tollowers, which must have been intercepted by the Egyptians, since it was put among the records and preserved in the State archives. The Amorites, nevertheless, advanced still further. The oldest of the written documents of the Old Testament describes the original inhabitants of the Israelitish territory as Amorites.

> Going southward from Gebal we come to Benut, where Rib-Adda sought refuge with the king Ammunua, who seems to have been anxious not to quarrel either with Rib-Adda, who really had reposed trust in Egypt, or with his dangerous opponent. Zimrida, king of Sidon, gives little sign. We gather from the complaints of his neighbour, and thus his Abımılkı natural enemy, Abimelech of Tyre, that he made common cause with Aziru,

and thus attempted to gain an advantage over his neighbour in Tyre Things went very badly with the latter He was besieged on his island and cut off from the mainland by Zimrida, who had secured the support of Aziru, so that he could not even draw water on the land. He tried to propitiate the Pharaoh by communicating all sorts of news from the country. Neither he nor Zimrida had any considerable territory, and there is no idea of the supremacy of the one or the other.

Further to the south, Akko had a prince of its own; it is often mentioned as a port for travellers to Egypt. Jaffa and Gaza, further on, were under one prince, and



ASTARTE



REMAINS OF THE ISEANS CITE AND KINGDOM OF AMELENT TIKE

Askalon, between the two, under another We cannot decide whether these were already Philistines, immigrants from Crete; but their names do not look like those of Phœnicians and Canaanites, and the Greek tribe of the Danuna, or Danaans, are already mentioned as settled on the coast. The only one of the numerous princes of the hinterland that interests us is Abd-Abdkhiba khiba, king of Terusalem, not an King of hereditary prince, but one ap-Jerusalem pointed by the Pharaoh He is hard pressed by his neighbours Tagi, Milkiel, and the sons of Lapaia, and cannot find words to express the certainty that, if help is not brought to him, the country, which otherwise would be secured to the king, will inevitably fall into the hands of the Khabiri. A detailed description of the letters would take too long, a large number of well-known Biblical localities are specially mentioned as objects of these The princes from a whole series of wais towns merely announce in short formal letters then realmess to submit to the royal comman Is and to put then troops at the disposal of the Egyptian general

A remarkable document has been found in Tell Hesy the ruined site of Lachish Closely resembling the Tell el-Amarna letters in writing and appearance, it is a letter addressed to an Egyptian general, which announces the delection of two princes. The one of them is called Zimiida, like the Siden an prince and he is known to us, both by one of his letters from Tell el-Amarna and by his accounts of Abd-khiba as king of Lachish By a remarkable coincidence this isolated tablet was found in the excavations at Tell Hesy almost at the same time as the great discovery of archives in Egypt was made known The discovery at Tell Hesy can be explained only on the ground that the letter of Zimiida had been intercepted

The letters from Tellel-Amarna cover only a few years of the last period of Amen ophis III. and of the beginning of the Rivalries reign of his successor. All acof Petty counts lead us to conclude that Princes the Egyptian power was not firmly established. It rested really more on the impotence and the discord of the innumerable petty princes than on the strength of Egypt. Rib-Adda, then, tries to traduce his rival Aziru, who is, he says, conspiring with the kings of Babylon'a, Mitani, and the Kheta, and if he seizes the country, will hold it as a fief from them.

In the disorders which ensued on the death of King Amenophis IV, Egyptian influence, especially in the north, was destroyed, as 1 the land became dependent on the Kheta, whose advance we can ascertain even from the Tell el-Amarna letters Shubbiluliuma then king and his successors, Murshih an I Muttalu were Lent upon the extension of their power over the whole of Northern Syria, and we're only checked by the defeat of Khattushih by Ramses II at Kadesh a century later. Babylonia could not extend her power to the west. She had in Assyria a perpetual opponent which diverted her attention. kingdom of Mitani, which bulks so large in the Tell el-Amarna letters, was destroyed by Shubbiluliuma Lefore the end of the reign of Amenophis IV - The Egyptian rule was therefore oace, more established in the thirteenth century BC by the repulse of the Kheta and the treaty made with them under Ramses II., who left a menument of his pres nee in Phomicia in the shape of the stell of the Nahr el-Kelb — The picture presented by the land at this time thus presents the closest resemblance to that Ramees which was noticeable two centhe Great in Phoenicia tunes before only that the beaters of other names played the parts of Rib-Adda Aziru Abd-K'iiba etc. At that very time the tribes of Israel may have conquered their homes, and have combined into a tribal tederation. In the north the Egyptian supremacy had once more been shaken off, and even in the south the princes turned to the Pharaoh only as a last resource, when they could not hold their position with their own forces. The eleventh century ses the conquests of the Philistin's to migrant from Crete and the 4.g an, and the rise of the monarchies of Saul and David, the new millennium sees the kingdom of Damascus, when neither Egypt nor Assyria, which in the interval had come to the front, was powerful in Palestine. In the south merely banished princes like Hada l of Edom, or unsuccessful preten lers, like Jeroboam, sought an asylum, and sometimes saw their wishes realised by the arrival of an Egyptian army, as Jeroboam

The four Phoenician states were still less afterted by these circumstances than the countries in the interior, for the sea always gave them more independence, and the wealth which their trade procured

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them lent them the strength to resist the Egyptian armies, or the means of securing their freedom by payments Arvad had received a new population from the Amorite conquest, and we left Gebal when Aziru was on the point of subduing it. The Amorites by their further advance, as the subsequent dialect shows, apparently succeeded in winning this also. The two did not appreciably change their character in consequence, they remained maritime and commercial cities as before; but they were certainly detached from the old confederation of the Phænicians or Sidomans. There is the additional fact that Egypt's power here in the north was less strong, so that these towns were forced to submit sooner

without any hindrance So the kingdoms of David and of Tyre and Sidon grew up In the time of David and Solomon, Tyre had already assumed the leading place. Its princes styled themselves "kings of the Sidomans", they dominated Sidon as well as the whole coast, so far as it still belonged to the confederation of the "Sidonians" that is to say, all except the northern states. If the term "Empire of the Phænicians" can ever be used, it is applicable at this period. We really do not know much beyond the little which the Bible tells us of the relations of Solomon to Huam We know that Huam and his father Abi-baal did the most for the extension of their "kingdom." If a reading in Josephus is correctly restored,



CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF THE RED HEADED AMORITES OF CANAAN The Phornicians, Hebrows and Amorites were the principal numigrants into Canaan. It is not unfillely that the Amorites were not Semites, but Bribers or Libyans. From "The Stringgle of the Nations," SPC k.

than Tyre and Sidon to the powers pressing on from Syria. They will thus have been tributaries to the Kheta, or Hittites at a time when Sidon and Tyre must have still remained loyal to the Pharaon. When Lighath-pileser was in Arvad, which had therefore acknowledged his suzerainty, the Pharaoh sent him presents, and thus maintained neighbourly relations with him as the lord of the southern country. We may assume a similar state of things quite soon afterwards between Egypt and Nebuchadnezaar I., when the latter, before his defeat by Ashur-reshishi, had occupied Palestine.

The eleventh century B.C., which shows the least traces of any encroachments on the part of Assyria and Egypt, was the period when large states might arise in Phænicia

Hiram founded Kition in Cyprus which means that he captured the town with its inhabitants, and installed a Tyrian governor there Kition is however, mentioned by the Egyptians, with other Cypnan cities, as early as the time of Rams's III (1150 BC), who speaks of the countries of Salames-ki or Salami Katian, of Kition, Almage of Marion Sali or Solor, and Ital, or Idalion, together. The ki at the end of the name of Salamis may Le accounted for on the supposition that the Egyptian scribe was transliterating from a cunciform original, and had inadvertently transliterated the city-sign ki after the name Salames. These names are all in very much their Greek form were Aryan-speaking Greeks already settled in Cyprus as early as the twelfth century?

In the Tell el-Amarna period (1400 B.c.) Cyprus was the seat of a kingdom of Alashia, the king of which conducted a correspondence with Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., and even then was supplying them with copper. He also wrote in "Babylonian," and used cuneiform characters. Nothing is certain as to his nationality, but that he was

his nationality, but that he was Cyprus

Before the
Phoenicians

"Greek" is highly improbable,
though he may have been
"Minoan"; no Phoenician Cyprus name appears among the few mentioned. Indeed, it does not seem as if a Phœnician population had by that time assumed a commanding position in the island seizure by Hiram three hundred years later would, therefore, mark the first foundation of Phænician influence there. As is usual in such cases, the captured town Kition was "refounded," as the Assyrian expression is, and received a new name, in this case Kartikhadasti, or ' New Town," the same, therefore, as the "New Town," or Carthage, in Africa. The island of Cyprus, which now became subject to the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon. was thenceforth administered partly as a Tyrian province under governors, partly by tributary kings of the separate towns. This must have been the most important possession of the Tyro-Sidonian kingdom; we can hardly entertain the idea that any of the African colonies were dependent. The splendour of the new kingdom found expression in Oriental fashion by the erection of new and magnificent buildings on the island of Tyre

We are indebted to an abstract by Josephus from the Annals of Menander, the Greek-writing historian of the Phænicians, from whom these accounts are also taken, for the record of the most valuable facts about the reigns of the subsequent kings, being extracted from the Tyrian archives they have a claim to be reproduced in spite of their vague-

From the Archives of Tyre has son Abd-ashtoreth for nine years, about 070-053 B.C., and then his son Abd-ashtoreth for nine years. He was murdered by the "four sons of his nurse," one of whom, Methu-ashtoreth, became king and reigned twelve years. He was followed by his brother Asterymus for nine years; the latter was murdered by his brother Phelles, who held the power for eight months. Nothing is said as to the

motive for the rebellion of the brothers, nor does it appear what revolution was signified by their accession to power.

Phelles was overthrown by Ithobal, the "Priest of Ashtoreth," who reigned thirtytwo years, about 900 B.C. Even in this instance it is not known how the internal conditions affected this change, especially how far any antagonism between the two capitals, Tyre and Sidon, may have contributed to it. Ithobal is also mentioned in the Bible. Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, was his daughter. Then followed his descendants, Baal-azar, six years, Metten, nine years, and Pygmalion, fortyseven years — until about 800 B.C. Josephus draws up his list so far after Menander, since Carthage is said to have been "founded" under Pygmalion, and he makes a point of settling this date at the place in question. In any case it is certain that the dynasty of Ithobal held the power for a long period. The story of Dido and the foundation of Carthage have been connected with the revolution m which Pygmalion killed the husband of his sister, the priest of Ashtoreth.

Priesthood
Against
Monarchy
nected by maintage with the high-priest, conprobably otherwise related, had attempted to seize the throne, but had been defeated in the attempt. Thus it was a struggle of the priesthood against the monarchy, an incident common in the East and observable at this same period in Israel and Judah

We can extract very little from the notices of Josephus, derived from Menander, as to the relations existing between Tyre and Sidon. With the rise to power of Abi-baal. Tyre becomes the ruling city, while Sidon, the seat of the universally acknowledged cult, and thus enjoying a religious prestige, is in reality the subject city. It is conjectured that in the two revolutions just mentioned this position was to some extent affected. Our accounts do not inform us whether the "Empire" still continued to exist under these circumstances, or whether a fresh separation of the two states resulted. At any rate, the Assyrian accounts from the period after Ithobal speak of the two towns as separate. Shalmaneser II., both in 842 and 839 B.C., mentions the Sidonians and the Tyrians (under Pygmalion

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therefore) as paying tribute separately. As, then, Ithobal in the Bible is still termed "King of the Sidonians," a separation must have taken place in the interval between 900 and 800 B.c

Adad-nirari III. speaks of Tyre and Sidon as two states, his expedition towards the west must have taken place soon after Pygmalion's death. Assyria, perhaps, had favoured and brought about a separation of the two states on the principle "divide et impera." Tradition places the "foundation of Carthage" about 845 B C.—namely, at the time when Shalmaneser, after 854 B.C. waged war in the west with Damascus, in 842 BC Sidon, Tyre, and Jehu of Israel paid him tribute. On the basis of similar circumstances it may be supposed that the intrigues in Tyre between Pygmalion and his brother-in-law had been carried on with the support of Assyria Sidon would thus have probably acquired its independence as regards Tyre through the support of Assyria, and would have lost it when help was not forthcoming, at least, that happened again in 701 BC the time when Λ ssyria could Sidon not interfere in the west the to Tyre old conditions had been re-When Tiglath - pileser stored again appeared here in 738 B.C., he recognised only a king of Tyre, and none of Sidon, which accordingly must have been once more subject to Lyrian supremacy.

The territory of the empire was however, restricted then by the Assyrian province created by Tiglath-pileser in 732 B.C. which, comprising several of the northern Phoenician towns, Similia, Arka, and the district of Lebanon, had been entrusted to his son and acknowledged successor, Shalmaneser. Huam II., then king, always paid his tribute and avoided any misunderstanding with Assyria Metten II must have succeeded him about the year 730 B.C. He let things go so far as a war with Assyria but was soon brought to reason by an Assyrian army in the year 729 BC., and had to dip deeply into his well-filled coffers in order to purchase peace.

Metten had not a long reign, and possibly his submission to Assyria led to his fall. In the year 727 B.C., that is, shortly after the death of Tiglath-pileser, Elulæus, as the account of Menander preserved by Josephus calls him, or Luli, as Sennacherib afterwards calls him, suspended the pay-

ment of tribute. Shalmaneser is said to have marched towards Tyre, but consented to conclude peace; this is equivalent to saying that Luh declared his readiness to resume payment of tribute. We then have a further, but not very clear, account by Sargon, who says briefly that "he had hauled the Yavna (Ionians) like fish out of the midst of the

Sea Power
Sea Po

When the West rose after the death of Sargon, Luli in Phoenicia and Hezekiah in the hinterland were the leaders round whom the insurgents rallied. But then, as usual, there was no organised resistance, and all the towns, with the exception of Tyre, surrendered to the Assy-Sennacherib mans without more ado. enumerates on this occasion the kings of Phœnicia, and thus affords us a welcome insight into the existing conditions. There were Menathem of Shams-maron, an otherwise unknown and unimportant Phoenician town, Abd-le'at of Arvad, and Uru-melek of Gebal. All the towns of the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon were seized without difficulty. Sennacherib mentions Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bet-Zant, Sarepta, Makhalliba, Ushu, opposite the island of Tyre, Ekdippa, or Aklizib, and $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{o}$ Tyre itself was unsuccessfully besieged, a fact about which Sennacherib naturally is silent, but we know of it from Menander, who tells us that even the Phomician ships of Sennacherib were destroyed by the Tyrians. Luli himself fled to Cyprus, that is, to Kition, in order to wait there for a favourable opportunity of returning to Tyre, which still

Held out. He must, however, have deed soon after, whether in Kition or after a return to Tyre, we do not know. Sennacherib is very reticent on these events. In his record of the year 700 B.C., the account of Luh's death is still missing, but occurs in the next record of 691 B.C. The most probable explanation would be that Luli came back quietly after the withdrawal of the Assyrians, and took steps to regain his lost territory.

Sennacherib had meanwhile taken advantage of the enmity between Sidon and Tyre to secure his own influence. He set up Thubaal, or Ithobal II., as "King of the Sidonians" in Sidon, who received the whole maritime district of the empire of Sidon and Tyre, with the exception of the unconquered island of Tyre was of course tantamount to Between Tyre a declaration of war between the two cities or states, and and Sidon Assyria secured the part of arbitrator. At first indeed, Sennacherib was still occupied elsewhere, and he died while engaged on the task, so that he did not even chastise Jerusalem. Besides that, the advance of Tirhakah in Fgypt brought a new opponent into the field, from whom

Tyre and Sidon could find support The precise details of the events at this time are not clear Contrary, however, to what might have been expected, we find Sidon rebelling against Assyria at the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign in 68о в.с. Abd-milkot, in all probability the successor of Ithobal II., who had been set on the throne in 701 BC, was forced to abandon the town, and met his death two years later with his confederate Sanduarri. Sidon itself was completely destroyed. From Esarhaddon's account we gather that hitherto it had been situated on an island, this island is the part of the modern town which juts out into the sea, and thus at that time must have been separated from the mainland by a narrow strip of water. Esarhaddon ordered the town to be absolutely demolished, and a new city to be built as the capital of the newly constituted province of Sidon, according to the usual custom, in "another place" - that is, on the mainland opposite. This Assyrian town, of course, was called by the inhabitants Sidon, and became the nucleus of the later Sidon But the destruction of the city was of grave moment for Phœnicians, since Falls to national sanctuary was obliterated and Sidon ceased to be the seat of the ruling religion According to a tradition, which probably refers to this event, the gods were then carried off in safety to Tyre. Thus Tyre, from being the political centre, now became the religious centre of the Sidonians, while their old federal city was destroyed, and its name was borne by the capital of an Assyrian province, where

sacrifices were offered to Ashur and not to Ashtoreth, or Eshmun It was only under the Persian rule that Sidon, like Terusalem, regained its independence. After that there were again kings of Sidon. But during these and later times there are proofs, both from names and in other ways, that the worship of the Assyrian gods obtained there. The new Sidon presented the same features as Samana, a town of Babylonian "Cuthgan" inhabitants with their native cults. Just as Samaria was a rival to Jerusalem, so Sidon afterwards disputed with Tyre the precedence belonging to the highest antiquity, that is, according to the ideas of the time, it disputed which of the cities could claim the honour of sheltering the gody, to whom the land of the " Sidomans " belonged

After the territory of Sidon had become an Assyrian province, Phænician history is limited to the kingdom of Tyre fact that such a kingdom existed, and that it still possessed territory to lose proves that in the meantime Luh, or a successor operating from Tyre must have recovered the territory on the Sidon mainland which belonged to the Phonicia town Whether Kition was lost in the interval of doubtful, for Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal mention a special king of Karti-It can hardly, therekhadasti Dumusi fore, be assumed that the whole island had meanwhile come into the hands of Greeks for Dumusi is not a Greek name. But all the other kings of Cyprus at this time were Greeks. Ten kings tendered their homage to Esarhaddon, besides the Semite Dumusi they are Aigisthos (in Assyrian "Ekishtusu") of Idalion, Pythagoras (Pilagura) of Chytroi, Keisos, or Kissos (Kesu), of Salamis, Etewandros (Etuandar) of Paphos Heraios (Eresu) of Soli, Damasos (Damasu) of Kurion, Admetos (Admezu) of Tamassos, One-sagoras (Unasagusu) of Ledia, and Pytheas (Putsuzu) of Nure

At Tyre, King Ba'al presumably Luh's successor, was at first loyal to Esarhaddon and actually accompanied him on his first Egyptian espedition. But then he allied himself with Tirhakah evidently in the hope of gaining by this the territory of Sidon. Esarhaddon, therefore, during the campaign in 673 B.C., sent a detachment of his army against Tyre; this force occupied Ushu on the

the island, which cut off all communication with the land, while the harbour was blockaded from the sea. The island of Tyre itself held out until the news of Tirhakah's expulsion Ba'al then tendered his submission, but was allowed to retain only his island. On the news of the return of Tirhakah he rejoined him at once, so that the siege by the Assyrians was hardly interrupted. When in 688 в c. – now under Ashurbanipal –Tirhakah was again driven out, he submitted as before and had finally to consent to see his "kingdom" limited to his own small island. But opposite it, on the mainland in Ushu, was the seat of the Assyrian governor of the province Tyre, which comprised the territory of Tyre. Thus there was even less left of Hiram's empire than of Solomon's. There, at any rate, in addition to Jerusalem, there were two or three country towns, but here a man could walk round the whole "empire" in half an hour, in fact, it was not possible to fetch water without the sanction of the Assyrian governor was a state of things which The Tiny "Empire" must have perpetually to tered the wish for an insurrection of Tyre Just as in Jerusalem, so here there was a party, which was always urging detection, and made the king, who for good or for evil was forced to men the odium attaching to a loyal subject of Assyria, feel his petty crown uneasy and full of thorns. The promises of Shamash-shum-ukin certainly found some response in Tyre, and in the "forties" of the seventh century B ← a rebellion in the province actually broke out, it was, however, easily suppressed by Ashurbampal and ended with the severe chastisement of Ushu and Akko

mainland, and constructed moles opposite

Thus, the aspirations to regain the old power were not realised, so long as the power of Assyria lasted. Then came the great downfall, and with it the attempt by Necho of Egypt to build up his power out of the rums. At Tyre advantage was taken of this opportunity to gain a tooting once more on the mainland. The attempt met with little success, and when Necho was vanguished it was seen that Nebuchadnezzar was not disposed to concede favourable terms to the conquered. Another revolt followed under Ithobal III., the next king of Tyre, with whose name we are already acquainted.

According to the account given Josephus, Tyre was besieged for thirteen years, from 598 to 585 BC, without any result. No doubt, hopes were entertained of Egyptian help, but as vainly as at Jerusalem. But even this time there was no capture of the city, although it was confidently expected, a fact to which the well-known hymn in Ezekiel

xxvii. gives expression; Tyre Independence by its position could defy the siege tactics of the Assyrians and Babylonians It was thus once more saved from the tate of Jerusalem, and the island retained its own government. Its commerce enabled the city to pay the

tribute punctually.

The records of the ensuing period are as follow—Ba'al II. succeeded Ithobal, reigning ten years—then came five Judges, each for a few months only and a king, Balatorus, between them Clearly we must as time a period of disorders, and various attempts by pretenders to usurp the power. Finally, a petition was sent to Neriglissar that Merbaal, obviously a member of the royal family, who lived, like so many other princes' sons, as a hostage at the court of Babylon, should be appointed king, the request was granted reigned four years; after him, at a similar request, his brother Hiram III. was nominated king, and reigned for twenty years. In the fourteenth year of his reign Babylon tell, and Tyre had a new suzeram

Cyrus of Persia abandoned the Assyrian policy of provincial government by officials: he left to the towns and states the management of their home affairs, and made them subject only to the supreme authority of the satraps. Accordingly, in cases where a confiscation had already begun, but all possibility of the restoration of a national constitution had not disappeared, he restored the old régime. The most familiar example is Jerusalem;

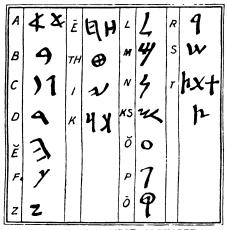
another is Sidon. Even Tyre New Life must have derived a certain for Tyre degree of benefit from the new and Sidon policy, since it was allowed to recover its territory on the mainland.

Thus there was once more the two states of Tyre and Sidon as close neighbours. The events of the intervening period had meanwhile obliterated the antagonism between "Sidonians" proper and North Phoenicians. The northern states, which had never ventured on a

revolt, had suffered less severely; Tyre and Sidon, which had been forced to pay so dear a price for their efforts at independence, were now like these, completely dependent on the Great King, although enjoying their own government. addition to this, the differences between the component parts of the population Phœnicia heen had in the course of centuries Thus mitigated. Under similarity of their positions Persia might well contribute toward their reappearance as a united people. Now, under the Persian rule, there existed once again the condition which we were able to assume only during a prehistoric age, one people from Arvad to Akko, which was regarded as united, and considered itself to a certain degree They are the also as homogeneous "Phœnicians" in opposition to the old "Sidonians." The remaining history of Phœnicia occupies so brief a space that we may conveniently give it here, instead of deferring it in accordance with our chronological plan.

Now, as before, there were the four kingdoms of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as occasionally some smaller ones with which we have also already become acquainted. Gebal was less prominent. As the representative of the Northern Phænicians, we find Arvad. This fact is supported by the otherwise not very trustworthy story about Tripolis. which was said to have been the federal metropolis of the three ruling states— Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad. Sidon and Tyre, as the nearest neighbours, and living on recollections of the past, continued their old rivalry. This opposition finds a sentimental expression in the dispute between the two as to the greater antiquity, which carried with it the honour of being the capital. Under the new conditions there is no longer any idea of a Phœnician "kingdom," even on the scale of Hiram's kingdom. The separate states End of were now only what it suited Phoenician Persian policy to make them. Persia could have no interest in leaving them more freedom and unity than was necessary in order to gain wealthy tribute-payers. On the other hand, the efforts of the separate states were naturally directed towards the acquisition of the greatest possible degree of independence; and their self-government afforded them more opportunities of exercising an inde-

pendent policy than would have been the case under the provincial administration. Still they had to coin money according to the Persian standard, with a figure of the Great King in his chariot on the coins, and often a little figure of an Egyptian king walking in humility after him—a visible reminder to the Phænicians not to put their trust in Egypt, itself now a Persian province. The Persian supremacy, however, was not a very satisfactory guarantee that their territorial rights would be protected. They had to defend themselves against the attacks of neighbours in two ways by warding them off with their own forces, or by gaining their cause at court. This latter procedure was



THE WORLD'S FIRST ALPHABET

To the Phoenician intellect is due the evolution of the first alphabet, illustrated above Arabic equivalents are given on the left in the order of the Greek alphabet.

costly, for intercession at court, as we know from the Tell el-Amarna time onward, entailed lavish presents even in Susa. Persian help was given in return, as Assyrian help had been given before, for the recovery of Cyprus, which was effected through the treachery of the Greek king Stasanoi, in 407 B.C. A peculiar rôle, which was indistinctly conducive to their independent position, was assigned to the Phœnicians under the Persian supremacy as previously under the Assyrian. They had to furnish the fleets with which Persia enforced her oversea policy, and which the Persians themselves were as incapable as the Assyrians of constructing. Thus Phænician ships formed a large part of the Persian armadas at Lade and Salamis.

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Sidon seems soon to have risen to its former prosperity. It made overtures to Athens and concluded treaties of amity with her. A large Sidonian colony was settled in the Piræus; some of the rare Phænician inscriptions are known to us from this source. Sidon suffered a severe blow in the year 351 BC., when it was chastised by Artaxerxes Ochus as a penalty for the part taken by it in the Egyptian revolt. By this event Tyre regained the ascendency. Shortly before it had been distinctly retrograding, indeed, that very Tyre which once had dominated Cyprus had actually become tributary to King Euagoras of Cyprus We thus find Tyre, thirty years later, the only Phænician town which offered resistance to Alexander, while Sidon "from hatred of Persians," gladly welcomed him

There must have been peculiar circumstances attending this resistance of Tyre to Alexander the Great, who for the first time conquered and destroyed the city. Tyre did not imperil its existence from any loyalty to Peisia. The reason is not far to seek. Sidon had from the outset Alexander

Tyre was destined to lose some Destroys of its independence. Alexander Туге had indeed wished to offer the sacrifices in the temple of Melkarth. This request was refused, for by so doing he would have been declared king of Tyre Was Tyre in any way deprived of its self-government, possibly in favour of Sidon / The course and the end of the siege are familiai It left perhaps a permanent result, for the mole which Alexander ordered to be built is said to have connected Tyre for all time with the mainland, since the sea silted up more and more land on each side. From the new state of things Sidon in fact at first derived ad-Some inscriptions of kings of vantage -Sidon, dating from the period of the early Ptolemies, inform us how at that time Tyre had taken the lead.

With Alexander we have come to a time when ancient Nearer Asia has played out its part. After this it was subject to the dominion of Græco-Roman civilisation. The Phœnician states, at no time politically important, continued to exist on the old footing, prosecuting their commerce in the midst of petty jealousies. Their history runs precisely in the same grooves, so long as anything at all remained of the Ancient East.

The Phœnicians, or "Sidonians," were the Semitic people with whom the Greeks in their competition for the Mediterranean trade first came into close contact. They must have appropriated from them many achievements of Oriental culture. Since in their eyes the owners and the founders of towns were the same, the possessors of the sea-ports, which com-Culture manded the routes into the ٥f interior, seemed to them a Phœnicia people of an importance; which might flatter the conceit of the Phœnicians. it is true, but can hardly be substantiated in the light of history. We have become acquainted with Phœnicia as a narrow strip of coast, insufficient to allow a people to develop any constitutional greatness. This also excludes any possibility that a national civilisation can ever have been evolved here by the side of the civilisation of the other great states. The merchant facilitates the exchange of the productions of civilisation, in his home, as the focus of intercourse, much may also be produced which assumes a peculiar character as a result of the different forms of mental and industrial activity known there. But if a civilisation is to grow up with a natural development and is to reflect the character of people and country, it is necessary that this civilisation be indigenous, or at any rate, in harmony with racial feeling. And Phœnician culture bore no very national and characteristic impress. Its art was composed chiefly of Egyptian and Babylonian elements tastelessly mingled together; even the gods were represented as half Egyptian, half Assyrian. This art was transplanted to Cyprus, and mingled there with Greek elements, which resulted in an extraordinary mixture. Left to themselves, as at Carthage, the Punic race produced a miserable art, without character or distinction.

In the case of the Phænicians also, we must raise our often repeated lament that up to the present so little is known which can afford us any real insight into their life at the time of their true development. The mere absence of excavation may be in other instances to blame, but on Phænician soil this prospect holds out little promise. It almost seems as if the continuously inhabited places, where Phænician magnificence flourished, had retained less evidences of the antiquity

with which we are now concerned than those of other centuries, where the piledup heaps of débris have loyally preserved their treasures for the explorer's spade. No large building and no site of a town of the Phænician time are known to us in their former condition, no lengthy inscription or other document speaks to us

as yet in the words with which a Invention Phœnician of the year 1000 B C of the composed it in his own lan-Alphabet guage and style The "invention"-or rather it should be called of alphabetic writing, " evolution " which through the Greek alphabet has become the mother of all European writing, is generally regarded as the peculiar property of the Phoenician intellect. We might conceivably look in Babylonia for the home of an alphabetical writing, the phonetics and principles of which were used for a Semitic language. In fact a number of peculiarities in the alphabet show that it must have been influenced considerably by Babylonian philology. But that the alphabet is of Babylonian origin is not probable Probably the alphabet first developed in Phœnicia, and passed thence on one side to Greece, on the other to the Aram gans and Mesopotamia. The real basis of the Phœnician alphabet would seem to be one of the many systems of linear signs that were current from early times in the Mediterranean basin; we find them in Egype very often. It is quite conceivable that the Phænicians had inherited some such system from their nen-Semitic predecessors, and that though for a time they used the cuneiform script, at some period about 1000 B.C. the old "signary" came into general use for commercial purposes as being less cumbrous than the foreign system of we lge-writing. But naturally the use of cunciform had its effect on the development of the alphabet The Phœnicians were probably the inventors of alphabetic writing, just as the commercial Purple of towns of our era are the leaders Phœnicia of the intellectual and tech-

nical development of modern time. It is impossible to ascertain accurately the significance of the manufacture of purple by the Phœnicians. Tradition never differentiates between the inventor and the supplier; and it is uncertain what is the meaning of the Phœnician production of purple. We do not yet possess

any notices of this valuable commodity from the times of Ancient Babylonia The Assyrians allude to it under the same name as the Phoenicians, argamannu for scarlet, takıltu for dark purple, but whether the names and thus the idea are originally "Phœnician" must remain a moot point. A very definitely adverse ve dict must be given with regard to the other invention attributed to them, that of glass, this attribution is a mere pie e of later ignorance. Glass was an invention of the Egyptians, which passed from them to the Pheeni ians, who probably made the glass found at Nineveh Later on the invention passed to Gree e and Italy.

The celebrated Phænician towns Tyre and Sidon at the head, were indeed, according to our notions absurdly small places. Tyre and Sidon on their islands were restricted to an incredibly narrow space, not larger than that of a good-sized public garden in the middle of our large. cities. The size of the harbours in both these places of world-commerce quite confirms this view. An ordinary modern three-master would not be able The Tiny to turn in them, even if it Navy of actually sailed in , the small Phœnicia basins with the narrow inlet were intended to receive only vessels which we should term boats. Yet these were the famous ships of Tyre, Sidon, and Tharshish, which navigated the Mediterrane in all directions

It is satisfactorily proved that Phœnician trade nevertheless had the same importance for the civilise I world of Neare. Asia as the present emporia in west have for the commerce hat includes our own world. We have demonstrated, as in Etruria from excavations, the traces of this trade in countries which it embraced. The evidences for it are based on direct observation, and therefore give us a trustworthy representation of the significance of these seaports for their civilised world. We find in Isaiah songs about Sidon—chapter xxiii., where originally Sidon was meant and only at a later period Tyre was understood by it and in Ezekiel xxvii, one about Tyre. The sumptuous products which the trade of that time to the coasts of the Mediterranean and with Arabia are recorded to have supplied, always found a ready market; the inland dwellers of the Nearer East and the Semitic barbarian of the

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hinterlands of those coasts willingly gave what they had for such marvels—We know that already in the time of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties in Egypt trade between the Nilcland and Greece, as well as Phœnicia, was carried by sea in Phœnician bottoms, the Egyptians were no sailors, and the Greeks of that period seem to have been warriors rather than traders. Later on, when the "Mycenæan" culture of Greece proper, succeeding the civilisation of "Minoan" Crete, had in its turn been overthrown, and Greece returned temporarily to barbarism, the Phænicians had taken advantage of the opening thus afforded for their commerce in the Ægean There, however then commercial predominance was of short duration.

Ionian Greeks began no long interval, to bestn themselves and by the eighth century BC the Phœnicians seem already to have been ousted by the Greeks from the northern coasts of the Mediteiranean

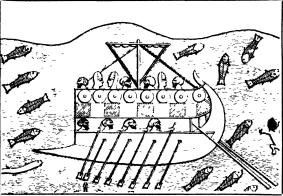
Anything else that is recorded of their valuant

exploits at sea is untrustworthy ships may have penetrated as far as the Cassiterides in order to bring back tin. But in the first place we can never know what part the "West Phœnicians," the Pœm, or Carthagmians, had in this, and secondly, the regular trade-communications never went far beyond the Straits of Gibraltar Many bold enterprises ascribed to them, such as the circumnavigation of Africa, starting from the Red Sea, which is said to have been undertaken at the instance of Necho must have been carried out by Phænician merchants. But the sphere where the Phœmeians commanded the trade was only a part of the Mediterranean, and in this connection we must always make an allowance for the share of the Carthaginians, who formed a distinct nation

The few data that we have for our knowledge of Phonician culture tell us but little. The country offered splendid material for magnificent buildings in the alabaster of Lebanon, which the Assyrians fetched from Nineveb. The Phænicians, however, conforming to Egyptian architecture, employed granite and syenite. The numerous pillars found on Phænician soil are of this material, which, it is clear, must have been laboriously procured from Egypt

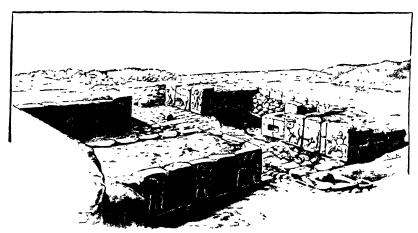
Almost all the productions of an early period—between 1500 1000 B.C.—which we have from Phoenicia, are purely Egyptian—so long then as Egypt was supreme—the Phoenicians appear merely to have adopted the technique of the

ruling country. Some later products of the sculptor's art display, indeed, a " Phœnician " style, whether this, however, was a peculiarity of the Phoenicians, or whether it ought not rather to be described Canaanite and placed on a level with the Aramæan, is one of those



A VESSEL OF THE FAMOUS PHŒNICIAN NAVY
Phœnicia was essentially a maritime state, and her famous navies, composed of tiny vessels we should call boats, navigated the Mediterranean
in all directions and were used by Egypt and other ancient nations

questions that are best left unanswered. The dependence on Egypt during the early period, and the formation of an Egyptian style, are perhaps visible in the architecture, in the more lavish use of the pillar, which in the Euphrates country was rarely, if ever, found. The Assyrian kings after Tiglath-pileser IV. always mention that they had adorned their palaces with an edifice, which was called in the language of the Phæmeians Bit-khilani, "Khilani-house," after the model of a "Khatti-palace" (Phæmeia is included under the term Khatti, or Kheta, country). Bit-khilani was a gateway decorated with pillars, which served as a place for all the public business of the king; it was the royal yamên, the "sublime porte." representation of the temple of Baalat of Gebal on coins of the Roman Imperial era



THE "SUBLIME PORTE" OF PHŒNICIA

Phœmician and Syrian palaces were adoined with a gateway, called a Bit khilani, decerated with pillars, which served as a place for the king's public business. This shows the foundations of one at Senjith.

shows a similar gateway The culture of the Phoenician towns, so far as it was not the inheritance of a period still withdrawn from our knowledge and subject to the supremacy of Babylon, or did not consist in an imitation of Egyptian productions can, after all that we have proved as to its political unimportance, lay no claim to an independent evolution. The hinterland, which came into less direct contact with the two predominating civilised countries, Egypt and Babylonia, was naturally still less subject to the influence of those civilisations, however little Egyptian life may have penetrated into the Phoenician towns This is most clearly expressed in the religion. The conceptions of the Phænicians as a group of the "Canaanite immigraare distinguishable in no respect from those of the other Canaanites, as we know them from the Old Testament and other scattered accounts. Here, again, anything which can be put down to the previously existing institutions of an earlier "Semitic Babylonian" population is problematical, and for the present insufficiently proved. If we compare the Babylonian cults before and after the Canaanite immigration, we find that the worship of the stars—that is, the special reverence for the sun and moon, which we observed in the valley of the Euphrates-was less general in Canaaii and Phœnicia. We can at least conjecture that this was a Sumerian inheritance in Babylonia, and was therefore unknown in Palestine originally. If we find in the place-names of Canaan such

as Bet-Shemesh, "House of the Sun" traces of such a cult, its origin may be looked for in the Babylonian period, or it may be of Egyptian origin, at any rate the sidereal bodies played no part as ruling powers comparable to that of Sin and Shamash in the sphere of Babylonian civilisation.

The characteristic of the Canaanite religion is a Dualism, which distinguished the two sexes, represented by the male Baal and the female Baalat. Of these the female divinity meets us mostly under the name of Ashtoreth, or Astarte, the Babylonian Ishtar The male divinity. originally distinct in different tribes and nations, appears under special names Ramman, Rimmon of Haddad who must have been peculiar to a tribal group, which preponderated in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and, to judge by its early appearance was one of the first, is among the most celebrated Dagon, who was much venerated on the Palestinian coast, was a toreign Philistine god, akin to the άλιος γέρων (" Old Man of the Sea") of the Greeks.

The chief deity of the Semitised Canaanites was "the lord" Baal, the male principle of nature. Each separate tribe retained his name for the original Baal-conception and established his worship when they seized a stronghold. The Baal of the wandering tribe thus became the lord of a settled place and country, the genius loci, lord of the city. Such Baalim are Melkarth in Tyre; the female principle

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Ashtoreth in Sidon; the same, under the name of the female principle, Baalat, in Gebal; and all the countless Baals, which were worshipped in every stronghold if it formed a tribal centre. It lies in the nature of things that these separate Baalim, who bore different names according to their respective tribe and place, and whose importance grew or sank with that of their worshippers, developed special attributes so soon as they once assumed a personal character, and thus became separate divinities The whole creative power of nature, which appears as the male principle, is seen in hot countries first in the fruit-bringing rain and in the storm accompanied with thunder and lightning. Ramman, therefore, was pre-eminently the storm-god. In a town without agriculture the natural side of the divine agency is neglected, in Tyre, Baal becomes a Melkart or Melek-kiryat, a "king of the town " But the evolution of the various conceptions of the divinities always recurs to the two original embodiments of the sexual principle. It is in this form that the true meaning of Semitic religious

it; no god of a tribe, or of any targer national group ever bore this name. If it occasionally appears also as a personal divinity—in Southern Arabia and Senjirli—that is evidently a later personification of the originally abstract idea. A similar explanation is necessary when an Elat is mentioned by the side of an El; this is nothing more than the conception of the temale divinity, which was added to that of El on the analogy of Baal-Baalat.

The higher civilisation, with its literary training, tried to explain in its own fashion the cults as they had been evolved from existing and introduced elements in the different tribal and local sanctuaries during the historical progress of the peoples, and to form out of the different aspects of the original fundamental thought a pantheon, the members of which, according to their various characters were explained to be the creators and ruleis of the universe.

In the different states, which were equally possessors of a revered sanctuary, these cosmologies and theologies were distinct, since, naturally, each system was anxious to make its own sanctuary the

central one. We have summarised what is as yet known of such matters ı n For Babyloma. Phoenicia a mere extract from such doctrines only is available, that in a very garbled form. dating, too, from later times It is the mythology of Gebal of Byblos, which a certain Philo of Byblos composed under Nero, and, according to the custom of time published as a translation of the work of a verv early priest, San-



CHARACTERISTIC PIECES OF PHŒNICIAN GLASS-WARE
The invention of glass was supposed to be one of the great achievements of the Phænician civilisation, but it is now known to be due to Egypt; later it passed to Greece and Italy

onceptions can be most clearly recognised. "El," meaning God, seems to be a pure abstraction of the conception of the Derty; it meets us among the Canaanite, Aramæan, and Arabian peoples. The personal character of Baal originally diverged from

choniathon, who lived "before the Trojan War." It can, at most, furnish in isolated points explanations of the nature and growth of Phænician religion, since in it the spurious wisdom of various centuries of culture are inextricably blended together.





THE HEBREW PEOPLES THE MAKING OF THE TWO NATIONS

BY far the best known of all Oriental peoples are the tribes which form the last components of the second great semitic migration of the Nearer East. These are the Hebrew tribes whose home the farthest toward the desert would in itself indicate that they came as the last of the great "Canaamte" migration driven on by the precursors of the next, the Aramæan. These are the tribes which combined themselves into the people of Israel, and their neighbours who dwelt still further toward the desert, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites.

The Tell el-Amarna letters prove the advance of Hebrew tribes in the land as early as the fifteenth century BC., one nation in particular comes prominently forward, which expanded from the north namely, the Amorites These appear to the Israelites, in the writing which presents the oldest form of their tradition, as the The Coming inhabitants from whom they must wrest the land, when of the the Israelites marched in, the Israelites former had already become occupants instead of immigrants. may thus regard the Israelites as the next stratum after the Amorites, and may place their immigration somewhat The earliest mention of Israel is contained in an inscription of the Pharaoh Meneptah II., about 1200 B.C. Whether that is, however, the tribal federation which we understand by this name, or some forgotten tribe, of which no record is left in Biblical tradition except the name of the collection of tribes banding round it and its sanctuary, must remain at present an unsolved question.

Within recent years much progress has been made in the true understanding and interpretation of the books of the Bible which have come down to us, and it has been demonstrated that the Biblical narrative is of a more composite character than had formerly been supposed, and embodies traditions of widely different origin and value. Historical criticism assumes that the Biblical narratives are to be treated as human documents, and are to be submitted to the same critical tests

Which are applicable to all other records of antiquity. It will, of course, on the other hand, be maintained that such methods are invalid when applied to the sacred narrative and that any conclusions reached thereby must be rejected. From that point of view any historic account that deviates from the Biblical narrative will be repudiated.

The historical, or, as they should rather be termed, narrative books of the Bible, in the form in which they are now extant, are the work of a late period. The peculiar nature of the use made in antiquity of separate documents allows us to dissect the books into their component parts, so that we are in a position to distinguish the different authorities with some confidence, and to weigh the evidence of one against another.

The result of this division of sources, which is most apparent in the Pentateuch, is as follows. Two ancient documentary writings, designated, according to the name used for God by their respective writers, as Elohist and Jehovist, **Elohist** had been combined in very and early times. The writing of the Jehovist Elohist is indeed the ancient, because it alone still preserves recollections of the actual conditions of remote antiquity. For instance, it represents that the Land of Promise must be won from the Amorites; whereas the Jehovist usually speaks of Canaanites—that is, it applies to the older inhabitants a general

designation taken from the name of the country. The Elohist retains in its traditions traces of a post-Israelite immigration of Edom, Moab, and Ammon: while the Jehovist, which judges from the standpoint of later times, regards these tribes as already settled in their homes at the time of the immigration of Israel. writings were probably

Prophetic

tended as introductions for annals, each of which was Code brought down to the time of its author. Of the strictly historical parts of these "Annals" only inconsiderable fragments have been preserved for us, which deal especially with the later period of the kings, and are easily distinguishable. by their scanty form, other portions have been replaced in the revisions of later times mainly by accounts of the Prophets, of which the nature is best represented by the stones of Elijah and Elisha. This "Prophetic Code" is based on the point of view prevalent in the period about ооо в с., after the introduction of Deuteronomy, although it is still imbued with the spirit of the older period.

The Deuteronomic code, on which the hierarchical constitution was based, was introduced by Josiah. Its contents are preserved for us in the legislative portions

of Deutero. nomy, the Fifth Book of Moses This law acguired its true importance. only during the exile in Babylonia, when the people, having become a religious body, saw in it the guide for all conduct. A priest then, during the banishment, tested the whole history of Israel 💢 by these regula-

the influence of the ancient laws of Babyonia. His direct work survives in the present form of the books, which extend from "Joshua" to "Kings" He has taken the older documents, but has extracted still more carefully the annalistic

elements from them, and in addition has briefly expressed his own views as to the separate sections, especially the reigns, in conformity with the Deuteronomic legislation. His work is, therefore, a review of Israelite history in the light of the devine origin of this law. The "Deuteronomist" explains the history of the people by their neglect or observance of this "Law of ', he is a writer with a declared Moses '' purpose, and his own additions are not hard to distinguish. Their nature is most easily and clearly seen in the summarised verdicts on the reigns of the various kings, "He walked in the ways of Jeroboam and did that which was displeasing to God," or vice versa-To him also is due the settlement of the chronological scheme of the Bible, which, historically, is not of vital importance, since it represents an artificial calculation of dates, based on late information obtained during the period of the exile

The further development of the religious community, which is henceforth represented by Judaism, led to the building up of a hierarchical constitution in the most pronounced sense of the term. This constitution was committed to writing in the so-called Priestly Code, either a work of the exile, or a product of the attitude of mind

> then prevalent The code describes the whole development of the people of Israel from the creation of the world, and was intended serve as a brief introduction to the giving of the law Mount which contains the new law. This work, originally standing



JUDÆANS IN THE TIME OF SENNACHERIB tions, many of An Assyrian representation of men, women and children of Judah about 1 t s e l f a n d which exhibit From a bas-relief of Sennacherib now in the British Museum. reckoned as a

post-exile code, was afterwards incorporated into the work which the "Deuteronomist" had adapted from the earlier records. It is easily recognised by its language; to it belong the account of the Creation in the first chapter of Genesis and

more especially the dry lists of genealogies referring to the patriarchal age. There is reason for congratulation that the author of the Priestly Code did not go further than the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. If he had treated the rest of the history from his point of view it would have been barely possible to use any portion of the narrative for historical purposes; for, in contrast to the "Deuteronomist," he has made a clear field for himself, and has removed everything which did not agree with his own system. While the former gave us patchwork, and thus preserved many fragments of old tradition, the latter in an independent treatment has uniformly represented everything in accordance with his own view, and is thus of no help as an authority for history, or, as regards the early legends, for literary history example of this class of editing is presented by the Books of Chronicles, a long, postexile account of Jewish history in the spirit of the Priestly Code - As their source of information, use has been made principally of the Books of Kings, although in a more detailed form than we possess them.

As documents of secular history Ancient they are, apart from some iso-Editing of lated facts, of comparatively the Bible slight importance in the construction of an actual chronicle of the people of Israel But even the older accounts, contained in the work of the " Deuteronomist," would not furnish any historical picture if we had not a standard in the results obtained by ethnology and other investigations of the history of the Ancient East, by which to separate the earlier traditions from the accretions of a later age. Moreover, the evidence of inscriptions, especially those of Assyria and Babylonia, often furnishes us with information by means of which it is possible to compare and supplement the Biblical accounts.

As might be expected, the ideas of Israel as to its origin and early history are, like those of every people, clothed in the form of hero-legends; the later hierarchical form of the tradition has subsequently given them a special colouring of its own. Historical records could not have existed until comparatively settled conditions had been established in the kingdom of Saul and then of David. All that goes back to the period anterior to historical records was naturally little more than a scanty local tradition. But even the oldest his-

torical period was certain sooner or later to appear in the light of legend. Moreover, the priestly tradition preferred the legendary to the historical; and the reason is clear, since for its purpose facts were often less advantageous than their legendary counterparts Thus it is that so little authenticated history of the earliest period of the kings has been preserved. Emigration Tradition begins its account of from the history of Israel with the Egypt emigration from Egypt and the entry into the "Promised Land" ' Modern historians, however, are of one mind in thinking that any emigration of a considerable tribal federation, a march through the countries of kindred tribes living under the same conditions of social economy, would have necessarily ended in the rapid dissolution of that federation, since alliances would have been made with the tribes of the countries traversed. or annexed. Unification can, in the first place, result only after settled homes have been obtained, and necessarily, presupposes. a previous sojourn in the country. The Israelite tribal federation—that is, the people of Israel did not receive its organisation until it was already settled in the country. Its individual tribes, therefore, did not previously stand in closer relation to each other than to their neighbours the Edomites, the Meabites, and many others which had disappeared as tribal organisations, it was only the acquisition of fixed settlements of a certain uniformity that brought them nearer together and separated them more from the others. This evolution is the result of the interval between the Tell el-Amarna period and the first appearance of the "people of Israel."

It would be out of place in the present work to discuss at length the rival theories as to the Biblical account of the Exodus. It is generally acknowledged that bodies of Hebrew nomad tribes may well have pastured their flocks in the Work Tripplet and in the Work Tripple

At the Time of the Exodus the Wadi Tumilat, and in this way may have come into direct contact with Egypt, and have been subject to Egyptian authority. It is clear, however, from the reference to the people of Israel upon the slate of Meneptah, that other kindred tribes were already settled in Canaan at the time when Hebrew nomads were presumably in the Eastern Delta. In fact, the exodus must be regarded as an episode in the general

migratory movement towards Canaan, later tradition having magnified its importance by representing the whole body of the later tribal divisions as having taken part in it We have no means for determining accurately the date of the earliest inroads into Canaan or the length of the period during which the movement lasted; and any account of the con-Migration quest of Canaan by the Israelinto ites must necessarily depend Canaan mainly upon conjecture. We can, however, picture to ourselves the conquest of the country on the model of well-known migrations - as, for instance, that of Britain by Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, and we may assume that the individual tribes, out of which the people of Israel was afterwards formed, conquered their homes, perhaps in combination with other vanished tribes, and were welded into a large federation in the country under the stress of circum-It is also probable that other tribal elements did not belong to them originally, but became attached to them only in later times. The true Israelite tribes had then homes "in the desert" Of the period when the tribes were not closely united, and a common cause of action was not yet generally, it at all, possible, we have reminiscences handed down by tradition, under the heading of the "Period of the Judges" which clearly exhibit tendencies to the formation of separate tribal principalities, and thus infer the distinct existence of the individual tribes Such are the narratives of Tephtha in Gilead and of Gideon in Manasseh, the latter greatly disguised by additions. In both it can still be seen that we have to do with tribal traditions, and that no commonwealth of Israel is presupposed. It is only subsequent revision that has introduced at the end of the story the picture of a united Israel. The natural course of events leads to the result that the sheikh, the Judges head of a tribe, who conquers of a country, derives the chief Israel advantages from this conquest and obtains more ample means of power, which exalt him above his fellow-tribesmen. Settled life in a town and the adjacent localities dissolves the tribal organisation based on equality of rights, and leads to lordship and monarchy; voluntarily acknowledged sheikh becomes an absolute monarch.

development must have taken place more readily where the immigrants found such conditions already in existence, and where the conquest of a royal city actually implied that the conqueror adopted the institutions found therein. While, therefore, in the two examples of "judges" already referred to we can recognise the representatives of a country population, the next stage in the development, the tendency toward monarchy, is visible where an "Israelite" tribe is found in possession of a town. It was the tribal monarchy, which Abimelech founded for himself in Shechem. Notwithstanding that it soon ended, and left no permanent effects, it may be reckoned as typical of many similar phenomena of the time the Israelite tribes obtained possession of the towns, and became acquainted with the unwelcome conditions that accompanied the coveted treasures of civilisation This represents one form of the growth of the monarchy anticipates the natural development of tribes or clans into nations and states in so far as it effects a complete breach with its own tribe and thus Growth strips itself of the aids by Monarchy which it had just become prosperous and great tyranny, arising from no true development of the existing form of government, had no permanence A monarchy, originating in the conditions of the further growth of the tribal life and its new needs, which was based on the members of the nation proper, alone had any lasting results

We have only one piece of cyidence as to any combined action of the Israelite tribal-federation, which would seem to be that mentioned by Meneptah namely, the so-called Song of Deborah, one of the most ancient Hebrew poems that has come down to us. This composition, which, in consequence of mistakes in the tradition, is hardly yet intelligible in all its details, extols the triumph of the Israelite tribes in war. Almost all the Israelite tribes are named in it. mention of Benjamin is, however, an interpolation, probably due to the need subsequently felt of seeing no tribe omitted from the list.

The advance of the Philistines in the twelfth century B.c. brought the Israelites under their power. Two alternatives were thus possible; either the newly immigrated tribes possessed the power to drive



JEPHTHAH, JUDGE OF ISRAEL, BEFORE THE SACRIFICE OF HIS DAUGHTER.

The narrative of Jephthah in Gilead, from the "Period of the Judges, is taken to be evidence of the time before Israel became a commonwealth. This picture by Sir J. E. Millars is reproduced by permission of Lord Armstrong.

out the new rulers or they would lose then nationality and become Philistine subjects The first is what happened. It was the struggle against the new enemy that stimulated a closer unification and thus enabled the people to show a bolder front. War can be waged with permanent success only under a single command. condition of ceaseless conflict must finally establish the power of a successful leader who first by the expulsion of the enemy and the reputation thereby acquired, gains a commanding position within his own tribe - that is, he becomes king - and then proceeds to set himself up as the liberator and at the same time the lord, of the remaining tribes.

This explains the rôle of Saul, the leader of Benjamin, in the war against the Philistines. There is no clear proof that Benjamin belonged to the league of the northern "Ten Tribes", on the contrary, the subsequent intimate connection of Benjamin with Judah on the overthrow of David's kingdom supports the view that this tribe was opposed to

the northern tribes which were already united. Here in the country of the tribe which was settled between Philistia proper and the territory of the Israelite tribes a competent soldier might succeed in making himself lord of his own tribal country during a victorious war against the foreign domination and then he might proceed to wrest from the Philistines the Israelite territory which thus tell to him as to its natural lord. We must form for ourselves some such picture of the growth of the monarchy in Israel.

Saul has always remained in tradition a tomantic personality. It is noteworthy that the story of David, the recorders of which had certainly no cause to cherish Saul's memory, never succeeded in obliterating it. We gather from the narrative that he kept his kingdom in hand so long as he lived, and that even David did not venture on any action against him. On the death of Saul, his kingdom of Israel lapsed to David; but even the admirers of the latter have been obliged to spare Saul's

memory. We know very little of him historically. One motif runs through all accounts of him-the struggle against the Philistines by which he founded his kingdom, which occupied all his life, and in which he met his death on the battlefield. A fragment of old tradi-Wars tion—I Sam. xiv. 47, modified in of its present form — has left us Saul one more short account of his "He fought against all his other wais enemies on every side, against Moab and against the children of Ammon, against Aram and against the king of Zobah, south of Damascus, and against the Philistines." Our accounts, so far as they are historical, tell us nothing of Saul's relations to David, as we shall presently see, they cannot have known anything of the original opposition between Judah and Israel

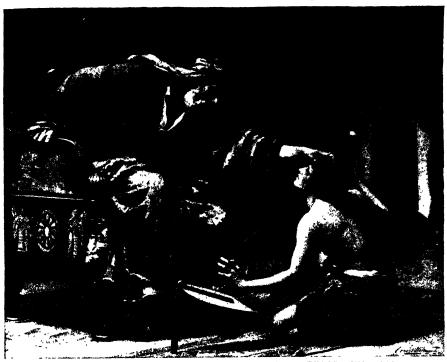
By the side of the kingdom of Saul, in the country of the kindred tribes inhabiting the less civilised district further to the south, on the fringe of the desert, a separate kingdom had meanwhile been formed in the same way as that of Saul, only starting from a still lower stage of development. This was the kingdom of David, of which Judah appears in tradition as the chief tribe. To David, as to so many conspicuous figures in history, all kinds of stories—heroic legends, even popular jests,

and the like—have been assigned, which were told of the man who represented the greatest power of the kingdom of Israel and Judah. His period appeared to posterity as a golden age, something in the way in which popular story has made Alfred the hero of English history. But along with this we have to distinguish another tradition of quite definite political tendency, the object of which is to describe David as the representative of an originally united people of Israel, to which Judah also belonged. This is the claim which, in modern phraseology, was put forward by David's historians and supporters in order to work in his interests and to win the people over to his house. Almost everything which we possess from Israelite sources was written from this point of view.

To this legend, modern research would seem to indicate, belongs almost everything which was intended to prove a union of list and list and Judah, and above all, that which is nariated of the origin of David, of his youth, and his relations to Saul. But in the legend are incorporated sundry details which are in clear contradiction of it, and are far more likely to correspond to the actual facts. According to these his rise was closely connected with the growth of the "Tribe of Judah." As the



NABLOUS, THE ANCIENT SHECHEM, ONE OF THE OLDEST CITIES OF PALESTINE Abimelech founded the first Israelite tribal monarchy in Shechem. It was afterwards the principal city and religious metropolis of the Samaritans, and was colonised by Shalmaneser and Esarhaddon with Babylonians. 1700



THE YOUTHFUL DAVID PLAYING ON HIS HARP BEFORE KING SAUL From the picture by Mi Ernest Normand, by whose permission it is here reproduced

connection of Benjamin with Israel and the creation of a Kingdom of Israel must be called the work of Saul, so the formation of a "tribe" and kingdom of Judah was the work of David

In the course of Oriental history again and again some leads of a tribe or band assumes the title of king and finally succeeds in ruling a large tealin. David, even according to the tradition, was leader of some such band in Ziklag, far away to the south in the desert, situated in Fdomite territory. He thus held his own for a time as the lord of a stronghold, and gradually gathered round him a devoted band of followers, with whose help it was not difficult to subdue the less mobile.

David's
Band of
Followers

—Achish of Gath—must remain uncertain;
but it is possible that such was the case.

The natural path of David's conquests led northward. He subjugated several tribes, which appear later as component

parts of "Judah." and he became a prince whose power could no longer be agnored by the subjugation of the tribe of Caleb. The tradition with its centre at Hebron preserves these conquests in the form of the story of Nabal (I Sam NXV) David's but it is more clearly expressed Royal in the fact that David's first City toyal residence was Hebron, the chief town of Caleb Henceforward he was reckoned a king of a prince. Some reminiscence of this origin of his real power was preserved in an obscure passage -2 Sam. III., 8 where Abner later speaks contemptuously of him as "the prince of Caleb." Abner means to say ' Am I a rival of such as thou, David, that thou shouldst think I wish, by marriage with a wife of Saul, to gain some claim to the crown?"

Caleb was bordered on the north by the territory of the "Hebrew" tribe Judah. This had not hitherto been closely allied with Israel. David now subjugated it, and thus united it with Caleb and the other subject tribes. The most important town of this district was Jerusalem, situated

almost on the northern frontier towards Benjamin and Israel. We hear of it in the Tell el-Amarna letters as already the seat of a prince who governed these districts. Israelite tradition recognises that before it was conquered by David it

did not belong to the " Hebrew " Judah but was still under kings of its own, who were f "Canaanite"—that is to say, they had long been These there. settled 'Jebusites'' need not. however, for that reason have been much older than Judah itself The mere fact that they were in possession of a town soon made them distinct from the inhabitants of the open country, and such, indeed, constitutes the difference between "Hebrews" and " Canaanites" Accord-

ing to the tradition David made Jerusalem his capital only after the subjugation of the whole of Israel. This is hardly probable, and the reason for making the statement is obvious—Jerusalem was to be reckoned the capital of the united kingdom. Originally, indeed, it had been intended for the capital of only the

newly conquered territory, and David removed his court there, since it was the richest portion of his land, and reaser the frontier of the country which was then the next object of his conquest—namely, Israel, the kingdom of Saul.

had David hitherto kept on good terms with the Philistines: if we reflect on the political movements disclosed in the Tell cl-Amaina letters, it is more probable that the Philistines and David were in league against their common and dicalled opponent than that David was in league with the king of the northern tribes. Later tradition had every ground to disguise this enmity to Saul, who was not forgotten in Northern Israel, and to substitute for it a turn Iship with the son

of Saul. David was favoured by fortune. Saul fell in the war with the Philistines, and, according to the story, to the great sorrow of David. But it is equally possible that the hero David had contributed his share to Saul's overthrow.

The fate of the northern kingdom was thus scaled. The cause of the house of



DAVID, KING OF JUDAH From the statue by Michael Angelo



A MODERN VIEW OF HEBRON, KING DAVID'S FIRST ROYAL TOWN
Hebron was the principal town of the tribe of Caleb, whom David subjugated, becoming their prince.
1762

THE HEBREW PEOPLES

Saul, in spite of the brave defence by Abner, became more and more desperate. There is naturally no likelihood that the Israelite tribes voluntarily did homage to David, as tradition assumes, there was actually an attempt made to secure the sovereignty for Benjamin by the revolt of Sheba, the sheikh of the Benjamite canton Bichri, who at last tried to hold his own in the north of Israel, in Abel-beth-Maachah (2 Sam xx.)—Since this revolt was incompatible with the traditional account of the voluntary acknowledgment of David, it was

transferred to the later years of David's reign, but the fact that, in the struggle against Sheba, only Indah from its southern frontier as far as Jerusalem stood on David's side, speaks too significantly in the judgment of modern criticism probably took place immediately upon Saul's death, when David threatened to seize the territory of Israel. He cannot have brooked delay in the matter and a japid success must have crowned his efforts. It was impossible for Abner to secure for Eshbaal Saul's son, more than the district east of the Jordan - Israel properly so-called thus fell into the hands of David without any further resistance than that of Sheba Abner held the land cast of Jordan for Eshbaal according to tradition, for some time longer Then he was murdered in Hebron when anxious to negotiate with David in order to surrender to him the land cast of Tordan The account assigns vengeance Jeab as the motive, and repudiates any complicity on the part of David. At all events he reaped the advantage. Eshbaal also was murdered.

David could thus occupy the Reproland west of Jordan without difficulty, and so became king of Judah and Israel. He had thus conquered almost the whole of his kingdom. Descended from a foreign stock, and having subjugated the peoples which obeyed him, in the first place by force, he himself, according to the story, maintained his sovereignty only by the help of his army. It is easy to see why policy should elaborate a tradition ascribing to him a high Hebrew ancestry, analogous to the Hellenic pedigice of the

royal house of Macedonia. Caleb seems to have been his home, and Judah the canton from which he sprang in a wider sense; for his capital he chose Jerusalem on account of its favourable position for his purpose, since it was situated exactly between the two great divisions of his kingdom,

According to the ideas of Oriental nations the real lord of a country was the god, the Baal according to his Semitic name. The king reigned in his name, and by him was called to



KING DAVID PLAYING UPON HIS HARP Reprod red from the picture by Domenichino now in the Louvre.

power, as the Babylonians and Assyrians were never weary of emphasising. It a conquered country was only made tributury, it retained its own government and its king, and remained the property of its god. If, on the other hand, it became a province, it was absorbed into the conquering state, and thus forfeited everything, and its god was deposed, just as much as its king. The god was carried away, and brought into the temple of the victorious god, where he now "stood

before his face "—that is, he served him, just as the vanquished king stood before his victor. The victorious god took possession of the land in his place, a temple was built for him there, and a cult established; in this way the new province was incorporated into the conquering state. That which had one god was one

The god
Serving other gods

Thus, when David subdued new lands and added them to fine new possessions by installing the

of his new possessions by installing the worship of God in the place of the old pagan cults. God was called Yahve or Jahve, for Jehovah though familiar to us, is a false vocalisation of the Divine name, never in later times pronounced by the Jews, who assigned to the consonants of the name Yahve the vowels of Adona, signifying "my loid," which, in a spirit of reverence, was read in place of the original name.

Whether the gods previously worshipped by the several tribes were ejected in favour of Jehescah, or were identified now with the new religion, or there had already been a common cult, the supremacy of the house of David was intimately associated with the God of David, proclaimed as the God of the ancestral Hebrew stock. Later, at any rate, it was claimed as the unique and primeval characteristic distinguishing the religion that the God of Israel was not to be worshipped under or represented by any image or symbol. But the Bible nariative itself proves with sufficient clearness that the worship of local gods under other rites was irrepressible.

It is certainly a proof of the importance of David that the vigorous vitality of his policy was able to exert so marked an influence on the tradition of subsequent It is not wonderful that the people in later times lent a willing ear when the exploits of David's kingdom were appealed to. In fact, David's reign was the only one under which Israel as a united kingdom could have taken a position by the side of the other powers in Palestine and Syria. David's time thus Golden appeared as the good old days Days of when Israel was powerful; David its dark side, and the resist-

David when Israel was powerful; its dark side, and the resistance which was shown by the people, were soon forgotten.

The power of David extended far beyond the borders of Judah and Israel. He subjugated Edom: this union lasted longer than that with Israel — Israel first burst the bond, while Edom long remained



THE SO CALLED "TOMB" OR PILLAR, OF ABSALOM, SON OF DAVID, NEAR JERUSALEM 1764



THE VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA TO SOLOMON, FROM THE PAINTING BY LE SEUR

Intrigues

united with Judah David further subducd Moab, which remained subject long after the severance of the kingdom, it belonged, however, naturally to Israel. He also fought with Ammon, but his wars led to no permanent conquest. He

did penetrate beyond not Extent Israelite territory in a northern of David's direction, as later tradition Kingdom would imply. On the north of Gilead the small Aramæan states of Soba and Geshur adjoin and run up into Israelite territory. With these he had both friendly and mimical relations without permanently subjugating them. Damascus, soon the rival of Israel, lay too far away, and had not yet acquired strength. During his reign the Philistines were finally restricted to their territory on the coast; they made no further serious attempt to advance against Israel.

The rebellion of Absalom must be placed quite at the end of David's life. Tradition does not give us a clear account of the matter. Yet one thing is apparent: David's sympathies were with the rebel; he was a mere helpless puppet in the hands of Joab and the military party.

It is not said for whom Joab wished to secure the throne, probably even then for Adonyah. When Absalom fell, slain by Joab in defiance of David's command, David lamented for him. But Joah upbraided him insolently, and gave him plainly to understand that his sovereignty was at an end if he did not change his attitude—It is worthy of further remark, as regards the whole rebellion, that David, as formerly Eshbaal, the son of Saul, also sought and found an asylum in the country east of Jordan. There is a detailed description of the intrigues by which unwearying efforts were made to induce David, now completely worn out, to pronounce in favour of Solomon's accession to the throne. The factions at court are now clearly recorded. Solomon

Against David

Is the candidate of the priesthood, while a military party, represented by Joab, wishes to elevate Adonijah to the throne. The tradition in its simplicity makes no disguise of the means by which the priestly party conquered. The result is clear. Solomon succeeded in securing the throne for himself, and a pretext was soon found

to remove out of his path his rival Adonijah with his partisan Joab in spite of the immunity which had been promised them.

Solomon was placed on the throne by the priestly party. The party, therefore, upon which the new king relied, rather than on the devoted bodyguard Solomon of his father, had thus become on the the interpreter of the will of Throne God, whom David had accepted as Lord over Israel. The tradition chose

Solomon for its favourite hero notwithstanding the fact that it had greater trouble in creating out of him a

morally noble personality than of David, who, in spite of his human failings, was acknowledged to possess the one sterling quality of having wonby his own merits all that he possessed David had proved himself superior to all the adventurers and robber chieftains who had lought with one another for the possession of the land In order to form a just estimate of him we must judge him by the standard of Bedouin ethics--- and Bedouins have the ethics of nomads

The older records

tell us little about Solomon. The candidate of the priestly solomon, last king of judah and israel Light may be thrown party was credited From the picture by Van Ghent in the Palazzo Barberini on this notice by with the building of the Temple as his greatest achievement, in which we may see confirmation of his good understanding with his adherents. Otherwise we have only a few disconnected accounts of his reign. The records of an extension of his power as far as the Euphrates date from post-exile times, their object being to glority the favourite hero of legend from whom the development started which culminated in Judaism. To the same source is to be assigned the legend of the "wisdom" of Solomon. There was little in his history which could be eulogised except his "wisdom," of which, indeed, he

gave striking proof when he relied upon

the priesthood instead of the army. His reign in other respects was of the usual Oriental type He tried to display before men's eyes the external magnificence of a mighty king by raising immense buildings and keeping up an imposing court ceremonial. In order to defray the cost of his buildings, he is said to have ceded territory to Hiram of Tyre In this, as well as in a notice of his maritime trading operations on the Red Sea, we realise the fact that the half-nomadic. fighting tribe with which David had conquered his territory had been driven

> back by the influence of the already more civilised northern tribes. civilisation represented by Israel, had gamed the superjointy. The conquered civilisation here as everywhere 63 643tually overcame the barbarian conqueror

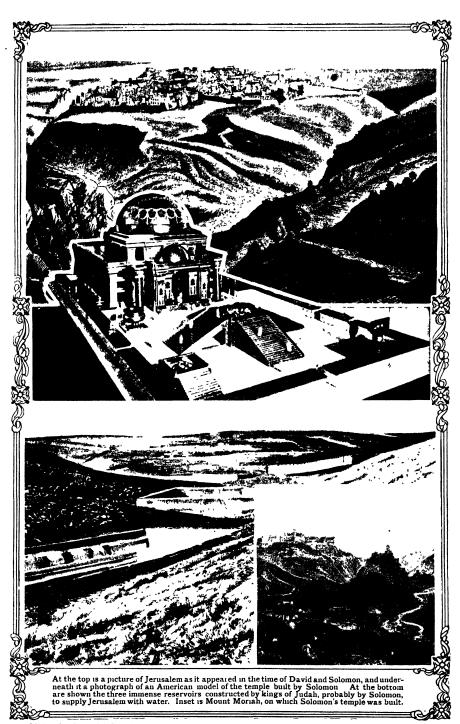
A single record of a small acquisition of territory by Solomon is valuable He is said to have taken marilage a daughter of the Pharaoh - this would naturally mean only a daughter of one of the women of the harem - and to have

received as a dowry the city of Gezer which had hitherto been independent. the conditions represented in the Tellel-Amarna letters : Solomon may have openly written to the Pharaoh in the spirit of Rib-Adda, Abi-Milki, and Abdkhiba, his predecessors on the throne of Jerusalem and may have entorced his claims on Gezer. He may have represented himself as the "loyal servant of his lord,"

Solomon and the Pharaoh and by diplomatic means have obtained the town from the prince of Gezer.

It would follow from this that the whole previous development was actually accomplished under the suzerainty of Egypt, feeble though it was at times.





Such was the reign of the great and "wise" Solomon, of whose wisdom tradition has told all sorts of stones. But we notice also in the accounts the voice of the historian of the prophets, which dates from the period of hostility between the prophets and the ruling party; and we may see its classical expression in the hostility of Samuel to the monarchy. The blame for the disruption of the kingdom is, indeed, quite openly ascribed to the policy of Solomon's reign matter of fact, the state of affairs appears to have been that the more developed districts in the north were subject to the rule of the less developed. Solomon had, therefore, absorbed the former. His ancestral domain must have derived benefit from the fact that it now came into closer touch with civilisation. result may have been very agreeable to

the ruling parties in Jerusalem, but less so to the subject parties in the north. There is the additional fact to be noted that even the disadvantages of civilisation now made themselves felt in Jerusalem. The barbarous but warfike Caleb was replaced by a Jerusalem which had been assimilated to the civilised north. by this very fact the foundation of David's superiority over Israel was undermined. Judah no longer found support in the rude strength and rapacity of Bedouins; it had become a civilised state, and now learned the weakening influence of culture. Thus when there was again a struggle upon equal terms, the south no longer prevailed. The northern tribes were superior in civilisation, and they conquered Judah This finds its expression first in the separation, but soon in the domination of Judah by Israel

THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

THE severance of Israel from Judah was not merely a struggle which the two halves of the kingdom waged with each other, as tradition represents. The Egyptian inscriptions show clearly enough that the **c**enquest of Jerusalem by the Pharaoh Sheshonk was connected with it had been Rehoboam's attitude toward the latter, and what induced him to appear as a disloyal servant of Egypt, we do not know But this much Egypt is clear—that the Pharaoh took Conquers most of the towns of Northern Israel from Rehoboam gave them to Jeroboam; there is also a tradition of his residence in Egypt. The record of it is at variance with the legend, and must be regarded in the light of the Tell el-Amarna letters. Jeroboam succeeded in forwarding his plans at court better than Rehoboam; the Northern Israelite had more of the sinews of war. by which the disputes of the civilised world were fought out, than the king of Jerusalem, and these he placed at the disposal of his advocates at court.

We have no evidence which would enable us to decide whether Rehoboam trusted to some other source of help in his resistance to the Pharaoh, though it is conceivable that he calculated on Damascus, which was now coming into prominence. In any case Damascus, owing to the ceaseless struggles between the now separate

halves of the kingdom very soon became the supreme arbitrator in the iffairs of Palestine, since Egypt after the last attack of Sheshonk does not seem to have interfered again decisively, and Assyria had not yet appeared upon the scene

From the first the most powerful of the two states was Israel which very soon showed its superiority The Books of Kings do not contain detailed records of the war which was "always between Rehoboam and Jeroboam'' (1 Kings xiv But they have preserved for us **a** very It proves that Jeroboam valuable notice had done that which we might have expected of him from the first. He was bound to make the people aware that he did not agree with Judah, and it was to his interest to oppose the idea of the justification of David's power. He was induced, therefore, to attempt Jeroboam to abolish the religion of David Revives and to revive in its place the Baalim ancient national sanctuaries. He was, for this reason, solicitous that the two ancient sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan should be once more brought into vogue It must be borne in mind that the great festivals, which were celebrated in such places, did not acquire their main significance from their religious side as

festivals, but that they exercised a far

wider economic influence; they were the

fairs which the whole nation held, under

THE HEBREW PEOPLES

the protection of the peace of the sanctuary. For this reason a king of Israel must have been still more anxious to keep visitors away from the sanctuary in Jerusalem, and to deprive the other capital of the advantages accoung from such traffic. Since in this way the greater part of the revenue of the splendid new temple was lost, the priests had every reason to regard Jeroboam as the type of an impious king

According to our accounts, Jeroboam was followed by his son Nadab, who reigned only two years, roughly about 910 BC. He is said to have been murdered during the siege of the Philistine Gibbethon by Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar The new dynasty did not, therefore, last long,

and the disturbances, which are typical of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes did not delay then appear-ince. Baasha became King, and reigned a cording to the accounts, from about GIO *o 889 B €. He ereatly harassid Indah In order to render any communications with Jerusalem impossible, he fortified a place, Rama, a little north $-A_{Sa}$ of Jerusalem was thus compelled to throw himselfinto

its protection and suzerainty Bir-idii naturally welcomed the proposal invaded Northern Israel, and thus forced Baasha to evacuate the frontier of Iudah. The fortress of Rama was again razed to the ground, but Judah had become a vassal of Damascus, and Baasha, too, had no alternative but to bow to him,

as his predecessors had to Judah a Egypt Baasha's son, Elah, is Vassal of said also to have reigned for Damascus only two years, and to have been murdered by the commander of the army, Zimri, who, from Gibbethon, where the army lay, attacked him in his palace at Tırzalı.

The tradition, therefore, assumes that the two first dynasties of Israel consisted of two kings each, the second king

in each case being murdered after a reign of only two years, and in both murders the army, which lay before Gibbethon, had a part. Exception has been taken to this by the critics, and it has been suggested that the tradition may be incorrect. Zimri

was unable to hold his own. Rule The army did not support him, of the but took the side of Omri, the com-Army mander-ra-chief, who advanced at the head of the "whole people"-a national army is still presupposed at this time -up to Tirzah, where Zimri sought his death in the flames of the king's palace. In the meantime Omii had not been acknowledged king without further difficulty, " for half of the people followed Tibni, the son of Ginath" This latter

seems to have held his own for a considerable time as a uval king, until he was vanguished by Omri. Parties, therefore, existed in Israel; these may have corresponded to different conditions of life existing in the population, which had advanced from the state of peasants to a higher civilisation In the ceaseless disturbances which such feuds must produced from time to time, vigorous mea-



REHOBOAM, KING OF JUDAH S,P,C,K the arms of Panas- From an Egyptian cartouche He was probably carried sures could be taken cus and to implore away to Egypt after Pharaoh Sheshonk took Jerusalem. only with the in-

dispensable support of a strong monarchy, a trustworthy army. This was the policy which Omri and his house pursued, following the example of David In home attairs the policy of encouraging traffic was adopted, and attempts were made to establish favourable relations with foreign countries, especially with Tyre; Omri's son, Ahab, married a Tyrian princess, lezebel. Omri's position towards Damascus is not recorded: probably, however. he recognised its suzeramty and secured his throne only by doing so. He again subjugated Moab, which, on the separation, had taken up an uncertain attitude towards Israel, and, doubtless, it was he also who brought Judah under his own suzerainty; this position is attested under Ahab. He made Samaria the capital of

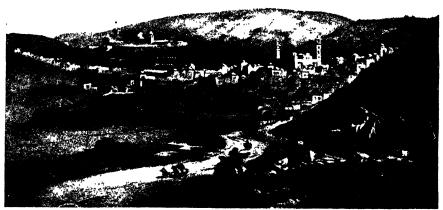
the empire in place of Tuzah. Omri's policy both at home and abroad was continued by his son Ahab. He was a vassal of Damascus, had a strong army under his orders, tried to promote intercourse with foreign countries, and therefore showed friendliness to all strangers. By this action he excited the opposition

Ahab tion attests this fact in recording ٥f the zeal displayed by the prophets against the Baalim, the gods of The natural opposition to the strangers the dominating classes by the agricultural population, which suffered under the development of trade and the encroachment of the military fendal system. found vent in the opposition of Elijah and Elisha Judah was now subject to Ahab, and its king. Jehoshaphat, was compelled to take the field with him The relations to Damascus are clearly seen in the first notice of Israelite history. which is chronologically certain. In the year 854 BC Shalmaneser II, at the battle of Karkar, saw in the army of Bu-idri of Damascus an actual contingent from Ahab of Israel, which the latter had turnished as vassal of Damascus – Judah. as subject to Israel is naturally not named. The attacks of Assyria on Damascus would naturally have incited Ahab to shake off the yoke. But Shalmaneser was always repulsed by Bir-idir and Ahab met his

death in one of the fights, in which he tried to hold his own against Bir-idri, at Ramoth-Gilead. This seems to have taken place soon after the battle at Karkar, therefore about 853 B.C.

His son, Ahaziah, was probably obliged to acknowledge the suzeramty of Damascus, and equally so his brother Joram, who followed him on the throne, presumably only two years afterwards. He would thus have been forced to take the field with Bir-idir in the subsequent campaigns of Shalmaneser. But he also did not fail to make attempts to liberate himself, and is said to have been wounded in a battle which he had to fight near Ramoth-Glead against Bir-idir, or, now, Hazael While attempting to return home, in order to recover from his wounds, he fell a victim to the revolution of Jehu

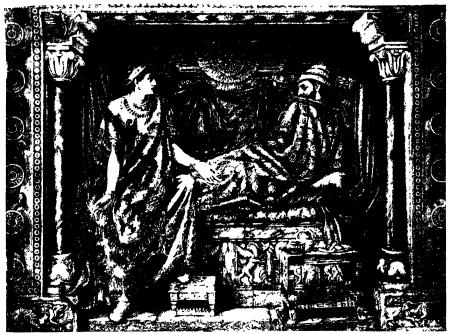
Judah was from the very first at a disadvantage compared with the northern kingdom. The latter owed its treedom to the intervention and or the approval of the Pharaoh, Egypt and Rehoboam had to suffer severely from Sheshonk's chastisement and the enforced contributions It is a proof of the permanence of David's measures that Edom remained loyal to Judah notwithstanding that an attempt had been made by a descendant of the old royal house - Hadad, according to the tradition—presumably under Solomor



RAMA, ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL CITIES OF ANCIENT PALESTINE

Rama, a few miles north of Jerusalem, was fortified by Baasha, king of Israel, about 900 B.C., to prevent communication with Jerusalem from the north

It lies in a fertile plain, and is now remarkable for its olive groves and fruit gardens



AHAB, KING OF ISRAEL, AND HIS WIFE JEZEBEL, PRINCESS OF TYRE

Omri established favourable relations with foreign countries, and his son Ahab married a Tyrian princess. From
the picture by T. M. Rooke in the possession of Mr. M. Russell Cotes, by whose permiss on it is reproduced

(I Kings xi), to gain its independence by the support of Egypt.

Neither Rehoboam nor his son Adulah can have had long reigns. As a the successor of the latter, realised the supremacy of Israel under Baasha, and was forced to solicit the suzerainty of Damascus in order to protect himself from the toriner.

The "Deuteronomist" in the

Judah Books of Kings commends him Subject to the priesthood must therefore Israel have flourished under him Jehoshaphat also is said to have been a pious man. Judah was now no longer directly dependent on Damascus but was subject to the suzerainty of Israel: for Jehoshaphat took the field with Ahab both when he fought at Karkar for Damascus and when the fought against his feudal lord in Gilead. It is further recorded that he also made an attempt to resume the navigation of the Red Sea

His son Joram meets us also as a loyal supporter of the northern kingdom under Ahaziah and his brother Joram. It is clear that he was completely under the influence of his wife Athaliah. This fact proves that the house of Omri understood how to

maugurated by Solomon.

secure then power which they had founded through the instrumentality of a strong army, by other means as well. Athaliah was the daughter of Ahab, and sister of Joram of Israel. The part which she played proves that in reality the influence of the house of Omit was already absolute in Judah. But they never realised their object of restoring the empire of David by the amalgamation of the two dynasties, this time starting from Israel and under Israel's supremacy.

Edom shook off its voke under Joram. An attempt to reconquer it seems to have turned out very disastrously for the king of Judah. He was followed by his own and Athaliah's son, Ahaziah, for whom his mother had con-Rebellion trived to secure the succession of The house of Omri seems Jehu's Party almost to have reached its goal when the opposite party aimed their blow and exterminated the proud dynasty. Ahaziah accompanied his feudal overlord and uncle. Joram of Israel, to battle in Gilead, where both fell victims to Jehu's rebellion.

Jehu, the head of the rebellion, was, like Omri, a military commander. He

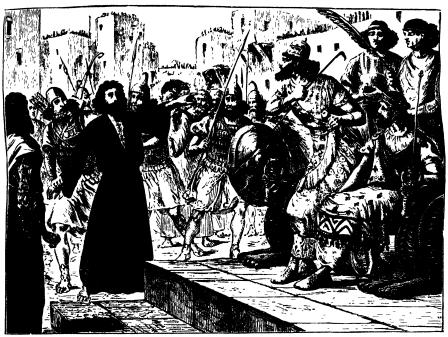
won over the army while he was in the field at Gilead and Joram had gone home to recover from his wounds. The army now turned the scale, as often happens, that which had been the support of a strong monarchy became its most dangerous enemy. The cause of the rebellion is stated to have been the murder of Joram and his vassal Ahaziah Athaliah of Judah. The blow was clearly Queen of enough aimed at the whole Judah house of Omir and its partisans, that is, the son of the princess of the house of Omri ii Judah But the energetic Athaliah in Judah was able to hold her own by means of the army, the constant support of her house. It is well known that she ordered all the male descendants of her deceased hasband to be murdered. This seems at first sight an incomprehensible act of cruelty, but it finds its motive in the simple fact that the murdered Ahaziah had been her only son; while Joram's other sons were by different wives. On the death of her son the sovereighty would thus legally have fallen to one of the other sons who had no blood of Omn in his years. Nothing was left for her but to follow the tactics of her rival it she did not wish to abandon the policy of her house. Thus the complete success of the rebellion was frustrated by her bold action. It was only

in Israel that the house of Omri was

exterminated and Jehu became king. But what were the deeper-lying causes of the rebellion? The prophets had been favourably disposed to the dynasty of Omri. They expressed the views and wishes of the people, especially of the people of the south with their inferior economic development, as opposed to the policy of Omit and his descendants, who had brought Judah also under then sway. It was the resistance of the nomads and peasants to the development of a civilisation which was prejudicial to them. It was the revolt, too, of the spirit of nationality, whose ideal expression, after David, was centred in the national worship. of the God of Israel, against the policy of the ruling dynasty, which favoured connections with foreign countries, and appeared as a worshipper of strange Baalim. It is plainly evident in the course of the insurrection that this resistance, if not originating with Janah, was at any rate strongly supported by it. Its National leaders are expressly said to Spirit have been a tribe, Rechab, which lived in the south of Judah on the fringe of the desert, in the simple conditions of agriculturists who had not yet altogether abandoned the ideas of a nomadic life. and who are said to have been believers in Israel's God — If we also take into account the support of the Hebrew prophets, expressly proved by the legend of Elisha



A MODERN VIEW OF SAMARIA, THE CAPITAL OF THE ISRAELITE KINGDOM



MICAIAH BEFORE AHAB, KING OF ISRAEL, AND JEHOSHAPHAT, KING OF JUDAH Judah was subjugated by Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king was compelled, against his own will and policy, to take the field with him This preture shows the prophet Micaiah warning Ahab before the battle of Ramoth-Glead.

to have been given to Jehu we see what claims had been put forward by the revolutionists. We have not here to do with a mere military revolt, but with the shock of two opposing classes of the population.

It is one thing to offer promises to discontented followers, and another thing to execute them. From the moment when Jehu became king, he had perforce to follow in the main the same line of policy as his predecessors. His scheme had miscarried in Judah owing to Athaliah's intervention. The kingdom of David, for which the co-religionists of David, who supported him, had fought, could not be restored; Jehn was restricted to Israel He was compelled, therefore, to renounce the religion of the southern kingdom, which he had adopted so far to serve his ends, since he, as king of Israel, now stood in natural opposition to the religion of Judah, which was in the hands of Athaliah. He therefore renounced the religion of David, and served henceforward the old gods of his people, although he had started his revolution in the name of the God of Israel.

External circumstances also soon compelled him to abandon the idea of nationality, which must have helped to

bring him to the throne. He was forced, in order to secure his sovereignty, to obtain the acknowledgment of the great powers, and he clearly from the first took into account the existing political conditions. His rebellion must be placed in the year 843, or perhaps 842 B.C. year Shalmaneser appeared on his expedition against Hazael before Damascus. He mentions Jehu as a tributary king The latter had therefore lost no time in obtaining support from the new power instead of Damascus, which had hitherto becn supreme This step was perhaps taken in conformity with the immediate wish of the national party, in reality, it was bound to end at the point to which the policy of the house of Omri was directed. After Shalmaneser had once more vainly tried—839 B.C.— to subdue Hazael, he abandoned his attempts at conquest in the west. Jehu was now in a difficulty, for Hazael naturally proceeded to attack Whether Jehu continued to pay tribute as before to Assyria, we are not informed; but he did not submit to Hazael. He offered resistance to him, and lost in the struggle the territory east of Jordan. Judah, which had eluded him owing to Athaliah, does not appear, even after her fall, to have again been subject to him.

Jehu's reign, therefore, which ought to have seen the restoration of David's kingdom, implies a downtall of Israel from the height previously attained. especially under the house of Omii. It receded also under his son Jehoahaz Israel was more and more Downfall oppressed by Hazael, since of Assyrian help was not forth-Israel coming, we are told 2 Kings xiii. 3, that Israel was completely in his power. Then "the Lord gave Israel a sayiour." The account does not mention this "saviour" by name, it was Assyria. About Soo B c Adad-miari subdued Mari of Damascus son and successor, Joash, continued in the position of a vassal of Assyria and was thus enabled to recover from Damascus certain lost territory sumably east of Jordan Judah uselt was probably conquered once more Amaziah of Judah vainly tried to shake off the voke Jeroboam II in whose period occurs the expedition of Shalmaneser III agamst Damascus m 77; B ← was equally successful through Assyrian help, it is recorded of him that he reconquered the districts of Northern Israel. During his reign, which is said to have been long, Israel enjoyed for the last time a period of comparative peace

Soon after his death the new rise of Damascus under Rezon, and the encroachments of Tiglath-pileser, which were connected with it herald a period of continuous revolutions down to the end of the kingdom. If Israel had fallen from its former position under Jehu, we are now witnesses of its death agony. Zachariah, son of Jeroboam II., was the first of the series of kings who were deposed by violence in rapid succession. He is said to have been slain by a certain Shallium, after a reign of only six months. This latter could hold his own

Assyrian
Supremacy
Acknowledged
fixed by the notice of Tiglath-pileser IV, that he paid tribute to him in the year 738 B.C. Thus he acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy, evidently under compulsion, for Tiglath-pileser took from him the northern part of his territory. Menahem must have died soon afterwards, probably in 737 B.C. His son, Pekahiah, is said to have reigned

two years, 736 and 735 B.C. He seems to have remained loyal to Assyria, for he was overthrown by Pekah, the son of Remaliah, whose revolt was supported by Damascus. After the appearance of Tiglath-pileser, the cry of the two opposite parties was once more "Damascus of Assyria." Pekah, as vassal of Rezon marched with him in 735 or 734 B.c. against Ahaz, who in Jerusalem was consistently loyal to Assyria. The attempt to defeat him was unsuccessful In the following year Tiglath-pileser appeared and invested Damascus. Pekah lost his northern territory, or, as Tiglath-pileser expresses it, only Samaria was left. This gave the Assyrian party in Samaria the upper hand, they overthrew Pekah, and proclaimed Hoshea king, and his election Soon afterwas ratified by Tiglath-pileser wards Damascus tell, and became a province of Assyria in 731 BC

The state of affairs was thus completely changed. Now Assyria proceeded to take every opportunity of systematically draining the resources of the subject people, that is of creating out of them Assyrian provinces. Ever since 738 B.C. the recruitory of Israel had touched the province of Simirra,

Province which had been created there, and a considerable part of Israelite territory was now assigned to this province. Damascus too was now Assyrian. The annexation of Samaria was necessarily the next step. There were only two possible ways of retaining their self-government, and these were either to pay the tribute or to obtain help from another power. The tribute was too exorbitant to be permanently endured, and the king through mability to pay, was usually soon driven to suspend the payments -that is, to declare his revolt. Help from outside was now sought in Egypt, which had never ceased to cast her eyes on Palestine.

It was not, indeed, long before Hoshea was compelled to suspend his payments of tribute, trusting to Egyptian aid. The prophet Hosea, whose activity coincides with the period subsequent to the fall of Damascus, describes to us the conditions of vacillation between Egypt and Assyria. In the year 724 B.C. an Assyrian army advanced in order to annex Samaria. The town is said to have resisted for three years; it finally fell when Shalmaneser IV. had just died and Sargon had mounted the throne in 722 B.C. King Hoshea was carried



From the picture by T M Rooke, in the possession of Mr. M Russell Cotes, by whose permission it is reproduced

away into captivity, and with him the larger portion of the inhabitants, 27,200 souls in all, as Sargon accurately records. They were settled in Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Harran, and on the Khabur and in the Median Highlands. The loss of the population was replaced in the usual fashion by settlers from other parts of the empire; Babylonian citizens from Cuthah in particular were settled in Samaria.

The capital of Israel had thus become an Assyro-Babylonian city. Samana, henceforward the seat of an Assyrian governor, may be compared with the Sidon of Esarhaddon. The inhabitants were afterward actually termed Cuthæans, from the predominance of the Cuthæan element in the population

It is generally believed that this "carrying away of the Ten Tibes" signifies a dissolution of the people of Israel which is regarded as having formed a part of Judah, and as having shared the same views. Starting from this standpoint, certain writers have attempted to trace remnants of the "Ten Tribes" in every magniable place on earth, being influenced by the account which represents the two peoples of Israel and Judah as one nation. The 27,200 souls whom Sargon enumerates were not, however, "the people of Israel",

they were only the larger portion of the population of Samaria and of its immediate vicinity which alone at the last formed the "kingdom" of Israel, since the northern districts had been captured still earlier. But, aj art from this, there was in the territory of the Ten Tribes an absence of the bond which afterwards kept the

Captivity
of the "Ten
Tribes"

Jews together in Pabylenia;
that is, a common cult, to
say nothing of a more highly
developed religious concep-

tion and a closely organised priesthood. Sinc, the severance, the God of Israel had ceased to be the centre of a national worship, and any traces of such worship, which had been retained in the north from the time of David, were quite insignificant Tradition has not preserved the names of the gods of Bethel, Dan, and the other national sanctuaries. In reality the Ten Tribes were not differentiated, as regards their religious conceptions, in the slightest degree from the other nations dwelling round about them They were not, therefore, "Jews" The want of a national bond caused even those who remained in their old homes to retain but little recollection of the "kingdom of Israel."

The province of Samaria, two years after its conquest, in combination with its companions in mistortune, Damascus and Simiria or Northern Phænicia, and in concert with Hamath, made a renewed attempt to shake off the Assyrian voke But Taubidi of Hamath was deteated by Sargon Thus all hope of Syrian independence was destroyed. Samana after this remained an Assyrian province. It repeatedly received new strata of population, for instance in the reign of Ashurbanipal after the subjugation of the Babylonian revolt of the Cuthwans. At a later period, as Judaism grew stronger, it became the home of the sect of the Samaritans, of which the last remains disappeared only in modern times. During the revolution of Jehu,

The Power of the Athalrah hard succeeded in Athalrah hard succeeded in holding her own by means of the army. If Jehu was thus forced to fail in his promises to his helpers, still the revolution, notwithstanding this momentary reverse, meant in the end the victory of the party that still followed the God of David, which was unfriendly to the foreign dynasty of Omri and its policy. The priesthood in Judah, which had gained strength since

Solomon, was clearly the real soul of the resistance. It is obvious that, so long as there was any opposition, people and priesthood formed one composite party. was only after the victory that the conflicting interests of the two parties were felt. as is usual in revolutions. Athaliah is said to have held her own for six years longer. Then the priestly party succeeded in overthrowing her and in wreaking vengeance upon her; they had won over the "Pretorian guard," the support Athaliah. The only surviving son of Joram, who, when his brothers were murdered, had been sheltered as a child in the Temple, was raised to the throne. It matters little whether he was really the last scion of David's house or was put forward in this character, the important point was that he had been "educated by the high-priest," and placed by him upon the throne

A schism was now formed between priesthood and people. The two no longer stood as the ruled and oppressed class in opposition to the monarchy, for the The Priests sovereignty was now actually in the hands of the priests versus These, together with the king, the People who was dependent on them, were now held responsible by the people for all guevances. If, therefore the spokesmen of the people had hitherto been opponents of the monarchy, they were now equally opposed to the governing priesthood. But, in accordance with the stage of culture which Judah had attained, truth and justice were represented by an appeal to God

Thus, if any one of the people accused the priests of crimes or mistakes in home or foreign policy, he appealed to God as the representative of justice and right. These spokesmen were the prophets From the time of the governing priest-hood dates the feud between prophets and priests, between the God of the prophets and that of the priests, who was not distinguishable from the Baalim, against whom both had before been united. This then was the origin of the Prophetic Order, properly so called, such as we see it in its chief representatives, Amos and Hosea.

Not much else is known of the state of Judah under Joash. When Jehu, in 842 B.C., paid tribute to Assyria, Judah is not mentioned, probably for the reason that Shalmaneser's influence did not reach

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so far to the south. It must, however, very soon afterwards have become subject once more to Jehoahaz and Joash, for Amaziah made fruitless attempts to shake off the yoke; Israel, through Assyria's help, was still the stronger. Joash fell a victim to a palace revolt. Since the conspiracy started with officials, we may perhaps conclude that it formed an attempt to check the supremacy of the priesthood. His son and successor, Amaziah, was equally subject to priestly influence. He made unsuccessful attempts to reconquer Edom and was unfortunate in the war by which he intended to make himself independent of Israel. We do not know

permanent successes were achieved. Edom asserted its independence after it had once secured its freedom. Since Azariah was a leper, the government was principally carried on by his son Jotham, No events of importance are recorded of the independent reign of the latter from about 752 to 736 B.C. Since in 738 B.C. Judah is not mentioned among the states tributary to Tiglath-pileser we may assume that it was still dependent on Israel

Ahaz, the son of Jotham who succeeded to the crown about the same time as Pekah secured the throne in Samaria, used this opportunity to liberate himself from Israel by acknowledging the Assyrian



DEATH OF JOASH, KING OF JUDAH

After the death of Joram of Judah and the revolt of Jehu, all his sons except Joash were murdered, and his wife Athaliah ruled as regent for several years. Joash was secreted in the Temple and raised to the throne on the assassination of his mother. He attempted to become independent of Israel, but fell a victim to a palace revolt.

how far he had reckoned on aid from Damascus. In any case, Joash of Israel, the vassal of Assyria proved the stronger, and defeated him at Beth-Shemesh. Amaziah himself was taken prisoner and was able to purchase his freedom only by the payment of a heavy ransom. He was also compelled to raze to the ground a part of the fortifications of Jerusalem. He, too, fell a victim to a conspiracy, and was murdered at Lachish, we cannot, however, clearly understand the circumstances which attended his death.

His son Azariah is said to have continued the wars with Edom, but no

supremacy. The immediate result was the siege of Jerusalem by Rezon and Pekah in 735, or at latest 734 B.C. Ahaz had not iniscalculated when he built his hopes on Tiglath-pileser, the latter appeared in 734 and 733 B.C., and he put an end to the splendour of Damascus. But in his other calculations Ahaz had deceived himself. He had clearly hoped to receive from Tiglath-pileser the northern kingdom as a reward for his loyalty, and in this way to restore once more the kingdom of David. But Tiglath-pileser considered it more prudent to secure for himself the power of turning the scale

and he consequently installed Hoshea The internal policy of Ahaz was equally directed toward his goal, the possession of Israel. He turned against the now too powerful priesthood. In so doing he was forced to seek the support of the people, and to promise them rediess for the extortions of the priests Ahaz and and the officials. He had to the adopt a friendly attitude Priesthood towards foreigners, a policy which drew upon him the hatred of the priestly caste, but could no longer damage

him in the eyes of the people, since they

at any time by means of the old disunion,

had ceased to trust to the leadership of the priests

A prophet thus furthered the cause Ahaz when he reproached the powerful priests with grasping and excess, and spoke in the northern kingdom of Julah as the representative of right and equity, thus seeking to create a feeling in favour of the con-This prophet guest of Israel by Ahaz was Amos. H's activity coincides with the period when the question was to be decided, whether a treaty should be made with Assyria or

All hopes of the reumon of the kingdom must have been abandoned for ever when Samaria was captured by Sargon Ahaz seems to have died shortly afterwards, probably in 720 BC. His son Hezekiah found a state of things very different from the former conditions. Damascus had fallen, and a suzeramty of Israel was no more to be dicaded. Thus at first only one course was left open to him - to pay tribute and to wait until a great power equal in strength to Assyria came to his There was no lack of offers, at the very outset of his reign envoys abpeared from Merodach-baladan, in order to meite him to revolt from Sargon. But Babylonia had too long kept aloof from

the western scene of operations: Babylon and Hezekiah appears to have Interferes warning, accepted Isaiah's in Israel while the envoys found a more willing audience in Philistia vears afterwards, however, in 71; BC., he shared in the revolt of Ashdod. The revolt was suppressed; but Hezekiah emerged without great loss, since once again he made timely submission. With the overthrow of Merodach-baladan, in 710 B.C., his hopes became fainter. But when

Sargon, in 705 B.C., met a violent death, the whole West thought that the hour was come when the hated voke of Assyria might be thrown off The hymn of triumph over the tyrant's death, which has come down to us in the prophecy of Isaiah (Isa xiv. 4 20), represents the feeling of the time. But the joy was short lived. In 701 BC. Sennacherib advanced, and on the withdrawal of the army, Hezekiah, happy at having escaped vengeance through the outbreak of the Babylon an rebellion, was compelled once more to submit

Thus, Hezekiah had won nothing by his revolt, but had lost the greater portion of his territory, for all the towns, which Sennacherib had taken by force, were divided among his neighbours. When, therefore, Egypt under Tirhakah, undertook a new expedition and attempted to wm Palestine for itself, there were willing cars in Jerusalem Moreover, it seems as it after Hezekiah's death the young Manassch was already king – Sennacherib advanced against Egypt and now in Jerusalem men trembled at the appear-Sennacherib ance of the Assyrians before the gates But Isaiah's words Before were fulfilled Sennacherib's Jerusalem army was destroyed and he himself soon afterwards met his death in his own country. Herusalem had once again escaped the fate which menaced her—Ahaz had trusted to Assyria and had tried to break the power of the sacerdotal party—this, in its hostility to the monarchy, sought support from Egypt.

Thus, it was a natural consequence that saccidotal party almost always advocated relations with the latter, while the kings, estimating more correctly the actual conditions, held to Assyria and afterwards to Babyienia – Hezekiah wavered between the two. Prudence advised him not to break with Assyria, and an honest counsellor like Isaiah solemnly warned him against it. But after he had once been driven to rebel and had twice, contrary to his own expectation, escaped the vengeance of Assyria, the priestly caste had the situation in their own hands. He could no longer withdraw himself from their influence, and was obliged to concede their most far-reaching deman ls. He finally granted their request that he should acknowledge the Temple of Jerusalem as the only true place for the worship of God, and should abolish the



AN IMAGINATIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

In the sixth century B C Judah was subject to Babylon, but owing to the impossibility of paying the tribute exacted revolt was mevitable. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, captured and destroyed the city in 586 B C.

sanctuaries in the country. By this the influence of the priestly caste at Jerusalem was immensely increased. There were now no awals left who would dimin shiften power. They became the only recognised interpreters of the will of God, and the foundation stone of the hierarchy was thus lad God was now thought of as a Spirit dwelling in the Temple of Jerusalem en

Rise Mount Zion—according to the of the conception of the priesthood, Hierarchy which was enforced only after further long struggles God for Isaiah still lived 'on the mountains" - Hezekia'i may have been influenced also by the loss of territory, to which he had been forced to submit in 701 BC It a large number of his towns had been given to neighbouring states, little more was left to him than Jerusalem, and he, therefore, had material reasons for centralising the worship of God in Jerusalem.

During his reign further fights with the Philistines are recorded (2 Kings xviii. 8). An episode in them is also referred to in the cuneiform inscriptions. Padi of Ekron had not joined the rebellion in 701 B.C. Taken prisoner by the Judaic party in his town, he was handed over to Hezekiah, but was reinstated by Sennacherib, after the latter had conquered Ekron and had secured the suriender of Padi by Hezekiah.

Hezekiah died, at the latest compushortly after Sennacherib, and therefore about 680 вс Soon afterunder Esarhaddon, Manasseh is mentioned as king of Judah. untayourable judgment passed on him the "Deuteronomist" shows that he was opposed to the priestly party. His continued acknowledgment of the Assyrian supremacy is in keeping with this. He is called a persecutor of the prophets, who were at this period partisans of the priestly caste, not men like Amos and Isaiah. When Shamash-shum-ukin tried to win over the west, hopes must have been entertained in Judah also. It is possible that the prophetic denunciation of Nineveh, which bears Nahum's name, and gave expression to the wishes of the party which was inciting revolt, dates from this time. Manasseh did not offer actual resistance, even if the Manasseh notice of the chronicle is trust-King of Judah

worthy that he was taken a prisoner to Babylon, if such was the case it was probably to undergo a trial, conducted before Ashurbanipal, in which he was fortunate enough to justify himself or to receive pardon. Manasseh reigned long, and, as we may infer, happily, in spite of the hatred of the priestly class. His son Amon was murdered, after a reign of only two years, in 642 B.C., evidently at

the instigation of the priesthood, since he followed the policy of his father. "But the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against King Amon"; a proof that the people differed from the sacerdotal party in their ideas with regard to these "persecutors of the prophets." A boy of eight years was raised to the throne—a repetition of A Boy policy followed with Joash. The on the government under this boy, Throne Josiah, brought the party of the priests within site of their goal, under him the hierarchy was constitutionally established by the introduction of "Deuteronomy" as the legal code This code, which comprises the greater part of the fifth book of the Pentateuch in the form in which it has come down to us, is said to have been promulgated in the year 623 BC.; the spirit that animates it is best seen in the provision that the punishment for "false prophets "shall be death. False prophets were men who opposed the ruling sacer-

for political opponents.

Josiah is said to have made attempts to enlarge his territory, among other acts he destroyed the sanctuary in Bethel. This is conceivable at the time when the empire of Assyria was drawing near its end. When

dotal party, the enactment meant death

Necho advanced into Palestine Josiali fell in battle against him at Migdol. later account, such as the chronicle gives, has attempted to trace some faults in this ideal king of the "Deuteronomist" in order to explain his end His government appears to have pleased the priesthood more than the people, which now, just as it had slain the murderers of Amon, raised to the throne Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, who was by no means acceptable to the priesthood (2 Kings xxiii. 30). This latter is said, after three months, to have been deposed and kept in captivity by Necho, who meanwhile had moved into his headquarters at Ribla in the Beka'a. He seems, therefore, not to have tendered his submission at the right moment, or we may see in his deposition the influence of The Priests the priests, who always stood by Egypt. In Jehoahaz's place Against

Against the King by Egypt. In Jehoahaz's place his brother Eliakim, who now assumed the name of Jehorakim, was raised to the throne by Necho about 608 or 607 B.c. He was from the first compelled to raise the taxes considerably in order to pay the sums exacted by Necho

When Necho, in 605 B C was driven back to Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar Jehorakim submitted to the new lord and is said to have remained loyal to him for three years



THE BLIND ZEDEKIAH, LAST KING OF JUDAH, BEFORE NEBUCHADNEZZAR OF BABYLON Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem in $580~\mathrm{B.c.}$, and punished Zedekiah, the rebel king, with whom the kingdom ceased to exist, by putting out his eyes, slaying his sons and taking him away captive to Babylon with the people of Judah.

from about 605 to 603. He then rebelled, in vain expectation of help from Egypt, and in spite of the advice of Jeremiah that he should hold fast to the Chaldwan monarchy. A Chaldrean army did not long delay its appearance. Jehoiakim had, however, died in the meantime, and thus the fate intended for him befell his son, Jehorachin, who was forced to surrender after a three months' siege in 507 BC. Jerusalem once more retained its independence, for Nebuchadnezzar had consideration for the Strong Chaldean party. large number of the chief men were even then carried off into exile, among them the prophet Ezekiel, whose speeches form a commentary upon the succeeding events

at home. Nebuchadnezzar appointed as king a third son of Josiah, Mattaniah, who now took the name of Zedekiah. But, as Jehotakim, by the excessive amount of tribute, had been forced into rebellion, sc in the end Zedekiah, in spite of all resistance, and the dissuasion of Jeremiah, was compelled to yield to the pressure of his "patriots" and priests. He had hopes also from the new Pharaoh, Hophra. The hopes were vain. Nebuchadnezzar captured and destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Zedekiah was cruelly punished by the loss of his eyes, his sons were slain, and a large part of the population was carried away. Judah became a Babylonian province, and the people of Judah ceased to exist.

JUDAISM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

JUDAH and Israel, regarded from the standpoint of political history weeking standpoint of political history, were insignificant states of no greater importance for the history of the Ancient East than the local history of the Highlands of Scotland for the empire of Great Britain. This remarkable people has attained its importance for mankind not through its political history, but through the relig-Babylonian ion which had its sanctuary Growth and its bithplace in Jerusalem. of Judaism We cannot, however, entirely accept the view which sees in the Jewish religion, with its further developments, a creation of the Jewish spirit. Precisely as Christianity did not grow in its strength and in its spiritual ideas in Judah itself, but on the soil of the whole Hellenistic world, so Judaism was not evolved in Judah, but could have attained its development and its expansion only on the soil of the wide civilisation of the Ancient East. The details of this subject are as obscure or even more obscure than the beginnings of Christianity This much is, however, nt was in Babylonia that Judaism first became that which it was and still

with the highest civilisation of Western Asia. Nevertheless, the people of Judah contributed their share to its development, and were its first embodiment. If, therefore, historical investigators cannot accept the story of the "Chosen People," yet this story, in virtue of its wide acceptance, has still a claim to careful consideration, as also the nation which was its embodiment. In contrast to the traditions which we have for the rest of

is, and it could never have reached this stage unless it had come into close contact the East, we notice in the history of Israel strong accentuation of religious ideas and of all that is connected with them. As popular ideas on this subject test mainly on the Biblical narrative it is interesting, as well as instructive, to sketch them briefly for ourselves in the light of the universal laws of human progress.

It is probable that Israel and Judah had originally little to do with each other, the proof of unity, the common worship of one God, can have been given them only by the man who united them—that is, by David The God who represents the thought of fraternal association with Judah is Yahve, or Jehovah, even in the conception of historical times He was still identified as the God of the old home of David, the south of Judah. Jehovah was recognised in Israel only as the God of the victorious David for a sign of his dominion He had never previously been the God universally worshipped by the northern tribes The rapidly ensuing division of the kingdom induced the kings of Israel to deny Him. Israel, therefore. had little to do with the development of Judaism. As historical students we must

Distinction
Between Judah
and Israel
therefore modify the conception, according to which
Judah would appear to be far
more nearly akin to Israel

than, for instance, Edom, Moab, and Ammon; and undue regard must not be paid to the picture of a homogeneous nation under David and Solomon. This view can be best expressed in the phrase, which may sound paradoxical but yet aptly characterises the true relationship of the two peoples: "The Israelites were not Jews."

Thus the investigation of the development of the idea of God and the Hebrew religion is, from the first, restricted to Judah, as the original, and before long the only home of the worship of God. We may omit certain attempts to encroach on the territory The God of Israel, the motive for which was always the realisation of a of political supremacy. In the David view of pure historical investigation, it is urged that the worship of God, whom David worshipped in his home and afterwards as prince of Caleb in Hebron which can, however, hardly have been the original seat of the religion was introduced into the newly-acquired parts of the kingdom as the area of

conquest widened, it was thus a sign of sovereignty. There were, however, pagan deities still worshipped in different parts of Judah, as elsewhere, but these Baalim had really no more than a local significance.

The very fact of its being introduced into other places shows that the religion was not originally confined to Jerusalem, though it had indeed been first introduced there. But it followed quite as a matter of course that the splendid sanctuary in Jerusalem, which was situated in the focus of traffic should have eclipsed the other.

seats of worship in the country round. Moreover, the part must be considered which the priesthood in Jerusalem began to play after Solomon's reign at thus gained a superiority over its colleagues in the other sanctuaries, which corresponded to the superiority of the capital the provincial towns. The real representation and development of the Hebrew religion, or the worship of the only true God, so far as it was of political significance, rested with the priesthood of Jerusalem. After Solomon the priests possessed the ascendency in Jerusalem and knew how to keep the kings amenable to their wishes. This state of affairs received a rude shock through the domination of the

house of Omri. The religion of David had not been the national religion in Israel since Jeroboam. Israel now encroached upon Judah, and Omri and his successors, who had taken care to connect the kingdom of Judah with their family, thus became dangerous to the religion as the standard of a sacerdotal domination. But this very danger united their natural antagonists ın Tudah The priesthood of Jerusalem had, as the ruling party, already become antagonistic to the other priesthoods in the country, and above all to the people itself, for their natural aims could never be those of the people. But so soon as there was a common enemy, all sections of the people, provided that the parties were not so

sharply separated that the people as a whole had little vigour left, would soon regard the question from a common standpoint. This popular standpoint was, in the present case, the opposition to the foreign dominion of the house of Omia, which was destined to make Indah, formerly the ruling state, dependent on Israel while the priesthood acted 111 opposition to the strange gods which the dynasty of Omii woishipped. We must also consider the fact that Indah was now threatened with the same tate which Israel had

-incurred--



ISAIAH THE SIATESMAN-PROPHET

From a frieze by Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel

been forced to accept the gods of Israel, just as Israel had once received the God of David Schooled by necessity, the priests of Jerusalem bethought themselves of a truer worship of their God Prophets than the leading of a luxurious Denounce We therefore find all Abuses worshippers of the supreme God, the priesthood and the rough worshippers from the desert—the Rechabites united against the foreign domination; and in Judah, as well as in Israel, prophets denounced in the name of Jehovah the abuses of the kingdom. Elijah and Elisha are such figures Their followers were able to win over Jehu in the

formerly.

namely, that when defeated, it would have

northern empire, and with him the army, to its side; and the rebellion of Iehu was organised in the name of God for the restoration of the empire of But it tailed, as we have seen, David. in the very place where it originated. The restoration of David's em-Why pire came to nothing, and the Jehu of the religion encroachment Failed upon the territory of Israel miscarried, Jehu being compelled to abandon the attempt.

The absolute power of the priesthood begins with Joash. Once more we see the feud between the people and the priesthood, which now more and more became the ruling party, at the same

time the priesthood abandoned the true God, the one God to whom men appealed as the protector of their rights in favour of Baal worship—that is to say, they sacrificed everything to forms of ritual, since these were the source of large revenues, which the people had to pay. The good resolutions tormed during the period of opposition were forgotten. Henceforth, therefore, the prophets strenuously attacked the priests, although in the rebellion of Jehn both had gone hand in hand.

We see this most clearly defined in Amos the first prophet of whom copious utterances are extant-His date is fixed by the allusion to Assyria, of which little could have been known there before 738 B.C. Amos prophesied under Ahaz and in his favour, since he tried to create a feeling in the northern kingdom in favour of the re-establishment of David's empire Once more, therefore, the name of God was used as the rallying-cry of a policy which sought to unite Judah and Israel. Amos would hear nothing of the God of the priesthood; he was a man of the people, and he reproached the ruling classes with their sins in burning and passionate words which the retorners of the Middle Ages gladly employed.

The same thing holds good of Hosea, whose mission falls not much later, although certainly after the annexation of Damascus by Tiglath-pilesei —that is, after 731 B.C. since he does not refer to the state which up to that time had played so important a part in Palestinian affairs. He does not indeed inveigh against the ruling classes with the bitterness of Amos, although he sees the cause of the calamity in their sins. This is partly due to the fact that Amos, as he distinctly averted, was no "professional prophet"—that is to say, not one of those men who, being quasi-dervishes, devoted their lives to religious meditation and public oratory, but a herdsman and countryman, who had been induced by

the prevailing distress to proclaim his message throughout the land. He therefore laid more stress on the cause of the miseries, which he had experienced in his person.

Isaah. the next prophet stands on a higher plain. He was a well educated man , he lived at Jerusalem near the king's person, was tamiliar with all the knowledge of that well versed in literature — his songs that he was acquainted with Babylonian literature -and he surveyed the whole

political movement of From a Michael Angelo frieze in the Sistine Chapel—the time—In brief, Lie was a statesman who had reached the highest pinnacle of his age. For this very reason he belongs to neither of the ruling parties, whether priestly or royal, although doubtless he was a member of one of them by birth. He stood above His political insight forced him to them.

take his place as counsellor by Isaiah the king's side, and to warn the him against rash enterprises. Statesman But when the storm of disasters

once burst upon the country, he exhorts the nation to hold out; and the result proved that he rightly estimated the political situation. He opposed the arrogant claims of the priestly party, and thus laid stress on the miseries of the people;



THE PROPHET JEREMIAH

but he was not a true man of the people, since he was not in any sense a partisan.

The next period contains no prophet

of importance; for Nahum's denunciation of Nineveh, if we are indeed to place him under Manasseh, and one or two utterances which pass under Isaiah's name and may also belong to this age, concern only foreign policy. It is ex-Jeremiah pressly stated in 2 Kings xxi. the Last 16, that Manassch took stringent Prophet measures against the opposition; but we may assume that the passage refers to prophets who spoke in favour of the priesthood, which had been deprived of its influence, and not to men of the people preaching in the spirit of Amos. On the contrary, the people were probably well satisfied with the rule of Manasseh

 Λ striking personality appears at the close of the history of Judah in Jeremiah We may compare his attitude on foreign policy with that of Isaiah. He was, however, a pronounced supporter of the Chaldwan party, a point which cannot be asserted of Isaiah as regards Assyria. History has shown that he was undoubtedly right when he uttered warnings against a breach with Nebuchadnezzai. He was antagonistic to the priestly party. with its Egyptian traditions, and had in consequence to suffer during the siege. whether justly so, from the point of view of his opponents, we will not attempt to discuss. It would be in keeping with the views of his day if he had maintained relations with the Chaldwans, the treatment which he received after the conquest of Jerusalem makes us suspect some such conduct on his part. A completely different spirit from that of the earlier prophets is revealed in the utterances of Jeremiah. Amos and Hosea are demagogues, and even Isaiah, with the eye of a statesman standing above the parties. has a clear opinion as to the true causes of the national calamity, which cannot be Non-worldly relieved by joining either Egypt or Assyria. All three wish to Spirit of Jeremiah probe deeper, and expect the evil to be cured only when the national life is more healthy. They express this belief in the spirit of their age by an appeal to the will of God, but in a formula which really suits the connection of events: "Do that which is right, according to the will of God, and you will be healed." In Jeremiah, on the other hand, we find, in contrast to this

practical standpoint, a prevalence of the religious, non-worldly spirit, which has found its most distinct expression in the tenet of Christianity: "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all this will come to you of itselt." It is a confusion between cause and effect that has made Jeremiah as a thinker inferior to his predecessors, but has also made him the favourite prophet of a religious development which seeks its salvation in another world. The ideal world of seclusion, which offers escape from the world of flesh, finds its expression in the prophecy of Jeremial.

The introduction of Deuteronomy as the legal code implied the victory of the hierarchical party: it was the codification of priestly rule. Such legislation, which was too diametrically opposed to the demands of the real life of the people, was of course certain to meet with many hindrances in practice, and contributed largely to the destruction of the state, moreover, its original promotes the priests, forced the king to revolt from Babylonia. But this code could have continuo prominence only at a time when

The the people no longer formed a nation but rather a religious sect, which was ready to recognise it as then guiding principle. That which in the turnoil of

That which in the turmoil of principle national life must have led to the rum of the people could, in the security afforded by the protection of a powerful state, be further developed and, through the feeling of homogeneity with which it filled those who professed it might become a factor in their economic progress. The component parts of the people of Judah, which had been led away mto captivity in Babylonia. were precisely those which were anti-Chaldean, that is to say, the priestly party, those who were active supporters of The rest, indeed, had Deuteronomy remained behind in the country. In this way we may explain the fact that the Tewish community, in contrast to so many others which had been transplanted by Assyrians or Babylonians, held together and preserved a distinct indi-They were from the first a viduality religious community, and as such they were further developed, since by their new environment they were thrown more together and brought into intimate relation one with the other. "Judaism" was developed in Babylon, a closely united religious body in the midst of a

great, heterogeneous, and, as they re-

garded it, foreign population.

On the other hand, it was quite inevitable that Judaism should have adopted much of the Babylonian culture in the atmosphere of which it lived. Precisely as a Jew living in a modern country shares in its intellectual and economic growth, and is affected by its influence, so it was the case in Babylonia. Our material still remains incomplete for ascertaining in any detail how far the sphere of Jewish religious thought had been influenced by that of Babylonia Certain evidence that we do possess makes it very apparent that we cannot estimate this influence too highly, some day, probably, many of the institutions of Judaism which seem to be "Jewish" will be shown to be Babylonian in the sense that much of the Mosaic code of legislation is now proved, by the discovery of Hammurabi's Code of Laws, to have been directly derived from Babylonia. What, again, is more characteristic of the spirit of this civilised Judaism, humiliated in a manner so strongly contrasted with its pride, than the penitential psalms, in Debts which it implores forgiveness to composed during the exile, and were copies of similar productions of the Babylonian intellect.

from its God? They were Babylon

Just as Judaism at a later age eagerly took part in Hellenistic culture, and then in the Arabian, mediæval, and modern intellectual movements, so it tried at this time to turn to its own use the treasures of Babylonian wisdom. A striking instance of this is afforded by the author of the Book of Kings who wrote during the exile. He found in Babylon a perfected system of records and a laboriously exact chronology. The chronological scheme, for which he found in his own documents an insufficient basis, was elaborated on the Babylonian model, and was thus the result of calculations prepared by the aid of Babylonian The Jew who lived in Babylon appropriated the stores of Babylonian knowledge; he even studied the cunciform documents, and searched them for information about his own people. The same spirit, which meets us in the explanation of Biblical accounts by the later Jewish commentators, was also characteristic of the Jews of the exile in elaborating the

history of their ancestors. They employed chronological calculations, prepared in the same spirit as those of the Christian chronographers, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, etc. But we meet at the same time the characteristic spirit of Judaism, which makes itself so prominent in Josephus There is always the recurring effort to prove Judah to be the Chosen History

People, both from history and Written in from the accounts of other Exile nations. Modern authorities are persuaded that not only the Jewish religion, but all the traditions of Judaism were developed in Babylonia during the exile.

From this time forward there was never a people of Judah We possess few historical facts as to the time of the exile, but, from what we have already ascertained, it follows that we must picture to ourselves the rôle of Judaism during this period as having been the same as in later times. Even then it must have begun to expand, otherwise we can hardly explain its development in the following centuries, for such an expansion would hardly have been possible except for the intellectual stimulus provided by the new environment in Babylon. On the other hand, the closely compacted community, spiritually united through the rigid organisation given it by the priesthood which was deported to Babylonia naturally saw its home in Jerusalem and the true seat of the Most High in the temple on Mount Zion In this connection we notice the survival of the idea of the old national God who could dwell only in the land of his own people, and who, since the time of Hezekiah, had chosen Jerusalem itself tor His dwelling-place

With the captivity began also the intense longing for a return. Since this was out of the question under a Chaldwan supremacy, the Jews of Babylon waited longingly for the saviour who Champion was destined to bring them of treedom from the hated voke. Judaism In the second part of Isaiah are expressed the hopes, so often disappointed, with which men followed the vicissitudes of Babylonian history. liberator came at last, and there were real grounds for rejoicing that dominion of Bel and Nebo was broken. Cyrus occupied Babylon, and Judaism was now quite certain of its champion.

ANCIENT NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA



IV ARMLNIA

ARMENIA BEFORE THE ARMENIANS

F the highlands in which the Euphrates and Lights have their source, and which rise to the north of Mesopotanna and its outlying mountains, we know little at the time when Babylonia still dominated the whole Euphrates country and Assyria did not exist as an independent kingdom. But the state of things which meets us in later times, when the country received its culture from Assyria, and the latter was forced to subdue the mountain tribes unless it wished to become their prev, must have already existed in the preceding ages. Indeed, if we must assume that the territory of the later Median empire had been the seat of an organised administration even in the earlier Babylonian epoch, we may surmise that Armenia also had then become united in a certain degree, and had already abandoned its primitive tribal organisation under the influence of Baby-- Armenia probably lonian civilisation stood at that time in far closer relation Armenia to the Babyloman sphere of cul-ture than Urartu later to Assyna, Babylon and was apparently on a higher stage of civilisation than two thousand years afterwards. We do not know what nations or what races then inhabited the mountains on which the Babylonian represents the ark of Khasisadia. his Noah, to have rested. But we may conjecture that the prosperity of Mesopotamian civilisation in its widest extent dates from a very early period, and that the last millennium, with which we are better acquainted, already marks a great decadence as compared with the height to which it attained in earlier times

The first definite information as to the history of these countries is derived from the inscriptions of the kings of Assyria, from Tiglath-pileser I, onward. Shalmaneser I, had already made an advance into the country between the Euphrates and Tigris towards the highlands, and by planting Assyrian colonies there had formed a secure frontier for Mesopotamia. We may regard the nations which he subjugated there as "Hittites," as this whole

advance was but a continuation of the expulsion of the Mitani. The struggle was, therefore, between Assyrian and Hittite nationalities.

The country to the east of this that is, the region south of Lake Van was called by the Assyrians the Nani country Tig. lath-pileser had conducted three expeditions against it, making Mesopotainia Insstarting point, and advanced as far as the sources of the Tigris, where he carved his effigy and engraved an inscription at the natural tunnel near the source of the present Sebene-Su. The southern portion of the Nam country, bounded on the south by the Tigris was called Kirkhi Khubushkia adjoins it on the east. We may include its inhabitants in the eastern Medo-Elamite group of nations, and may conjecture that the Hittites did not encroach on the district south of Lake Urumiya The assumption that their migration as a whole took place from Europe is supported by their settlement to the south and west of Lake Van A group advanced also to the east of the lake The petty state of Musasii, which we fin I mentioned from the eigh h to the ninth century seems to have had a population of the "Urartean" Hittite group.

So far as we can trace the history of the countries now under consideration, they meet us first in a condition such as we might expect after a recent migration of uncrydised tribes. There were no large states, if any such had previously existed, they had been destroyed by these or earlier immigrations. In the period after Tiglath-

Assyrian pileser I the tribes which had advanced into these districts from the north naturally expanded, and destroyed the advances, in any case not very important, which the Assyrians had gained. The districts which Shalmaneser I, had colonised

which the Assyrians had gained. The districts which Shalmaneser I, had colonised were again serzed by the advancing barbarian tribes. Ashurbanipal was therefore obliged to secure for Assyria this district, which was roughly bounded in the south by a line drawn from Amid to Malatia, and

to reinforce the old Assyrian colonies. In the ninth century Shalmaneser II., when he advanced on Armenia, and, starting from the Nairi country, which had been subjugated by Ashurbanipal, marched towards the north, struck the territory of King Arame of Uraitu, whose dominion comprised mainly the district north of Lake Van. He was attacked by Assyria on the west and south-east of the lake, on the southern frontier of his country, somewhere on the Arsanias in the year 857 B C

For some time very little is heard of

Urartu, until in 883 BC, towards the end of Shalmaneser's reign a new expedition to that country is mentioned, in which Siduri, king of Urartu, after crossing the Arsanias, is said to have been defeated. Two inscriptions of this Siduri have been found at the foot of the fortress of Van which record the erection of buildings by He styles himself in them Sarduri son of Lutipri, king of Nami. The lascriptions are composed in Assyrian, and evin the titles of the king are copied from the contemporary Assyrian formulæ Neither he not any one of his successors styles himself king of Urartu Kingdom was perhaps merely the designarion adopted by the Assyrians Urartu from the name of the mother country. We may conclude from this state of things that the sovereignty of this Sarduri (1) followed a revolution in Urartu. Since the royal title is not given to his father, and, on the other hand another king is recorded to have preceded him in Urartu, his reign may imply the rise of a new tribe among the large number of newly immigrated peoples which were still living in Urartu under their tribal constitution Sarduri is the ancestor of the royal family, under which an important empire was developed, the most recent of all the empires of Hittite origin. In it for the last time Hittites opposed the Assyrian empire with success

The seat of this empire of Uraitu was the district along Lake Van. With the exception of the southern shore, it stretched in an easterly direction as far as Musasir, the small state south-west of Lake Urumiya, and in a north-easterly direction right up to Lake Gok-cha, and was therefore watered by the Araxes. We can trace from Sarduri onward the succession of its kings, chiefly from their own inscriptions, up to the Aryan immigration. Urartu, the natural opponent

of Assyria, thus came into contact with Babylonian culture. Assyrian influence strikes us at once in the character in which the kings of Urartu had their inscriptions written While Sarduri I. had them written in Assyrian, his successors employed the vernacular, but in an alphabet which had been adapted, not from the Babylonian, but from Imitation the Assyrian form of writing. They were imitators of the Assvria Assyrians even in their titles. We know little of the new royal family or of its place of origin. We find in after times Tuspa, or Turuspa in the district of Braina, the modera Van, the capital of the empire. It does not appear to have been the original home of the A somewhat mutilated royal tamily inscription seems to record that Biaina had a king of its own even under Ispuinis. in any case we may regard him as an under-king or feudal lord of a district. We may conclude that the empire was formed by the subjugation of separate chiefs and princes and that the kings were supported in the process by a strong dynastic central power. By the annexation of the district of Baina they came into possessien of Tuspa. This district cannot have been subdued for the first time by Ispuinis Sarduri I had already built at Van The successor of Sarduri was Ispuinis,

a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad, whose general, Mutarris-Ashur encountered him on an expedition to Naur. Thence the n w empire was extended further towards the south—that is into the regions which the Assyrians had traversed or seized Ispumis adopted his son Menuas as coregent. Owing to this fact, nost of the inscriptions of this time bear the names of both these rulers. As an example we may cite the inscription in the pass of Kelishin. a sort of boundary stene set up in the district taken from Assyria recording the acquisition of the Biaina Extensions district and of Tuspa, which into henceforth served as the capital Assyria The successor of Menuas was Argistis I., who did most for the extension of the empire. He was contemporary with Shalmaneser III. and Ashui-dan in Assyria, and the numerous campaigns against Urartu under the former, in combination with the condition of the country at a later time, show that Assyria was obliged to act on the defensive against the attacks

of Argistis. Records of victories by Argistis were recorded in eight large panels upon the rocks of the fortiess at Van—the longest Urartean inscription which we possess. They contain a report of successes against Assyria, and of a conquest of those regions which the Assyrians designated as the Naur country. There is a further mention of Urartu places as far distant as Meli-Supports the Rebels tene - that is of districts which had already stood in the fixed relation of vassals to Assyria During the period anterior to Tiglath-pileser IV., Sarduri II, the son of Aigistis. who encroached further towards Syma. was the support of all the states in the east and west which attempted to revolt from Assyria. While he extended his influence as far as Arpad, he drove Urartu out of Syria and finally attacked that country itself. Even if this denotes an actual decline of the political power of Urartu and of all the kindred nations which leant upon it, yet regarded from an ethnological standpoint, the result of the Urartean advance must be noted as an expansion of the kindred tribes and a retrogression of the Semitic population in the countries faithest to the north. The districts between the Upper Tigers and the Euphrates, which Shalmanesei I had occupied with Assyrian colonists, were once more lost, and their Assyrian population was dispersed, until under Esaihaddon we find that a final attempt was

In Sargon's reign, his successor, Rusas I., attempted a new attempt on Assyria, where the revolution and the change of kings in 722 BC seemed to furnish him with a favourable opportunity. But he, too, failed, and in despair he committed suicide in 714 B c. The power of Urartu was broken by his overthrow. At the same time, under Argistis II., an attack was made from the north by Aryans Urartu's The reports of Assyrian governors or the northern frontier in the Power period between 710 and 705 B.C. announce that heavy defeats were inflicted on Urartu by the Arvan tribes. These wild incomers lived for a time on the borders of Urartu and within its territory until, pushed forward by their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, and by other tribes which were pressing on, they moved further westward and overran the whole of Asia Minor. This

made to reoccupy them with Assyrians

took place between 670 and 660 BC under one of the successors of Aigistis II that is to say, under Rusas II., Etimenas of Rusas III.

Only one episode in the period of Rusas III., the contemporary of Esaihaddon and Ashurbanipal, is recorded in detail. In the year 674 B.C. Esarhaddon records an expedition which he un lertook against the country of Shupria in order to subdue a chief, without doubt of Crartean The latter, calculating already on the confusion caused by the advance of the Cimmerians, had attempted in the universal disorder to found an in lependent state of his own. He was aided by fugitives both from Assyria and Urartu, whom he assiduously attracted to his country All the demands of Esathaddon and of Rusas that he should surrender their subjects were rejected, so that Esarhaddon finally found himself compelled to take measures against him more the fortresses of the country were occupied by Assyrian colonists, in order to form an Assyrian province. We must no longer regard these colonists. forming an actual Assyrian Urartu population but rather as consist-Assyria ing of foreigners who were transplanted thither from other conquered districts. A very few years afterwards in 668 or 667 B.C. the same chief —or another of the same country—in conjunction with the Cimmerians, attempted a sudden attack on the new province, but was killed in doing so. It is noteworthy throughout the whole affair how Assyria and Urartu were for once brought together by a common peril

The last king of Urartu was probably Sarduri III, who voluntarily submitted to Ashurbanipal in order to obtain assistance from him against the Aryan tribes

We do not know whether before this an Aryan chief had raised himself to the throne of the Urartean empire, or whether the empire was only ended by the Medes. It we reflect, however, on the development of the power of the Ashkuza in the interval, we can hardly assume that these allies of Assyria had not already established themselves firmly in this region. The whole population began to blend with the Aryan immigrants, and the Armenian people thus came into existence.

HUGO WINCKLER LEONARD W. KING ANCIENT NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA



V ASIA MINOR

ANCIENT ASIA MINOR

ITS HISTORY BEFORE THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

THE great peninsula projecting from the Asiatic continent towards the west has been called Asia Minor (η μικρά 'Ασια) since ancient times. It is divided from Syria and Mesopotamia on the south and the south-east by the Taurus range and its north-western continuation, the Antitaurus. On the north-east the range of the Paryadres, which follows the south shore of the Black Sca, and on the east the whole Armeman highlands along the upper course of the Euphrates separate it from the Caucasus region. On the north, the boundary is the Hack Sea, on the west the Agean For the most part Asia Minor consists of a large elevated plateau, stretching from the Taurus Mountains to the mountains running along the southern coast of the Black Sea Only in the west there extend fertile, well-watered plains between the deeply-indented scaboard. full of bays and harbours,

Features of the

Country the passage to the tableland In the north the coast of Asia Minor approaches within a few miles of Europe, from which it is separated only by the narrow straits of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, while further southward the numerous islands of every size form a sort of bridge across to Hellas. In fact, from one point of view, the Egean coast and islands of Asia Minor really form part of Hellas, from which they nowise differ in geographical features or in population. Thus Asia Minor forms a connecting-link between Asia and Europe, and is influenced by both in its historical development. but as geographically it does not form a perfect unit, it has never attained political or national independence.

We meet here from the very first a large number of different tribes. The Mæonians and Lydians dwelt in the country watered by the Hermus; they were bounded on the south first by the Carians and then by the Lycians. In the gorges and valleys of the western Taurus and its spirs lived the Milya, Solymi, and especially the Pisidians and Isaurians. The Cilicians possessed the main range of these mountains with the southern ridges, while

Cappadorians and Lycaonians The Asia had occupied the tableland northward of the Taurus. Peoples Notwithstanding our extremely scanty knowledge of the earliest times, we can notice some shifting of population in this medley of peoples. Thus the name of the Cappadocians and Cappadocia occurs first in the Persian eta., before that time these regions as far as the Taurus were held by Tibarem and Moschi, whom we rediscover later as small tribes in the mountains on the coast of Pontus, and still earlier the Kheta, or Hittites, had descended hence into Northern Syria But, taken all in all, these nations always inhabited the same territory and stand out in sharp contrast to the Thracian and Greek tribes, who are known to have been immigrants They must therefore be reckoned as autochthonous The close relationship between the tribes is proved most conclusively by similarity in lan-In the whole district inhabited by them there are very numerous names of places ending in "ssos" and "nda"

Termessos Sagalassos, Œnoanda Laranda and many names of persons agreeing in roots and endings.

Formerly attempts were made to assign the nations in Asia Minor partly to the Semitic and Non-Aryan toon has gradually gained ground that in dealing with the inhabitants of Asia Minor we have to deal with a distinct race. The peoples of Inner Asia Minor were probably distinct in race and language from the inhabitants of the west and south coasts, who were no doubt of the dolichocephalic

"Mediterranean" type of Sergi, like the earliest Greeks, Italians, and Egyptians, while the peoples of the inner highlands seem to have been brachycephalic, like the modern Kurds. As these "autochthonous" inhabitants were peculiar in race, so also their religious ideas bear a characteristic stamp of their own

Characteristic of many tribes in Asia Minor is the worship of the great Mother of the Gods, Ma, or Ammas, a nature goddess, who has her seat on the mountain-tops and takes many titles from them, Idaia, Sipylene,

such as Dindymene Cybele from her proreed all growth and decay in nature, as well as all civilisation She is the protectiess of city walls and gates, and wears therefore, the mural crown In her honour leasts were celebrated with wild revelive with dance and crashing music, and in her service priests gashed their bodies, and maidens prostituted themselves In the great centres of the worship of the Mother of the Gods there were numerous priests and an equal number of sacred Slaves

Peculiar also to this entire district are the colossal rockwell as in the fact

that the figures thereon represented wear mostly the same costume - namely, a highpeaked cap, short tunic, and high-pointed boots. They are found spread over a region extending from the north slopes of the Tamus and the Pisidian lakes to the Halys on the one side and as far as the Ægean Sea on the other side. The figure carved in the living rock near Smyrna, representing a warrior with spear and bow, was famous even in antiquity, and was ascribed to Sesostris [see page 1719]. At the present day in Boghaz-Köi and the neighbouring Ovuk, en the right bank of the Halys, directly south of Sinope, and east of Ancyra, in a district called Pteria in antiquity, the remains of old city walls and the foundations of large palaces have been discovered. clearly the centre of an ancient civilisation [see page 1725]. In Boghaz-Koi, outside the walls, an almost rectangular courtyard was cut in the rocks, the walls of which are covered with reliefs. In one place a long procession of men is on the march; in another place our attention is fixed on a group of seven gods, who stand not on the ground, but on beasts or the tops of mountains or, in one case, on the

necks of two men The costume which we described above belongs to figures, too, but, unfortunately, up till now the hieroglyphic signs accompanying the figures have not been deciphered has long been recognised that these monuments, both in style and nn the manner of inscription, are very closely connected with those which have been discovered in North Syria, and we are now justified in regarding them as ielics of a Hittite domination

In contrast to Hittite peoples, which may be called the peoples of Asia Minor in the proper sense, since as lar as our

knowledge goes they were always settled there, we find in the north-west and on the entire west coast such tribes as evidently were not indigenous to Asia Minor. To these belong, in the first place, the Aryan Thracian tribes, who crossed from their European mother country over the Bosphorus and Hellespont and pressed on from the regions which skirt these This imstraits gradually eastward. migration did not certainly take place at any one time; in the course of a long period new bands kept coming into Asia Minor from Thrace, driven either by the scarcity of food, resulting from



THE MOTHER GODDESS OF ASIA MINOR hewn teliefs, which The worship of Ma, the Mother of the Gods, was charagree in style, as acteristic of many of the tribes of ancient Asia Minor This picture is from a rock-hewn relief in Cappadocia

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over-population, or by the onward pressure of tribes from the north and west.

The Thracians, Phrygians, and Mysians seem to have been racially Slavs. The name of the Phrygian supreme god Bagaios-- also called Papas, or "father" is nothing but the Slav logii, "god." The Thracian Zalmoxis or Zamolxis, mentioned by Herodotus, is an earth-god whose name is the same as the Slav word embya, "carth," which again occurs in the name of the Thracian goddess Semelé Men, the moon-god, is Arvan enough also, and so, no doubt, is Osogo, another Phrygian deity.

The worship of Sabazius was universal among the Thracians of Europe and Asia

We may also venture to point out that the method of burial in large earthen mounds, or barrows, seems to have been customary on both shores of the Propontis. From the exploration of such barrows the astonishing fact has been brought to light that their construction is identical. They consist of several layers—beds of ashes and burnt earth, containing earthen vessels, animal bones and sherids alternating with thick strata of earth and broken stone. This method of interment agrees with that which Herodotus describes as Thracian.

The later Trojans, who inhabited the country along the Propontis on the north slopes of the Ida range, belong to this



"Pring of the Impire, SPCK

A CENTRE OF CIVILISATION IN ANCIENT ASIA MINOR R mains of the city of Pteria, in Cappadocia. The ruins of the city walls and palace foundations can be clearly seen

Minor. He is familiar to us in the Greek form of Dionysus, a divinity who rules all animate nature. He was represented as awake in summer and asleep in winter and, accordingly, the awakening of life in spring was celebrated with orgiastic feasts, while the death of Nature was deplored with wild grief. Many ill-directed speculations have credited this deity with Semitic characteristics, and he is supposed often to have been of Phoenician origin. As a matter of fact, however, there is nothing whatever that is Semitic about Dionysus, and it is very evident that he was an Aryan deity of Nature, of Nature's gift of grapes and wine, and of the divine drunkenness which results from its consumption

Phrygo-Thracian group—If the different layers or towns discovered by Schliemann at Troy really belong to one and the same population, they must have immigrated at a very early epoch, probably as early as 3000 B.C. But it is more probable that the Trojans of the first six cities of Troy were of the ancient " Mediterranean " stock of the Egean, like the Minoan Cretans. The Trojans, though they hardly appear elsewhere in history, are familiar to everyone through the Homeric poems, in which their long war with the Greeks and the final destruction of their city are told. Even if the fact itself cannot be disputed that a splendid capital was destroyed by Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and his followers, yet it is an

isolated event, which can hardly be brought into a strict historical connection, except in so far as the Egyptian records show us that during the "Mycenæan" period the tribes of the Ægean were in a state of great restlessness, and that tribes of Mysians, Lycians, and Achaians even crossed the sea to attack Egypt. The legend of the siege of Siege Troy may well enshrine some real expedition of this Troy undertaken by a Mycenæan confederacy against the people of Troy

According as the main body of the Greek emigrants came from Northern, Central, or Southern Greece, the more northern or the more southern regions of the coast of Asia Minor were their Gradually, after centuries of goal struggles, the land was won from the aboriginal inhabitants At last flourishing and powerful communities were formed out of what were certainly small settle-

ments at first

The process of colonisation probably had begun even in the Mycenæan period. The name Yevanna has been supposed to be given on the Egyptian monuments to some auxiliaries of the Kheta (the Egyptian name for the Hittites), and it has been concluded that this name is identical with that of the Ionians. But there is no proof that real Greeks existed in Greece in the thirteenth century BC, so that we should hardly expect to find Ionians mentioned then, but Ionian art shows so strongly a survival of Mycenæan tradition that we may well place the Ionian immigration at the end of that period, about the eleventh century The chief goal of the emigrants from Northern Greece was the island of Lesbos, from which the Teuthranian and Lydian coast was colonised. Elaia, Grymon, Myrma, Kyme, Aigai, Temnos, and Smyrna on the southern, and Magnesia on the northern, foot of Mount Sipylos are Greek towns. Immigrants The inhabitants of all this disfrom trict regarded themselves as Greece belonging to one stock, and called themselves Æohans Different races from Central Greece occupied the Lydian and Carian coast from the mouth of the Hermus to the peninsula of Miletus. and here the name "Ionians" was fixed upon the Greek settlers, who entered into a close alliance, and became a united state with its religious centre at Panionion,

where Poseidon was worshipped. most advanced post towards the west was Magnesia on the Mæander. in point of time was the settlement of the Donans, who pressed forward from Crete and the Southern Cyclades, which they had previously occupied, to the two great island outposts of Asia Minor, Cos and Rhodes, and then to the widely jutting promontories of the mainland itself, Cuidos and Halicarnassus league of these Dorian towns had its religious centre in the sanctuary of the

The oldest historical information as to

Asia Minor is to be found in the Egyptian

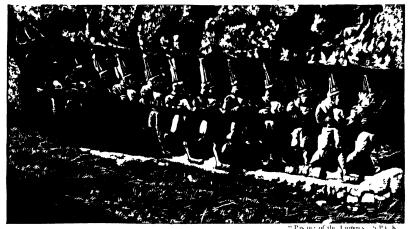
Triopian Apollo.

monuments, and dates back to the time of the twelfth dynasty, about 2000 BC., when we find the first mention of the Kheta, or Hittites. Then we hear of an invasion of Mesopotamia by the Khatti, who are the same people They took Babylon in the reign of Samsuditana, and probably it was by their agency that the dynasty of Hammurabi came to an This was, however, merely a raid. In Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth dynasty we find various men-Egyptian tions of the coasts and peoples History of ot Asia Minor – Then, in the Asia Minor Tell el-Amarna period, about we discover in the country 1400 B.C afterwards called Commagene or Cappadocia the Kheta, who pressed victoriously southward and planted themselves firmly in North Syria. Ramses II, king of Egypt, waged a long and bitterly contested war against them, and in the end the kingdom of the Kheta won recognition as a sovereign power. But this kingdom, which held its own against the Pharaohs, and extended northward and southward into the upper valley of the Orontes, soon broke up into many small states, several of which were traceable in North Syria as late as the eighth century, and were subjugated only by the Assyrians. When the Kheta fought against Ramses II. they were allied with the "Princes of all Lands," who marched to their aid with troops, thus we come to hear of the nations of the Lukki, Dardeni, Masa, Ariunna, Pidasa, and Kalakisha, of whom we may take the Lukki to be Lycians; the Daideni, Dardani; Ariunna, Oroanda; the Kalakisha, probably Cilicians; the Masa, Mysians; and the Pidasa, either Pisidians or Leleges—whose capital was Pedasa. Under the Pharaoh Meneptah, soon

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after 1250 B.C., there appeared on the west frontier of Pharaoh's kingdom, together with the Libyans, certain "nations from the countries of the Sca," and these were annihilated in a bloody battle there. Besides the Lukki, who are already known to us, the Akaiwasha or Achaians, the Turusha or Tyrrhenes of Asia Minor or Tylissians of Crete (2), the Shardana or Sardinians from the island of Sardinia (2), and Shakalesha, or Sagalassians, took part in this expedition. It is to be noted that Professor Petrie's theory, according to which these tribes were not Greeks Heliens but Kabyles from north coast of Africa, is not generally Under Ramses III., about 1200 BC., the like incidents recurred. Partly in large, open rowing-boats

the name of the city of Axos, and that of the Zakkara quite possibly still survives in that of the modern village of The peculiar terminations, -sha and -na, of many of their names are no bar to these identifications; they have been satisfactorily explained as ethnic terminations, -azi and -nna in Lycian. It is thus evident that most of these names, whether belonging to peoples of Asia Minor or not, came to the Egyptians through the medium of a language of Asia Minor which was known to them, probably Hittite. The felt helmet, adorned with feathers, which was worn by some of them—a dress which Herodotus ascribes to the Lycians proves not only their intimate connection with each other, but also their connection with the peoples of South-west Asia Minor.



THE RUDE ART OF THE EARLY PEOPLES OF ASIA MINOR A rock-hown relief in a ravine in Pteria, showing a procession of priests and votaries.

by sea, partly in ox-waggons overland through Syria, came an expedition of the Pulesti, Zakkara, Shakalesha, Danona, and Uashasha who were likewise annihilated on land and sea. Of the two last-mentioned groups, the Akaiwasha, Danona, and possibly the Shardana, were not natives of Asia Minor; of the others, the Lukki Lycians, and the Shakalesha certainly were such, and so, possibly, were the Turusha, while the Pulesti, who are the Philistines of the Bible, the Uashasha, and the Zakkara were probably Cretans.

All tradition points to the Cretan origin of the Philistines, whose first settlement in Palestine probably occurred at this time; while the name of the Uashasha was probably preserved in

The enterprise of the Hittites in making conquests outside the borders of the peninsula and founding a kingdom there, the example to the people of gave All the kingdoms which Asia Minor. were established on this model were restricted to the more or less limited confines of the peninsula itself. It was only Mithradates the Great who united with his ancestral kingdom a great part of the north coast of the Black Sea The attacks made by the "maritime nations," the Lukki and their allies, on Egypt were almost typical of the whole south-west coast of Asia Minor, where Carians, Pisidians, and Cilicians were for centuries notorious for piracy and privateering, even though we hear nothing further of the



THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY BY AGAMEMNON OF MYCENÆ
Though the Trojans are familiar through the Homeric poems they do not play an important part in history, and the account of the siege of Troy is a legend based on a Mycenean tribal expedition. From the picture by Pierre Cornelius at Munich

great allied expeditions against Egypt, which the threatened land resisted effectively only by calling out all its forces

In eather times no country on the peninsula of Asia Minor played so prominent a part as Lydia, though it is true that in the legends Phrygia an l her kings also enjoyed a certain prominence. In Phrygia a Midas and a Gordius reigned alter-Midas nately, agriculture was carly of practised, and ants are said to have carried grains of wheat into the mouth of the child Midas and thus to have forefold his future wealth, and, consequently his wealth is represented as the fruit of tillage. This close connection of the Phrygian kings with agriculture finds its expression in the story that the deity of the country, Lityerses, who competes with the reapers and scourges the idle:s, is given to Midas as a son, Midas is said also to have discovered the flutes used in the worship of the Mother of Gods, whose introduction into Phrygia is referred back to him, since the Phrygians, like all Thracians, particularly loved and eagerly practised music. But real historical knowledge of them is absolutely non-existent It is only after the rise of the Lydian kingdom that the sources begin to well up more copiously and more clearly; then first we stand on more or less certain historical ground.

Like the Phrygians, the ruling race, at any rate in Lydia, was of Thracian, and so of Aryan origin. The first royal house riling over Lydia, the Atyalae, is quite

mythical. Then follow kings of the race of the Herachidæ, and of these we know little more than that they are supposed to have reigned 505 years. During the century immediately proceding their fall the names of five or six kings have come down to us -that is Alyattes, Kadys, Ardys, Meles, Myrsos and Kandaules. The last name meant in Lydian, or Maconian. Dog-strangler."

More important than these names and the stories of the murder of the one and of the succession of the other, is the fact that Lydia at this time as also later, was a feudal state, and that under the sovereigns numerous lords ruled in the country, who were the owners of the soil to whom the country population stood in the position An I since it is expressly told us that one of these lords was conceded immunity from taxation for his district as a reward for his co-operation in raising Ardys to the throne, we may reasonably conclude from this that the other lords had to pay tribute—Besides this, they had not all the same rank; one of

Lydia
a Feudal
State
them stood next to the king and was also regent in case of the death or disability of the king, and usually held an office like that of the Frankish mayor of the palace, while some others composed a sort of court under the official title of "Friends of the King."

In the highly-coloured romances of Lydian history which have come down to us through the Greeks, traders often appear, together with innkeepers; and

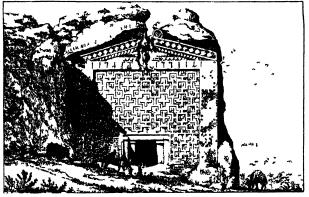
ANCIENT ASIA MINOR

the Lydians are spoken of as the first people who coined money and who wrictfall merchants and pedlars. Since they were cut off from the coast by the Creek towns their trade was an overland tride from Saidis the wares of the List reached the searches. An important industry grow up

in Lydicat in only dite Skilfully wrought fabrics brilliantly coloured garments were made on the looms of the weivers and in the dyers shops and all sorts of ornaments were found in the work shops of the goldsmiths and silversmith In Su dis in Leven in the other towns which were of small importance is compared with the capital there resided a tridin manufacturing population about who epoliti alrights. we have no special informamoned by the king under exceptional encumstances to a popular is embly in the isked for their orimion.

It is wo thy of notice that King Ardys is renowned for the care he devoted to the army. He is sail to have raised his cavalry force to proof men and in later times the Lydran cavalry proved tormidable to their force. A new craim the history of Lydra open with Gy.

In reality he sprang from the cordly race of the Mermnadæ, a powerful family in the country. His father, Da kylos lived in voluntary exile at Smope. Thence Gyges at the age of eighteen was recalled to the court at Saidis and soon as the recognised fivourite of the king was nominated his mayor of the palace. By a



We have no special information fiff SUPPOSED TOMB OF MIDAS KING OF PHRYGIA tion. They could be sum. A strike a nonument assoc ated with the name of a king whose instory is largely mounted by the law a pale, myth at the temb is cut in the solid rock and is about a feet high

court revolution in which the list Kindiules met his deith Gvees won the hand of the royal widow and with it the crown and defended it successfully in bittle in 687 i.e. With Gvees begins a new policy of the Lydian kings, a policy of conquests of which the Greel coist towns were the ultimate object While the towns of Lohs with the excep

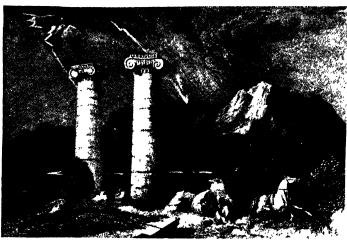
tion of Mitylene were agricultural towns and had attained the Ionian towns importance thanks to the fertility of then territory the excellence of their position and the activity of their citizens had developed into important centres of trade and industry Through their close trade connec tion with the Phomeians and the Lydians who, as we have seen were in control of the overland trade with the Last, they became emporiums for Oriental wares

which they sent on further west together with the products of their own labour toges now attacked these Ionian towns. While Miletus and Smyrna warded off his attack, and the spearmen of Smyrna actually overcame the Lydian cavalry, Colophon, which was renowned for its great riches, was subdued. Even the



TUMULUS OF ALYATTES KING OF LYDIA Illustrating the ancient method of build in large mounds made up of layers of ashes carth and stone. Alyattes was one of the greatest kings of Lydia and freed Asia Minor from the Cimmerians

According to the legends handed down from intiquity. Gyges was originally either a roy il speciman like Artiseines the first bassaind or a shepherd, like King David this thoroughly corresponds to the ideas of the Eastern nations, who like to raise the ancestors of the kingly families from the dust to the highest human power.



RUINS OF SARDIS, THE CAPITAL OF ANCIENT LYDIA
In early times no country played so prominent a part in Asia Minoi as the kingdom of Lydia

Troad came under Lydian domination. Gyges showed his successors the way, but he did not himself proceed to further attempts in this direction

When the great tide of Scythian invasion swept from Asia over the great Russian plain, it bore down upon the northern shores of the Black Sea where the people known as the Cimmerians dwelt. These people were closely allied to the Thracians. To Thrace naturally they turned their steps, flying from the terrible Scythian invaders. Their kinsmen in Thrace made common cause with them

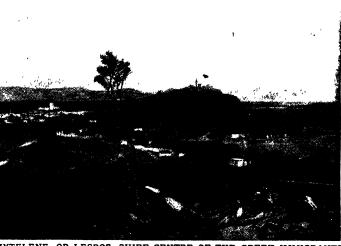
The allied forces crossed to Asia, as many Thracian tribes had previously done, and descendants of these Thracian Tribes in Asia Minor joined them and shared their conquests. In Bithynia and in the Troad these Asiatic Thracians had settled. The united forces of Cimmerians and Thracians marched Phrygia. King Midas, who is mentioned by

King Mita, dreading their approach, killed himself, the legend says, by drinking bull's blood. Smope was next assailed. In a little time the territories conquered marched with the termtories of the Assyrian king, who had advanced his frontiers to the On the Halys banks of the Halvs was fought the great Lattle which turned back the tide of Cimmerian invasion from the borders of Assyria

In this contest against the "Gimnian," as the Assyrians called them. King Fsai haddon won a complete victory and secured the safety of his dominions from the barbarian onset in 679 B.C.—The invaders repulsed the contest of the formula of the contest of the cont

Cimmerian Invasion of Lydia Gyges in terror implied the aid of the Assyrian. The aid was promised on condition

that Gyges would do bemage to the Assyrian monarch and acknowledge his suzeramty. The Cimmerians and Thracians were repulsed the Assyrians having abstained from lending any other aid.



the Assyrians as mytelene, or lesbos, chief centre of the greek immigrants

ANCIENT ASIA MINOR

than their prayers, so Gyges repudiated the suzerainty in 660 B.C. He was then abandoned to his fate by his former allies. Psammetichus of Egypt, to whom he had sent help to throw off the yoke of Assyria, Cimmerians storm soon burst upon his king-Overrun dom. This time the barbarians Lvdia met with little opposition. Gyges fell in battle. His capital, Sardis, surrendered The hordes of invaders were let loose upon the Greek settlements. Ionia was overrun. Magnesia was destroyed, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt, while towns on all sides were given up to plunder and devastation "It was a raid and not a subjugation of the towns, says Herodotus, and his words are true in so far as they apply to the conduct of the invaders after the conquest of Lydia; but the Lydian war itself was in no way a

as such history knows them no more. Nor was this great work the only service which Lydia owed to Alyattes. The sen and the grandson of Gyges, Ardys and Sadyattes, had now and then turned their arms against the Ionian towns, and in turn had besieged Miletus in But Alyattes went to war in grim vain For years a struggle went on earnest. between the sea city and the military kingdom, until at last wearied of the strife, both parties willingly peace and scaled it with a treaty of alliance. The Lydians now destroyed Smyrna and held the coast at three important points. Eastward the course of Alvattes was barred. Assyrian influence reached up to the Halys until the Medes and Babylonians divided between them the great empire of Nineveh, which had tallen asunder.



IONIAN CARVING, SHOWING CIMMERIAN HORSE AND FOOT SOLDIERS
In the seventh century 16.4. Cummerians overran Lydia, and occupied it for two reigns, until Alyattes free I all Asia Minor from their bondage. This is reproduced from "The Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

raid, but a regular struggle between organised powers. Besides, the occupation of the northern and eastern territories of Lydia was permanent. King followed king, no doubt, on the Lydian throne. To Gyges succeeded his son Ardys, to him in turn his son Sadyattes. But the Cimmerians held firm hold of their conquests through these two reigns. It was only during the reign of Alvattes, the successor of Sadyattes, that Lydia finally expelled the Cimmerians.

Alyattes freed Lydia and all Asia Minor from the bondage which the barbarians had imposed. Whether the Cimmerians wandered back to their old homes or sank into servitude in Lydia or were allowed to blend with the inhabitants no one can now say. But with the liberation of Lydia by Alyattes their career as a conquering nation closes, and

Eastern Asia Minor then fell to the Medes. Their power grew, and, under Cyavares, threatened Lydia War broke out and lasted for many years. Peace came m a very remarkable manner. On May 28th, 585 B.C., while a battle was actually raging there took place a total eclipse of the sun, which Thales of Miletus had foretold. Struck with religious alarm, both sides sued for peace. The rulers of Babylon and Cilicia were appealed to as mediators The son of Cyavares and the daughter of Alvattes were A Peace united in marriage, and all Due to danger from the Medes was now

an Eclipse danger from the Medes was now averted from Lydia. Freed from all anxiety on the eastern borders, Alyattes was able to devote his attention in part to the internal organisation of his kingdom and to preparation for wars of aggression, which seemed to him inevitable wars of

self-defence, for between the Ionian cities and the Lydian kingdom durable peace was, he believed, impossible. Accordingly Alyattes made up his mind to determine once and for all which power would be supreme in Asia Minor. In the result Lydia emerged victorious and Alyattes was able to hand on to his son the sceptre of a great and flourish-Crœsus, ing kingdom Under Crœsus, King of who succeeded Alvattes, Lydia Lydia reached the most splendid and powerful position. He conquered Ephesus, imposed tribute upon the remaining Greek cities which had not been subjugated by his predecessors incorporated Phrygia, after the death of the last king, Gordius, into his kingdom, and exercised the supremacy over Bithyma - All too soon mistortunes burst on him. In the year 553 the Persian, Cyrus, revolted against the Median king, Astyages and made himself Great King in his place Partly to avenge the fall of his brotherin-law, partly to prevent the dangers threatening him from Persian ambition Crossus negotiated an alliance with Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and the Pharaoh Amasis. He invaded Cappadocia with a strong army, but was compelled by Cyrus to retreat across the Halys, complete^ly defeated in the valley of the Hermus and besieged in the acropolis of Sardis. This last place of refuge was taken by treachery, and Crœsus fell into the hands of the victor in 546 BC, henceforward to occupy the post of Mentor at his court. Thus Lydia became Persian The greater number of Greek cities in

Asia Minor had been first brought under the Lydian supremacy by Croesus, but in spite of their being dependent and tributary, they had been kindly treated by the king, who was a friend to the Greeks Miletus still enjoyed benefits of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded with Alvattes Taken all in all, this was a time of great prosperity. Ionian cities now begin to send Greek out colonies and found factories. Cities Miletus founded Abydos Cyzicus on the Hellespont, stages for the journeys to the Black Sea, on the shores of which Milesian colonies soon sprang up everywhere. The grain of the South Russian coast and the hinterland, and the costly skins of wild beasts, the timber and precious metals from the southern coasts of the Black Sea--

of all these precious commodities the Milesians knew how to obtain control in order to establish a prosperous trade.

By the side of Miletus the other towns

sink into insignificance. Yet Phokaia is

worthy of mention, because in the founding of Lampsacus it was actuated by the importance of the passage of the Bosphorus for trade. Towards the south also brisk trade relations with Egypt existed at this time. King Amasis actually conceded the town of Naukratis as an emporium to the Greeks, and allowed them to live there with their own civic rights This activity in trade was paralleled by a lively activity in the intellectual sphere. Marble was here first worked artistically and the foundation laid for the great development of Greek sculpture. Bronze was first artistically worked again in Samos, and it was in Ionia that the first Greek vases of the early Renascence, after the downfall of Mycenæan culture, were painted. Lyric poetry was perfected, and here arose the first philosophers, who systematised the result of their speculations there was a dark side also Ionian Art and to this bright picture The Culture artistic development and the great wealth of the Ionians led to the practice of an unbridled luxury, which was a by-word among the continental Greeks, who tell us of the haughty Ionians trailing their long and gorgeous robes on the ground as they walked, and priding themselves on their long hair, which they wore braided up on their heads with gold, like women. And the Ionians were as quarrelsome as they were The many struggles and wars between separate cities hall their counterpart in long and violent party struggles in the communities. The original form of government, a monarchy, had been changed to an oligarchy, composed of the nobility The citizens, becoming conscious of their power through industry and prosperity, began to struggle for political equality and for a share in the municipal government. These struggles did not, indeed, always lead to the establishment of a democracy, and often an individual forced his way into power. Such men, whom we come across in many cities of Asia Minor, were called by the Grecks Tyrants.

The same spectacle was repeated when the Persian danger threatened. The

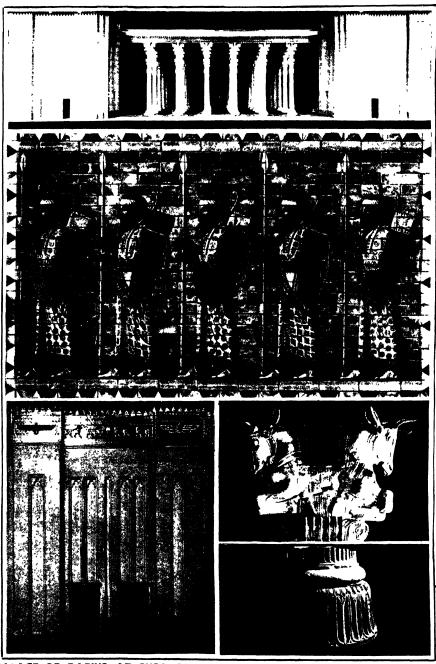


THE ART AND CULTURE OF ANCIENT ASIA MINOR ILLUSTRATED

The Lydians were, perhaps, the first coiners of money Of those illustrated 6 and 7 are the earliest known coins in the world, these and 2, 3, and 5 are of electrum, 4 is gold The pottery is Lycian (1) and Carian (8) The bas-relief (9) shows Lydian horsemen Beneath this are specimens of early jeweller's work, a seipentine mould (10) and trinkets of a more advanced period (11 and 12). The worship of Cybele, the nature golddess of Lydia, is shown in 1.5.

Eolians and Ionians, it is true, united at first in order to submit to Cyrus on the same conditions as formerly they submitted to the Lydian kings. But Miletus had stood aloof and had been able by timely measures to maintain the privileged position which she had formerly held under the Mermnadæ. Cyrus rejected the proffered terms. The Greek cities turned in a body to Sparta for help and prepared to offer a determined resistance. Sparta declined to help them, and we hear nothing further of common action and common resistance. After Priene and Magnesia on the Mæander, which had rendered help in the ill-starred revolt of the Lydians under Paktyas, had been

conquered and severely punished, the remaining states were subdued one by one. Thus the whole Greek coast—the Dorian cities surrendered mostly without resistance—became subject to Persia, and was forced not only to pay tribute, but to turnish soldiers and obey the Tyrants appointed by the great king. When Caria and Lydia had been conquered the whole of Asia Minor belonged to the Persian kingdom. Of the islands, Chios and Lesbos submitted; Samos, where the famous Polykiates was tyrant, was to be conquered later. Cilicia retained its own rulers, but owned the suzerainty of Persia. K. G. Brandis



PALACE OF DARIUS AT SUSA, THE FIRST CAPITAL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

The famous palace of Darius at Susa is illustrated here from the beautiful reconstruction in the Louvre. The top picture shows the audience-hall, or Apadana, of Darius, and is noteworthy for the free use of pillars, the distinctive feature of Persian buildings. The capital and base of one of these columns are shown at the bottom from the actual originals. The beautiful workmanship of the enamelied tiles which covered the valls of the palace is well shown in the reproduction in the middle of the page. The remaining picture is of the pavilion of the throne-room of Darius's palace

MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS THE MEDES BEFORE THE PERSIANS

THE old Babylonian inscriptions furnish as little information for the most ancient periods of Median history as they did for that of Armenia The earliest name for the country appears, from the inscriptions to have been Anzan The rulers of Lagash record wars with Anzan, and a governor of Dur-ilu announces a victory over the hordes of Anzan. It is not possible to ascertain its eastern frontier, while on the north we may make it extend round Elam Inscriptions in the old Babylonian language in the Zagros indicate that Babylonian influence prevailed there in the country of the Lulumæans in the very earliest times, and incidental allusions by the Assyrian kings prove that Babylonia once exercised even politically, a more widely extended influence there than ever Assyria did in Towns are incidentally times mentioned as old Babylonian foundations. The Assyrians had a province of Arpakh, in the district watered by the tributaries of the Adhem, and it is possible that some traditions point to the former existence of an empire of the same name, but no certain conclusion can be arrived at on this point.

The population is clearly connected with that of Elam. This Medo-Elamite group, the eastern branches of which are lost in the darkness of Central Asia, encountered to the south of Lake Urumiya the Urartu-Hittite group, whose most westerly representatives we found in Khubushkia We do not find that any considerable states were formed Medo-Elamite here in the Assyrian period, of which we are tolerably well in-We meet everywhere formed. petty states, such as Parsua, on the eastern shore of Lake Urumiya. Towards the north-east the country is bounded by the "salt desert." Thence poured in the hordes of Central Asia, for whom the Babylonians had the collective name of Umman-manda, or Manda hordes. term, of course, does not convey the idea of a definite race, but merely that of their uncivilised condition. There were certainly among the Umman-manda, who are referred to during widely different periods of Babylonian history, representatives of heterogeneous races, amongst them the very peoples whom we find in possession of Media. Thus, at a later period the Aryan Medes and

Pioneer of Persia

Person the Arvan Medes and Persons bore this designation, Since no great states were formed here, or rather since no

facts have yet been ascertained as to the existence of such we may leave this welter of nations to itself with the scanty notices of its collisions with Babylonia during the most ancient period. The most important of the Assyrian attempts at subjugation were described when dealing with the history of Assyria. Media interests us chiefly as the land where was developed the empire which has always be n recognised as the pioneer and precursor of the Persian world-empire.

The Medes are among the first Arvans whose appearance we can definitely trace in that part of the Nearer East now under consideration, although recent discoveries would seem to show that further to the west, in Mesopotamia, the Mitam represent a still earlier wave of the same ingration. These, as the Meles, became the ruling race in a large empire, which afterwards, under the Persians, dominated the East as far as Babyloman culture extended, and perhaps more widely still. Median history is thus a prelude to that of Persia

The Medes, or the Madai, appear for the flist time in Assyrian inscriptions under Shalmaneser II., who, in the year 836 B.C., on an expedition against Media, mentions the Amadai between Namiri and Parsua towards the interior of Media—that is, where later on the centre of their dominion lay. Henceforth they are repeatedly named by Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, each of whom prides himself on having received tribute

from their chiefs. Each of them also regularly asserts that no one of his predecessors had entered the territory of these dangerous foes-the title "dangerous" Medes being given them as an epitheton The Assyrians never really ornans. occupied their country, and Assyria soon trembled before the Medes. We see from the accounts that the coun-Assyria try was divided into separate and cantons — Sargon enumerates a Media large number of them - which were governed by chiefs, never kings, and were obliged to pay tribute whenever an Assyrian army was in the vicinity. In other respects they did not trouble themselves about the Assyrians. There was no sign as yet of a Median ешрие

Before we can point to the appearance of a comprehensive imperial power among the Medes we must trace the history of

asks whether Bartatua, king of the Ashkuza, ought to be given the daughter of Esarhaddon in marriage, as he requests. The policy of the succeeding period shows that his wish must have been granted. Esarhaddon, therefore, just as Sargon formerly in Zabal, was anxious to form a bond of union between himself and the barbarian princely house, and thus to turn the cremy into a guard for his frontier. Bartatua's son, Madyas, is mentioned by Herodotus as king of the "Scythians," who advanced to the relief of Nineveh when besieged by Cyavares After that time Assyria was allied with the Ashkuza. But the people which Herodotus, or his authority, terms Scythians, and which became dangerous to the Cimmerians, were the Ashkuza in question, they had driven the Cimmerians, the enemies of Assyria towards the west Esarhaddon himself claims to have defeated the Cimmerians but the victory



The first figure of this group, from the Persepolis sculptures, wears the Median robe of honour, and the group probably represents part of the triumphal procession of Cyrus described by Xenophon

the other Aryan nations who appeared around Lakes Van and Urumiya. early as the closing years of Sargon's reign, the Cimmerians were pressing hard on Urartu and were overrunning the empire, whose power had been already We conjectured that broken by Assyria the violent death which Sargon met in some unknown place was perhaps the result of the signal defeat inflicted on an Assyrian army by the Cimmerians. This disaster re-echoed throughout the whole East, and is referred to in a hymn of victory which has been preserved in the book of Isaiah (xiv. 4-21). We can realise the movement of the nations in Armenia through the questions put by Esarhaddon to the oracle of the Sun-god, which show that Assyria was afraid of the intruders, and with difficulty guarded her frontiers against her new antagonists. One of the questions put to the oracle

was insignificant, since from the first the objective of the Cimmerian advance was Asia Minor more than Assyria This was the beginning of the great

Cimmerian movement which partly obliterated the states of Asia Minor, or Phrygia, and partly inundated them. Lydia was overrun, and only the citadel of Sardis was able to hold out. We now understand why Gyges, who was attacked by the Cimmerians somewhere on Cimmerian the Halvs, sought an alliance Raids in Raids in with Assyria, the provinces of which, both there and in Cilicia, did not he far from his frontier. The Commercians then devastated Asia Minor for a time, until their power broke up and gave way before the newly rallied forces of the civilised nations. One of their leaders, Dygdamis, is known to us from classical history. The Ionian towns had also to suffer from the wild

MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS

hordes, and the destruction of Magnesia finds an echo in the poems of Archilochus. This Dygdamis, mentioned in an inscription of Ashurbanipal, met his death, according to the classical account, in Cilicia—possibly Homer's Cilicia in the Troad; he was succeeded by his son Sandakshatra. The Cimmerian onslaught gradually spent itself in distant regions, and the remains of it were dispersed by the Lydians.

Classical tradition tells us of the Treii, a people not yet identified in the inscriptions, which accompanied the Cimmerians on their expedition. The Saparda, who have been already mentioned with them on Lake Van, must have also advanced

expeditions reached the Egyptian frontier, where Psammetichus bought them off. They then withdrew and destroyed Ascalon. The "power of the Scythians" was, according to Herodotus, broken by the Medes when they besieged Nineveli and Cyaxares became master of the territory conquered by the "Scythians"—that is, the countries from Lake Urumiya down to the river Halys, which is the Ashkuza boundary of Lydia. The em-Power pire of the Ashkuza was thus Broken a precursor of the Median sovereignty, and served to pave the way for their supremacy in "Upper Asia." The Medes had hitherto inhibited the Median tableland and the regions east of



SOLDIERS OF THE BODYGUARD OF CYRUS, BY ARTISTS OF THE TIME
The two soldiers on either side were members of the personal bodyguard of Cyrus. The centre figure is clothed
in the royal Median robe, while the other two wear the Persan costume

From the sculptures at Persepolis

Cimmerians, or following in their steps From this time onward we find Saparda occurring in the Bible just as in the inscriptions of the Perso-Seleucid age, as the name of Central Asia Minor—Phrygia and the adjoining countries Ashkuza The Ashkuza, by the de-Conquer parture of the Cimmenans the Medes and the treaty with Assyria, became masters of the situation in Armenia; in Herodotus they appear as the "Scythians" who drove out the Cimmerians. Of these he tells us that, after a conquest of the Medes, which is to be mentioned immediately, they ruled "Upper Asia" for twenty-eight years, and in their

into Asia Minor in conjunction with the

Lake Urumiya in separate districts and tribes without ever having been really subjugated by the Assyrians. questions asked of the oracle by Esarhaddon show us this people playing precisely the same part as the Cimmerians and Ashkuza threatening the Assyrian frontiers and occasionally occupying isolated tracts. They distinctly figure as a third group by the side of the other two. Assyria, by winning over the Ashkuza, had obtained a defence not only against the Cimmerians settled to the west, but also in the east against the Medes. These thus became the natural antagonists of the Ashkuza. The constant war against this state, strengthened by the support of

Assyria, could not fail to furnish the Medes with a motive for unification, in order that they might not meet the same fate as the Cimmerians.

Herodotus's narrative connects the first unification of Media with the name of Deioces. One of the authorities for Median history which Herodotus used has recently been proved to be King of trustworthy, so that it is conceivable that the royal house Media of Media actually called its ancestor Deioces. All else original that is told of him bears the stamp of a naive conception of the evolution of monarchy, and is unhistorical. The fact that Ecbatana was later the capital of the Median empire leads to the conclusion that we must trace the concentration of the separate tribes to this district.

His successor, according to the same tradition, was Phraortes The subjugation of the Persians is attributed to him. The new Median empire would have accordingly stretched from Persis, including also Elam and Susa, as far as the borders of Ashkuza Phraortes is said to have undertaken an attack upon Assyria, which would probably have taken place during the reign of one of Ashurbanipal's successors. Herodotus says that Assyria on that occasion was deserted by her "allies," and it is possible that the Ashkuza are meant, who then certainly plundered Assyrian provinces. Phraortes is said to have fallen during this expedition.

The son and successor of Phraortes was Cyaxares. With him we at last stand on demonstrably certain and historical ground. It was he who destroyed Nineveh, and by the subjugation of the Ashkuza became the real founder of the Median empire. His war with Assyria shows that Media had entered into a treaty

with Babylon, which had once more become independent under Nabopolassar, and had supported the latter in his resistance to Assyria. We find, therefore, the two nations from this time onward as allies, and the Median and the Babylonian dynasties connected by a marriage between Nebuchadnezzar and the daughter of Cyanares.

Thus Nabopolassar and Cyaxares had a mutual understanding when they both attacked Assyria in 608 or 607 B.C. Mesopotamia was occupied by an expedition from Babylonia, but Nineveh itself was invested only by Cyaxares, who "wished to avenge his father," as Herodotus says Madyas, the king of the Ashkuza, then advanced to its aid, but was utterly deteated with his army—Cyaxares was thus master of the countries as far as the Halys, and Assyria was stripped of her last resource The victory of the Medo-Babyloman alliance was assured. Cyaxares received the country north of the Tigris, and his empire now stretched as far as the Halys.

States like that of the Medes must so long as they are full of strength and vitality, continue their victorious career Friendly relations to Lydia under Alvattes, their newly acquired neighbour on the Halys, were therefore not maintained for long. The war, according to Herodotus was carried on for five years with varying success until, after a battle, when the well-known eclipse which Alliance Thales predicted occurred in with 585 BC, an armistice, and Lydia afterwards a peace, were concluded as a result of the intervention of Nebuchadnezzar and King Syennesis of Cilicia. Here also friendly relations were cemented by a matrimonial alliance, and Astyages received to wife the daughter of Alyattes.

THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

WESTERN ASIA was thus divided among three masters. According to the customary course of events, it was now a question which of the three would put an end to the other two. Strange to say, however, all three, or more correctly the Medes, who as conquerors are alone to be considered, preserved peace with the other two until the man appeared who took the three for himself. It would be inconsistent with the spirit of the ancient East, and with the policy of the civilised

states, if the Median barbarians had really observed their treaties with Babylonia and Lydia, and had remained loyal to the friendship sealed by marriages. But their relations to Babylonia did not alter until the family of Nabopolassar was dethroned there, and a Babylonian came to the throne. Astyages, who meanwhile had succeeded Cyaxares, immediately after the accession of Nabonidus, in 555 B.C., advanced into Mesopotamia and besieged Harran. The dreaming

MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS

Nabonidus could hardly have saved Babylonia; but rebellion in Media gave him a short respite. Astyages was attacked at home and overthrown by his "vassal" Cyrus; thus the dominion over the Median empire passed to the Persians. Although we can picture to ourselves the general causes which produced this change, we are unable to obtain from the extant accounts any clear view as to the details of the persons and peoples who brought it about. The narrative of Herodotus assumes that Phraortes conquered the Persians, and that they, under Cyrus, overthrew the Median dynasty. We know that Medes and Persians were of kindred stocks, and the equality of both nations in the Persian empire is proved by the circumstance that the

Median rule was acknowledged by the new conquerors, only the dynasty was put aside, and the nobles of both nations made common cause with each Damis was certainly a Persian that is, he was descended from the robility of the Aryan people which at the time of the formation of the Median empire had made its home in Persis east <f Flam The difficulty consists in obtaining any definite information as to the personality of Cyrus. It appears that the Achawhich is based upon it, must have intentionally hed when it represents Cyrus as related to the Achæmenians The object of such an invention is clear; by this means a legitimate claim to the throne could be established. and Cyrus and Cambyses were thus considered the rightful kings of Persia. Monuments erected later, with the inscription "I am King Who Cyrus, the Achaemenian," had of course the same object. doubtedly we ought not to regard Cyrus as a prince of the old population, but as a member of the newly immigrated Aryan nobility; whether he was Persian or Mede must remain a disputed point, but this was immaterial when he once became a prince. It is still uncertain to

which country he belonged and how great his territory was. Naboundus terms him a "petty" vassal of the great Mede; that, however, may only express the contrast between him and the Great King. The Babylonian chronicle, which deals with the events of this period, calls him, up to the capture King of Ecbatana and the overthrow of Astyages, "king of Persia Persia Anzan," but afterwards "king of Parsu (Persia)." Cyrus had in fact, as the tradition puts it, made use of the Persians for his own purposes, and had therefore been recognised by them as their leader. Whether the Persians at an earlier period, as Herodotus implies, were already subject to the Median kings, or now for the first time really took



meman account, as well Cyrus w. n obscure sail of the Median emperor Astyages With as that of Herodotus,

an active part in the internal struggles of Media. Cyrus in any case knew how to avail himself of their help against the sovereign whom he wished to dethrone.

We can at least take it for proved that Cyrus—whether himself a Persian or not—was able to overthrow the Median royal house only by the help of the Persians. The revolution has no further significance. Since the Medes themselves had taken part in the conspiracy, their position remained untouched, and they were for the future the governing people by the side of the Persians. No difference existed between Median and Persian nobles; the difference between the two peoples was indeed only that between two independent tribes. It is not surprising that Cyrus now designated himself

king of the Persians, since he was bound to give the honour and preference to the people who built up his power and supported his claims. But he was soon destined to be more than this, and he made the Persians and Medes the ruling people of the entire East – After Astyages, in the year 550 B.C., had been taken prisoner by Cyrus, Empire the latter's empire extended as far as the Lydian frontier. The Cyrus question suggests itself, what town then became the royal capital of the new empire in place of Echatana 🦥 If we consider how the Achæmenians represented themselves as the lawful successors of Cyrus, Susamust have been the capital from the very first. In this way Cyrus would have put himself forward as hen to the old Elamite claims to the sovereignty of the East.

As ruler of the new Medo-Persian empire he found in the realm of foreign politics the conditions existing which had been produced by the treaty between Alvattes and Media Persia had to share the sovereignty of the Nearer East with Lydia and Babylonia - But while Nabonidus dug for old records and built temples the Lydian Crossus recognised the altered state of affairs and the danger which had become threatening—he exerted himself to arm the East against the new enemy. He received abundance of promises, but no efficient support and was defeated before his allies especially Egypt, had roused themselves to make an effort in 547 or 546 B.C. Even the Greeks of Asia Minor shared the fate of their rulers

Cyrus was thus master of Asia Minor also and could now turn his attention to Nabonidus, who expected more help from his elaborate system of fortifications than from his power of action. In the year 530 B.C. the Babyloman empire also ceased to exist. Cyrus was thus master of the whole Nearer East, for the provinces had then no more power of resistance than on the fall of Assyria.

We are familiar with the story of Cyrus' death which is said to have taken place in the year 530 BC in battle with savage tribes on the eastern frontier of his territory, on the other side of the Javartes, in the zone of the "Turkish peoples," occupied by other non-Aryan tubes.

He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who after the capture of Babylon had already governed there as viceroy We have still less information about him than about his father. The Greek accounts. so far as he is concerned are entirely influenced by the distorting Achaemenian legend which meets us in the Behistun Cambyses inscription of Darius Of the events of his reign Herodotus the relates only the occupation of Scoffer Egypt in 525 BC, by which he revived the conquests of Esarhaddon. The account may naturally be traced to Egyptian sources Cambyses, in fact from his natural disposition, had incurred the bitter enmity of the native priesthood by constantly scoffing at their religious ideas while on his return from his unsuccessful campaign in Nubia, he even

- killed a newlytound Apis bull According to this story, he must have been an excitable prince who contrary to the habits and notions of the civilised peoples ruled by hun, exhibited the simple intolerance of the primitive man in place of the stately dignity of the Oriental despot, and often vented his caprice on what seemed him foolish. While on Egyptian



RUINS OF ECBATANA, THE CAPITAL CITY OF

territory Cambyses received the tidings of the rebellion of the pseudo-Bardia, pre-sumably a "Magus," named Gaumata. We can at present follow only the Achæmenian account of him Was he really only a pretender, and not, after all, a true brother of Cambyses 2. However this may be, Bardia was acknowledged in Persia, Media, and elsewhere. We can fix the date of his reign 522 BC., from a number o' dated documents from Babylonia Cambyses had nothing more than his army with which to oppose him. He set out immediately, but as Darius records cemmitted suicide on the way reasons and motive for his action are obscure, the deed may have been due to mental derangement

We do not know the proper meaning of the term "Magi" and we cannot therefere make use of the untrustworthy Achaemenian account to decide what the relations of this monarch were to the people and to the now extinct house of Cyrus This much is clear, that his sovereignty was everywhere ledged even by Persians and Medes, and found a strong body of supporters among the people. It represented therefore, a resistance offered by the mass of the people to the development of affairs necessitated by the conquest of the great civilised countries through which the nations litherto free, came under the dominion of a king and a nobility. It is expressly stated that Bardia granted a remission of taxation and took measures to check the pretensions of the priesthood, which had been favoured

by Cyrus Darius and six Gains the confederates surprised Gaumata Throne in a castle near Echatana and murdered him. Darius was then proclaimed king and succeeded in holding He claims, indeed, to have put d wn the revolts in the scattered provinces of the empire in the course of a single year. His cau e must, therefore, from the first have found support in other quarters. Atossa, the sister and wife of Cambyses, whom Bardia had tried to put out of his path, was on his side. She became the wife of Darius, and is the first of the Persian queens who played an important iôle in state affairs.

Darius was not related to Cyrus and lus family. The reason, however, why he asserted his Achæmenian descent is clear. He wished to be reckoned the lawful heir



TOMB OF CAMBYSES, SON OF CYRUS

of the old royal house and he required, in addition to the support afforded by the nobility, whose interests were bound up with his own a tradition which might win him the reverence of the people

Whether Cyrus was a Persian or not he in any case felt himself to be king of the civilised countries of the Neater East and showed himself in that character He adopted to a large extent the existing conditions, and provided only his own people with unencumbered estates, so that a nobility, devoted to him, arose, which must soon have gained further influence in the same way as the conquerors of earlier times. But the pobles of the eastern parts of the empire especially Persis, which, more remote from civilisation, were still the recruiting grounds of the real strength Against of the people, were threatened with a loss of their share West in the great prizes. Owing to the preponderance of power which then compeets in the western parts of the empire received from the treasures of civilisation, they were faced by the danger of being reduced to a position which would only too soon make them members of the ruled instead of the ruling class It was this nobility which used the

opportunity offered them by the attempt on the part of the Magi to seize the sovereignty. Their attempt was a rising of the uncivilised East against the West and its predominant class, already reverting to the culture of the ancient East.

It was by the exploit of the Seven that the new empire came under a really Aryan rule. The protest of the Aryan spirit, of the Persian as we may call it after this victory against the policy of Cyrus, now finds an outward expression in the employment of the Persian language for official inscriptions. It is further expressed in the promotion of Persepolis to be the

royal city by the side of Susa. which Cyrus had selected as the capital of his mpue, so closely bound up with old tradition The protest is finally exhibited in the stress laid Λ ryan the Ahuramazda or Ormuzd, cult as the religion of the ruling people, and as the religion of the empne, in opposition to the policy of a Cyrus, who had allowed the religious ideas and institutions of the western half of the empire

that we know of it is learnt only at the close of the Persian empire, on Alexander's expedition. It is the proper home of the Aryans—that is, the country where the tibes with whom we are here concerned found their widest expansion and still further developed their characteristics. The valley of the Indus on the east, and more to the north the ranges which shut off Central Asia, form its natural boundary.

The spiritual side of these Aryan stocks is rendered to some extent familiar to us by the Avesta. The book, which is extant under this name, was not reduced

to its present form until the rise of the Sassanids, and was only then promoted to be the code of a rigid national religion. From its form, which contains old elements, especially the Gathas, or ancient songs, and from its advancement to a canon, it may be compared with the Bible in its relation to Judaism. All that remains to us is only a portion of a lost and larger work, which was for the Aryan nations something similar to what the Vedas were for then Indian kinsmen

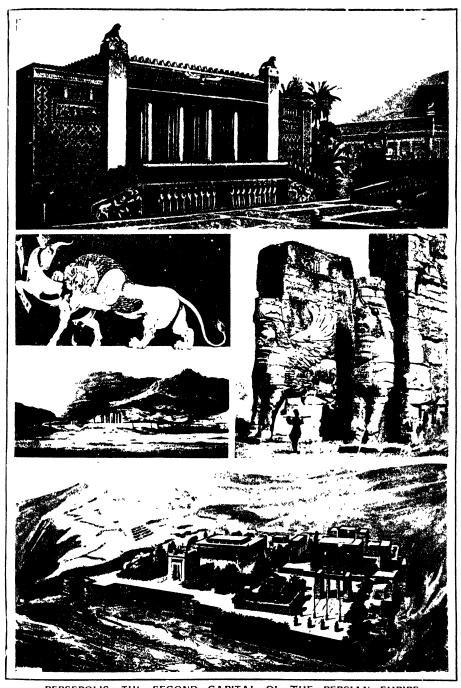
The Avesta is the sacred book of the Ahuramazda religion, the official religion of the Persian kings, which naturally did

not vet possess the high culture in which the code of the Sassanids knew it The A chæmenids showed themselves the representatives of the East, as opposed to the West. which accepted the ancient cults, by the fact that they continued in the religion of then fathers to which thev assigned the first place Thev and Persians the prayed to Ahuramazda and the inscriptions Darius and his Successors mention no o her



half of the empire DARIUS, FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE to remain in the ascendant. The These two representations of the king are from Persepolis, the ascendant.

gods. In this way they were at one with the Aiyan peoples of the East, an felt the contrast with the governed West. But if the Avesta, in its present form, bears somewhat the same relation to its earlier form that the Hebrew priestly code bears to the Jehovist narrative, or Malachi to Amos, a distinction must be drawn between the home of the Avesta and the old Persia, which had the same religion as that to which the basis of the later development in the Avesta is traced. The Avesta has come to us in a dialect which is indeed closely allied with that of the old Persian inscriptions, but is still of another country; so for its home we must look further



PERSEPOLIS, THE SECOND CAPITAL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

At the top is given a reconstruction of the entrance to the great palace of Darius, while the picture at the bottom conveys an idea of the scale and situation of the palace. Above this, on the left, is a picture of the runs in modern times. The other illustrations show one of the tiles of the palace and two Persian bulls, copied from Assyrian models.

towards the East. The historical events, which explain its importance, are obscure; but the splendour of the Persian empire, where an Aryan people ruled, may not have been without some effect upon it. The Iranian legend expresses this when it invents an old Bactrian realm which waged incessant wars for many centuries with the peoples of the East, the Turamans. There, under a king "Vistaspa," Zarathustra was the prophet of Ahuramazda. The name Vistaspa is, by a hardly fortuitous coincidence, the same as that of Darius's father, Hystaspes. It iscertainly significant of the reflected glory and fame of the Persian empire in the Far East that the father of the head of the Persian dynasty was represented as ruling

in the country where the origin of the Avesta was certainly known. This is how the Oriental legend expresses itself when it wishes to state that the region where the religion and its code have been developed was also the home of the people which dominated the Orient.

The Petsian empire was a creation of Cyrus; the rule of the Persians—that is, of the nobility of the East—still uninfluenced by civilisation, was tounded in this empire by Darius—in Persian. Darayavaush. The new sovereignty was not yet secure, in spite of the first—success—against

Gaumata. Rebellions broke out in all the larger countries, which had to be suppressed before the new lord with his fellowconspirators could enjoy his success. The insurgents everywhere appealed to the ancient empires which had existed in the countries concerned, and tried to prove themselves genuine descendants of the former dynasties. Darius records these insurrections and their suppression in his great Behistun inscription. At, Susa a certain Atrina appeared, who attempted to gain support from the old Elamite population, and attempted to revive the ancient empire of Elam. He was quickly crushed by a Persian army. Nidintu-Bel asserted himself for a rather longer period; he was acknowledged in Babylon under the title

of Nebuchadnezzar III., and documents dated during his reign have been preserved. A second revolt in Susiana, under Martia, who called himself Ummanish, king of Susa, was stifled at the outset. The most dangerous was the opposition in Media, where Phraortes, probably an actual scion of the old royal house, proclaimed himself king, and was also recognised by the Hyrcanians living to the east of Media and the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by Darius himself, after the Persian armies had fought several times against him without success. Almost at the same time insurrections broke out Babylon under a second pseudo-Nebuchadnezzai, in Armenia, in Margiana, or Mery, in the Far East, where a

new pseudo-Bardia arose, and among the Sagarians. These last insurrections must have expressed the opposition of the Aryan peoples to the newly founded dominion of the Persian nobility, since they were now in almost the same position under the dominion of Darius as, shortly before, the latter and his partisans had been under the power of the house of Cyrus.

While the empire was exposed to these shocks, the provincial governors in the west were tempted to repudiate the new rule and make themselves independent. Oroctes, the satrap of Sardis, made to but Darring got and of

such an attempt, but Darius got ind of him by murder. Aryandes, the equally suspected satrap of Egypt, who had, however, been appointed by Cambyses, was soon afterwards removed. A demand for submission seems to have been also sent to Carthage, but without result, although the interests of Carthage in the hostility against the Greek world, which was now showing itself, forced it to adopt in a certain degree the same policy as Persia.

Herodotus, in whose narrative the official statements of the Persian government find expression, represents Darius as the creator of a completely new and organised administration for the new empire—as though, like Charlemagne, he had been a law-maker on his



sovereignty was not yet ORMUZD, THE GOD OF PERSIA and make themselves insecure, in spite of the From an ancient Persian sculpture at Persepolis dependent. Oroctes, the showing Orimuz fighting the spirit of darkness

MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS

own initiative-in contradistinction to a fickle despotism which was supposed to have existed hitherto. Up to this time merely "presents" had been made to the king; thenceforward a fixed tribute was paid. In point of fact, the Persians merely took over the administration of the Babylonians, and they that of the The tribute was of course Assyrians. strictly regulated at all times, and Darius made no sweeping alterations in the terms and incidents of dependence. Any reforms, however, that he made in the method of administration may probably be traced to the fact that he filled the more important posts with his own noble adherents, to give them their promised share in the prizes won by their

common efforts. The difference between the earlier system and that of the Persians consisted mainly in the fact that large satrapies were now instiFrom this point onward we have no native accounts of Persian history, but only the Greek narrative, so that we are informed merely of incidents on the Mediterranean—that is to say, of the wars with Greeks and Egyptians—and of other affairs only in so far as they affected them. We are not in a position to ascertain the general facts which modified the history of Persia, and we can, on the whole, see matters only in the light in which they appeared to the Greek observer, and not as they revealed themselves in Susa.

The empire of Darius, according to our view, differed from its predecessors merely in the fact that Persians actually governed it. So long as it was vigorous it sought to conquer, and when it could no

longer conquer, it approached its fall. It existed for two centuries in all and therefore not so long as many other similar powers which rose and fell.



DARIUS'S RECORD AND MONUMENT OF HIS TRIUMPH AND ROYAL DESCENT On a great rock about 1,7:00 feet high, at Behistun, Darius had carved in cuneiform an account of his victories and Achamemian descent The rock also bears the sculpture reproduced here showing Darius receiving captives

tuted, while Cyrus had retained the smaller Assyrian provinces. This change only, and the execution of the requisite measures to carry it out, were due to Darius. Herodotus, however, has an obvious excuse for attributing the creation of the organisation to Darius. Cyrus and Cambyses had not extended the Babylonian system to Asia Minor, which was first brought under that form of administration by Darius.

It is improbable that the position of the population of the empire generally underwent any radical change. The process of extortion was left indeed by preference to the native authorities, who were responsible for the collection of the taxes. A Persian administration existed only for the affairs of the satrapy, as under the Assyrians, while the administration of the different communities was left in the hands of the old locally regulated organisations.

Darius had hardly secured himself in the old seat of power when, in conformity with the nature of his empire, he planned new conquests. At first an advance was made towards the cast. In the Behistun inscription "India" is not yet mentioned as a province, although it certainly is in a later one from Persepolis, and in the inscription on Darius's tomb at Nagsh-I-Rustam. This obviously can refer only to the country round the Indus.

The next undertaking was the Scythian expedition, about 515 B.C. It must have ended without definite results, like almost every campaign conducted against nomads. Herodotus informs us of the course of the expedition. The fleet was furnished by the Asiatic Greeks. The Bosphorus was crossed, presumably by a bridge; so, too, was the Danube. There were no victories to be won over an enemy which would not face a battle.

defined had be was saved the tyrante, who had twisted the proposal of Miliades that the bridge should be broken down because the overthow of st Datrus would mean the end of the power to of the tyrants.

Even it the expedition into the regions north of the Danube resulted in no tangible success still the frontiers of the

empire had been secured and extended. 101 Thrace and the district south of the Danube were permanently subjugated. The king of Macedonia also submitted, and the islands of Lemnos and Imbros were conquered Thus the Greeks in Europe, surrounded on every that was strategically important, were the next object of Persian conquest. complications which led to the outbreak of hostilities bear, from the Persian point of view, precisely the same character as those which have often met us in the relations Oriental empires

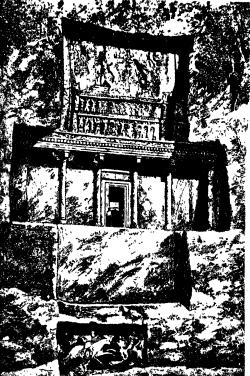
to their neighbours. An opportunity for intervention is found in the appeal of a banished tyrant —Hippias—for assistance, coupled with the intervention of Athens herself in a revolt of the Great King's Greek subjects within the Persian dominions in Asia Minor. Before we turn to the account of that struggle, we will dismiss certain other events contemporaneous with its earlier stages. Egypt had remained tranquil under Darius, since he, in contrast to Cambyses,

depends to have the prost, and how to done he have for the many accountry. An inscription, of he which was found during the construction of the Suez Canal, proves that he had constructed or repaired a canal nom the Nile to the Red Sea. In the year 486 By events gave use to a tevolt, during which a certain Khabbash styled himself kin, of Fgypt Dathis died in 485 By during the revolt which was suppressed in

ing to Herodotus Ligypt was after this more heavily but dened, a fact which is thoroughly in keeping with the customs of Oriental policy. Achiemen es, brother of the new king became

satrap

Under Xerxes who reigned from 485 to 405 B.C., a revolution broke out at Babylon which still regretted the loss of its former independence. The name of Shamashirba. who was then proclaimed King of Babylon," is recorded in inscriptions. The city must have been captured by storm, so that we may connect with this the long siege, to



THE ROCK TOMB OF DARIUS
One of the finest pieces of sculpture at Nagsh-i-Rustam
is this tomb of Darius, the founder of the Persian Empire

which Herodotus has attached the legend of Zopyrus, which meets us so frequently throughout the East. The capture must have occurred after the return of Xerxes from Greece. It is expressly recorded that he then destroyed the great terraced tower of the Temple of Marduk. The privileged position of Babylon had bitherto been respected by the Persian kings. It had voluntarily surrendered to Cyrus, and Darius had, in spite of various rebellions.



THE REMARKABLE ROCK TOMBS OF NAQSHIRUSTAM

One of the features of the Persepolis remains is the series of tombs cut in the living rock including that of Darius

left its old constitution intact according to Herodotus wished to carry off the titue of Murduk but had not ventured of u Nerves was the first to This signifies is we know the refusal to recegnis iny clum on the part of Babylon to form a distinct kingdom in l in this connection we may note the fact that Nerves and his successors no longer styled themselves King of Babylon while Darius hall continued to use this title

The burdens which the Great King laid on Asia Minor could not have been very heavy. Apart from the revolt of the Linears we have of no risings. The in-

surrections is unst the sati ups in the touth century be originated with unbitious governors desirous of independent rule not with a people struggling to throw off an oppressive yoke—On the other hand it must be emphisised that the institutions attributed to Duius the son of Hystaspes were beneficial to Asia Minor Of the twenty sati apies into which his empire was divided four or five were in Asia Minor. Thus Ion a with Caria. Lycia: and Pamphylia formed one Mysia and Lydia the second the Hellespont Phrygia and Bithynia the third and Cilicia alone the fourth

This division was especially important for the leaying of troops and the raising of taxes, to which each satrapy had to

contribute a fixed sum-This amounted in the case of Ionia Cura and I year to 400 filents of silver. Mysri and Lydia paid 500 the Hellesjont and Phrysia only ,60 But to this must necessarily be added the expenses which had to be separately defrayed of feeding the troops which were permanently stationed there is well is those temporarily marching through the country and the cost of It was keeping up the governor's court however surely a boon for the subjects that their taxes to the Great King were definitely assessed since formerly under the name of presents arregular imposts had been exacted. The establishment of the

> roy il post road was bound to benefit Asia. Minor It is true that from the cullest times a caray in route ran from Sardis across the Halys skirting the north of the Lycaonian salt descrit to the Luphiates and thence further to the east but Darius placed everywhere at fixed intervals along this road stations with inns, and placed watch towers at river fords, mountain passes or

where else such might be necessary. By this means the security of trivellers was considerably increased—and even if his first thought was for the royal service and for a rapid and certain communication between Sardis and Susa—the greater security which he thus ensured must have redounded to the good of his subjects



XERXES From a com of his reign

At the same time Darius established a uniform comage throughout the empire, adopting, like the Greeks, this invention of the Lydians; but while the striking of gold coins was made a royal monopoly, rulers and cities, especially the Greek cities, were allowed to strike silver coins of any standard and with their own legend. The royal coins were First of gold and silver after the Persian Lydian system, and according to Babylonian weights. For the numerous inhabitants of Asia Minor who traded directly with the East this was a beneficial institution

But a state of affairs which nations accustomed to absolute monarchy considered endurable, perhaps even pleasant. produced discontent at first and soon open disaffection among the freedomloving Greeks. It is true they could realise the advantages of a uniform currency and of a safe royal highway, and they had already paid tribute under Crœsus; but the levies of troops and ships which they had been forced to furnish to Cyrus for the subjugation of Lycia, and in larger numbers to Darius for the expedition against the Scythians, were especially resented by them. There was the additional circumstance that men who were friendly to Persia had been placed by the Great King as tyrants in their midst Owing to this, the active corporate life which had flourished in Ionia especially, must have been seriously checked; for the authority of these tyrants depended on Persia, and their anxiety to win the favour and good graces of the Great King must have been greater than their eagerness to rule to the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens

The discontent that was fermenting among the Greeks at that time is shown by isolated facts that have come down to us about the progress of Darius's Scythian campaign, already mentioned. Byzantium and Chalcedon revolted when Discontent the tidings of the disastrous Among result of the expedition reached the Greeks them. The people of Chalcedon broke down the bridge thrown over the Bosphorus, so that Darius had to cross from Sestos to Asia by ship. Yet the fragments of the army which the king had rescued from the Scythians were still so large that the insurgent cities were reconquered and punished in 513 B.C. Soon after, however, events occurred

which were destined to show more clearly the prevalent feeling among the Greeks. In the year 500 B.C. aristocrats from Naxos, who had been exiled by the people. came to Miletus, where, in the absence of Histiaus, who was staying at the court of Susa, Aristagoras, his son-in-law, was conducting the government. He received the Naxians and promised to reinstate He laid a suitable plan before Artaphernes, the satrap of Sardis, offered to bear the cost himself, and asked for approval of his scheme. The cities then were ordered by Artaphernes to send ships and foot-soldiers, but Megabates, and not Aristagoras, as he had hoped, was appointed commander of the fleet and of the army against Miletus. The expedition failed completely, the Naxian people successtully defended themselves for four months against all attacks, so that at last Megabates withdrew without effecting anything

Aristagoras could not make good the expenses of the war as he had promised. and feared that he would be deposed from his office on account of a quarrel with Megabates, a near relation of the king. In this difficult Miletus position he received a message from his tather-in-law, Histarus urging him to revolt from the king Aristagoras, therefore, determined revolt, and found at Miletus support for the scheme. The fleet, too, which was still assembled after the disastrous result of the Naxos expedition, joined in the revolt. Many cities expelled their tyrants and made common cause with Miletus. each chose strategor, or generals, as supreme officials to constitute a supreme council of war.

At first the common cause seemed to meet with success. Eretria sent five ships, Athens twenty, to their assistance. the spring of 499 B.C. the allies advanced to Sardis, took the city, without, however, being able to capture the citadel, held by Artaphernes, and burnt the greater part of In this conflagration the temple of Cybele, the great goddess of the country, was destroyed; this so embittered the inhabitants that they rose themselves against the Greeks and forced them to withdraw. In the meantime, the Persian generals had assembled; they came up with the army of the allies at Ephesus as it was retiring from Sardis, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. On

MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS

the other hand, the fleet of the allies ruled the sea and induced the Greek towns on the Hellespont and Caria to revolt. Such successes, however, were not lasting, as the Persian commanders with superior forces soon reconquered the towns on the Hellespont and defcated the Carians at Labranda. Aristagoras, who had at first been the soul of the enterprise, became so discouraged that, seeking safety for his person, he fled to Thrace, where he was murdered by the Edomans. "He was not a magnanimous man," Herodotus says: and clearly when he fanned the flame of revolt and made himself its leader he had let himself be swayed by selfish When, therefore, the flect of motives the allies with its 350 sail was annihilated by the Persians at Lade in 497 BC, the united resistance of the Greeks was Each town was reconquered crushed. separately. Miletus alone held out against

was the outcome of a scheme already planned by Darius in revenge for Marathon. Having no Persian accounts, we are not able to take up a standpoint which will be fair to the Persians The triumph of the Greeks was so overwhelming and so unexpected that then accounts of it are not judicial. In fact, they are obviously exaggerated in two different directions, by the desire to magnify the odds against which they fought, and to pour contempt on their adversary. Thus the mere impossibility of providing commissariat for a million of men must compel us to reduce the number of the invading host, while, on the other hand we may credit that host with being largely formed of the tolerably disciplined and practised troops which Xerves undoubtedly possessed. But the fact which there is no sort of reason to dispute is that the Persian armaments, both

had miscarried. The great Greek campaign

SPECIMENS OF THE COINS OF DARIUS

Darius, adopting the Lydian invention and system of coins, established a uniform coinage in gold and silver throughout his empire. These coins all show the figure of the Great King

siege and assault until it, too, had to surrender after an heroic resistance, in 494 B.C. By this the Persian domination was everywhere re-established, and the hated tyrants ruled in every Greek city as representatives of the Great King.

After the suppression of the revolt (about 405 B.C.) and the destruction of Miletus, Mardonius, the Persian commander, attempted to advance against Greece itself, and actually subdued the north-western archipelago, but checked in his advance by a disaster to his fleet off Mount Athos. A second and a larger fleet was sent two years later under Datis and Artaphernes. This conquered Naxos, destroyed Eretria in Eubœa, which also had supported the Ionian revolt, and landed in Attica, where the army was defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under Miltiades in 400 B.C. The attempt to reinstate Hippias as tyrant in Athens

by land and by sea, enormously outnumbered those of the Greeks, and that they were ırremediably shattered. The victory of the Greeks on land is explained by the superior attacking power of the Greek heavyarmed soldiers when opposed to t h e Oriental

method of fighting and equipment, which was not adapted to a regular hand-to-hand battle. At sea it was due to the superior tactical methods of the Greek sailors, very much as with the overthrow of the Spanish Armada by the English two thousand years later. The Persian ships were furnished entirely by tributary states, the Phœnicians, and the maritime states of Asia Minor, to whom no competent commander-in-chief from headquarters could be assigned; and the manning the ships with land troops could not fail to give the experienced Greek sailors, the advantage from the first.

This war was destined to free the settlements of Asia Minor eventually from the Persian yoke. Marathon. Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platæa will ever remain as the greatest deeds of heroism in this Greek struggle. And just as at Platæa the Persian army was annihilated and the Persian camp

stormed, so, at the same time, perhaps on the same day, the Persian fleet was shattered at Mykale on the coast of Asia Minor by the confederates. This was the signal for the small Greek towns of Asia Minor to make common cause with the mother country and to revolt from the Persian king. The confederacy of Delos

League Against Persia as the chosen head, its place of meeting was at first Delos, afterwards Athens and its members pledged themselves, while completely retaining their autonomy, to provide ships and crews and to turnish money contributions in order to found a war

treasury.

The members of the new league prosecuted the war against Persia, and under the protection of this aspiring and rapidly powerful league, the small Greek towns of Asia Minor were secure from Persian attacks and from Persian vengeance for their revolt. The war continued for many The Persian garrisons were driven out of the towns of the Hellespont and from the Thracian coast. A large Persian fleet, which had sought protection from the advancing fleet of the confederates in the mouth of the Eurymedon, a river in with the object also of Pamphyha effecting a junction with the Persian army was annihilated, together with the army, by the bold attack of Cimon, in 467, or in the summer of 465 BC, and the camp of Elsewhere the Persians was stormed too, where the Asiatics met the Greeks they were worsted. Whether or no a regular peace was concluded, from about 449 B.C. hostilities ceased on both sides In fact, the Greek towns in Asia Minor enjoyed liberty and governed themselves

The end of the Greek expedition marks the turning point in the history of Persia. States built up on conquest must advance, or they recede. With the year 470 B.C. the retrogression of the Persian empire Persia's begins. It must always be remembered in this connection Turning that we have no information as to occurrences on the other borders of the empire; we may, however, reasonably assume that under Cyrus and Darius the Persian supremacy in the Far East was more securely established than we find it in the time of Alexander. Victorious Greece at once crossed over The islands and the to the attack. Thracian coast were now almost entirely

recovered from the Persians. Hence con Persia never made any serious attack of Greece, and it had, indeed to do not itself against the aggression of the launtil it finally succumbed to Hellem he

Nerves was murdered about this time 405 B C. This was the result of a prive palace mirgue, and the accounts, its issued do not enable us to be clear about the deeper causes which underlay it. Artaxerxes, the youngest of the sons of Verxes, was raised to the throne, his elder brother Darius being put out of the way at the time. The king-maker was Artabanus, the captain of the bodyguard, who was soon afterwards himself removed by Artaxerxes.

Artaxerxes known by his Latiniscd surna'ne as Longemanus, or "Longhand," reigned from 465 to 424 B.C. From this point onward we no longer have a tolerably connected account of Persian history even from the Greek standpoint, and are dependent chiefly on records of isolated occurrences. During this reign Themistocles came to the court of Persia, and knew Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes Reigns ginning of this reign the second rebellion in Egypt broke out under Inarus the son of Psammetichus, a Libyan prince who called in the help of the Λ thémans about 460 в с These had undertaken a renewed attack on Cyprus, whence they sailed to Egypt, drove back the Persians with their partisans into the citadel of Memphis and besieged them there. Persia tried in the first place by diplomatic negotiations with Sparta, to compel the Athenians to withdraw When that method proved meffectual, a strong army was sent out under Megabyzus, and Egypt was conquered. The Athenian auxiliaries were annihilated, and a similar tate betell a subsequent detachment of fifty ships. Inarus fell into the hands of the Persians and was crucified; his son, however, was taken into favour, and received back the province of his father. Amyrtæus, who had also called in the Athenians, and had obtained a detachment of sixty ships from Cimon in Cyprus, maintained his position in the swamps of the Delta. The siege of Citium was raised in consequence of the death of Cimon, but another victory, both by sea and land, was won in 449 B.C.. after which hostilities ceased. It is a moot

point whether this "peace of Cimon" was really solemnly ratified, or whether the war had gradually died out. Athens, at any rate, renounced her claims on Egypt and Cyprus. On the other hand, the coast of Asia Minor and the Greek towns on the Black Sea were set free. In the empire itself Megabyzus, the Intrigues conqueror of Egypt, revolted against Artaxerxes in Syria. of Court but in the end this rebellion Ladies also was quelled by peaceful The accounts now begin to record the political interference of the ladies of the palace. but not much reliance can be placed on the gossip of Ctesias - the Greek physician at the court of Artaxerxes Xcixes II., son of Artaxerxes, Mnemon was murdered in 424 B.C. by one of his half-brothers after a reign of only a month



PERSIAN FIRE ALTARS

I hese two fine altars were set up in the valley near Naqsh-i-Rustam They probably represent an early form of Persian nature-worship

and a half, and this latter in his turn was ousted after six months by his brother Ochus, satrap of Hyrcania. assumed the name of Darius II., and was surnamed Nothus, since he was the son of Artaxerxes by a concubine, he reigned from 424 to 405 B.C. Ctesias marks out from the very beginning his sister and wite, Parysatis, as the chief promoter of all intrigues. His brother Arsites and a son of Megabyzus in Syria rose against Darius. Arsites was taken prisoner owing to the corruption of his Greek mercenaries, and was put to death at the instigation of Parysatis The third Egyptian revolt broke out in 410 B.C. By this effort Egypt was freed for more than sixty years from the Persian supremacy. The satrap Pissuthnes revolted in Sardis; he was crushed by Tissaphernes. His son Amorges, supported by the Athenians, held his own in Caria.

After the disaster to the Athenians in Sicily in 413 B.C. a favourable opportunity was presented to Tissaphernes to reconquer the Ionian towns. He, as well as his rival, Pharnabazus, the satrap of Northern Asia Minor, or Phrygia, jointly called in the Spartans in order to deprive the Athemans of the towns on the coast. Buc the interests of the Persians and Spartans were far too distinct to render possible any energetic course of combined action. The Athenians finally left off with so distinct an advantage that Pharnabazus was compelled to renounce his readiness to escort Athenian envoys to the court in order to negotiate a treaty there.

At this same time, however, a revolution occurred. Tissaphernes was removed

from his satrapy, and retained only the towns on the coast. In his place Cyrus, the younger son of Darius Nothus, was appointed to be satrap of Lydia Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and he carried out a vigorous anti-Athenian policy and strongly supported the Spartans. At the same time, Lysander received the supreme command for Sparta, and while his policy established Spartan ascendency, it led later to a rupture with the Persians.

We are told of an insurrection of the Medes in the heart of the empire during the year 410 B.C. Ctesias also records a revolt of Terituches, whose sister Stateira was married to Aisikas, the eldest son of the king. After his fall, enmity rankled between the queen-mother Parysatis and Staterra. In the year 405 B.C., Darius Nothus died, and his son Aisikas mounted the throne as Artaxerxes II. Mnemon. Cyrus, summoned by his mother, whose favourite he was, came too late. He was arrested on the advice Tissaphernes, but released at against the instance of Parysatis and sent back to his satrapy, in order

sent back to his satrapy, in order to make the preparations that were to be anticipated. Cyrus's first move was to seize the towns of his opponent, Tissaphernes, a war of one satrap against another. He then collected an army of Greek mercenaries, and, in 401 B.C., marched with it, secretly supported by the Spartans, into the heart of the empire in order to depose

his brother. This is the "March of the Ten Thousand Greeks" described by Xenophon. The inability of the empire to resist a Greek army was now plainly revealed. The 13,000 Greek mercenaries defeated the immense army of the king at Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon. But Cyrus fell in the battle, and the throne of Artaxerxes was saved. On former March of occasions the Greeks in the em-Thousand ploy of Persia would have then the Ten imparted fresh strength to the helpless colossus, but now they had detected the real nature of the dieaded foe, and were They knew completely disillusioned. now that in the heart of the empire whole districts and tribes, especially in the mountains, did not acknowledge the Persian suzerainty. The open quarrels of the satraps showed plainly enough the dissolution that was already beginning, and offered welcome opportunities to the advance of the restless Greeks.

The intrigues at court were only intensified by the death of Cyrus, since Parysatis could not be reconciled to the loss of her beloved son, and contrived gradually to remove out of her path all those concerned in it, among them the momentarily triumphant Stateira, who was poisoned. Artaxerxes II., it is true. then banished his mother, but soon called her back agam The satrapies of Cyrus were given to his rival, Tissaphernes, who had conducted the defence during the great rebellion. Sparta, the supporter of Cyrus, was already hostile to him; so when he demanded the fulfilment of the conditions on which help had been furnished by Persia in the shape of a surrender of the Greek towns of Asia Minor, the result was war in 401 B.C., which Sparta carried on in Asia Minor, especially with the help of the survivors of the Ten Thousand. It was conducted after 396 в.с. under the supreme command of the Spartan king, Agesilaus, who won a great victory at Sardis in 304 B.C., although no Defeats decisive results were obtained Persia from it. In the meanwhile Parysatis had succeeded in bringing the hated Tissaphernes into distavour at court; he was replaced by Tithraustes and afterwards executed. The struggle was prolonged by the wiles of the two and by negotiations, Agesilaus was recalled to Europe. In the meanwhile the tide had changed

to the disadvantage of Sparta. The Athenian, Conon, had fled to Euagoras in Cyprus after the defeat at Ægospotami. and had induced Pharnabazus to fit out a fleet for him in order to be able to carry on war against Sparta by sea At first, being hindered by remissness in payment of the subsidies, he went himself to the court, secured the supreme command of the fleet for Pharnabazus, which meant for himself in reality, and defeated the Spartans at Chidus in 394. The result of the victory was the overthrow of the Spartan naval power and the restoration of the Athenian under the protection of Pharnabazus. Athens held her own by the help of Persia, and Persia could not play any part on the sea without Athenian guidance. On land Sparta continued for a long time to be the chief military power. During the never-ending plots and schemes at the Persian court, Tiribazus, the satrap of Saidis, who adopted the policy of Tissaphernes, was able once more to come to the front and to bring Conon into distavour. latter again fled to Euagoras, where he soon afterwards died. But Struthas, who again supported at Athens, was finally appointed Last Thus there satrap in Sardis. were incessant disputes, intrigues, and counter intrigues, until at last it was settled by the "peace of Antalcidas," in 387 B.C., that the Asiatic towns belonged to Persia, but that the island and all other Greek states should be autonomous.

Cyprus was expressly acknowledged in the treaty to be Persian territory. In reality it was practically independent, since Euagoras had united the Greek elements throughout the island in a common war against the Phænicians, and was king of the island. His loyalty to the supreme feudal lord must soon have appeared doubtful. An attack was therefore made on him in 300 B.C. He offered a stout resistance, being openly aided by Athens, until, after the peace of Antalcidas, Persia took more rigorous measures to bring him to submission, as he was daily becoming more dangerous, commanded the sea as far as Egypt, and had succeeded in firmly establishing himself at Tyre. He was defeated, but was able to obtain favourable terms of peace. Not long after he was murdered. Cyprus, under his successors, broke up again into different small states. In the expedition of Artaxerxes against

the Kadusi, a nation of mountaineers south-west of the Caspian Sea, his large army met a reverse which was like that of Salamis; he was surrounded and had to pay ransom. Egypt, really independent, still resisted Persian attempts at subjugation. A more vigorous attack was made when Pharnabazus, in 376 B.C., was placed at the head of a larger army. He did not, however, accomplish much in the end, since regard for the continual change of feeling at court rendered any vigorous conduct of the campaign impossible. The results of the instability of Artaxerxes were seen towards the end of his reign in a series of revolts, of which that of Ariobarzanes in the Hellespontine satrapy and that of Datames in Cappadocia were the most formidable. Mausolus also, the prince of Caria, maintained a loyalty which was not always above suspicion. At last even Tachus, the king of Egypt, assumed the aggressive, since he adopted the old policy of the Pharaohs and attempted the conquest of Syria. He advanced as far as Phœnicia, being supported by an army of Greek Invasion mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Spartans under the veteran Agesilaus But when Egypt his nephew Nectanebus had himself been proclaimed king in Egypt he was forced to take refuge with the Persians, and he became utterly powerless and mactive.

When Artaxerxes' death was imminent his son Ochus, favoured by Atossa, whom, though his own sister, Artaxerxes had married at the instance of Parysatis—for instances of mairiage with a sister, daughter, and even mother can be found in the history of the royal house of Persia – had contrived to remove his brothers out of his path and to secure the throne for himself in 350 B.C. The reign of this energetic Artaxerxes III., Ochus (358– 338 B.C.), marks a last rally on the part of Persia. His actions show that he did not hesitate to carry out his ends after the methods of a true Oriental monarch by unscrupulous bloodshed and merciless wars.

He had first to deal with the revolts in the empire. Our accounts of them are vague and incomplete, but it is so far clear that the king was more successful than his predecessor. Artabazus, the satrap of the Hellespontine province, and Orontes on the coast of Asia Minor, could not hold their own, notwithstanding occasional help given by the Greeks. In Greece there appears to have been alarm at the energy of the Great King from the very first, and it was debated whether the aggressive ought not to be assumed against him. Demosthenes was compelled to warn the Greeks against breaking with him without good Spread cause. In Egypt, at first, even of under his rule no success Revolt was gained, and the revolt, as formerly was the case under Tachus, spread once more to Palestine. We have very little information about the causes of the movement, but the revolt of Sidon and of the nine kings of Cyprus, as well as an allusion to a chastisement of Jerusalem prove that we here meet with phenomena similar to those presented by the revolts of Palestine against Assyria, which were supported by Egyptian help. Sidon was especially conspicuous this time. Ochus finally took over the chief command himself, and advanced into Syria with a powerful army, in which some ten thousand Greek mercenaries were included.

Sidon received aid from Rhodes under Mentor, but when the Persian marched against them, Mentor and Tennes, king of Sidon, entered into negotiations details are obscure. Sidon was surrendered and a terrible punishment inflicted on it. The remaining Phænicians then submitted. There must also have been wars in Judæa. Egypt finally, after having resisted for so long, was subjugated and became once more a Persian province in 344 B.C. Very severe measures were adopted towards it, and Ochus seems to have outraged Egyptian sentiments in the brutal fashion of a Cambyses. Cyprus also was again subjugated under the command of Idrieus, the prince of Caria.

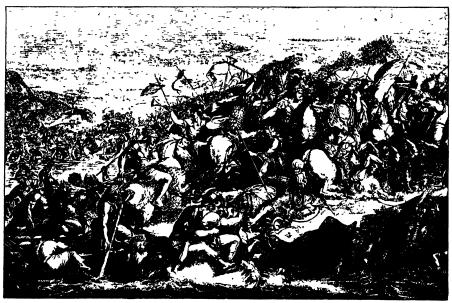
The power, however, was already dawning which was fated to crush Persia. It was seen in Susa that Philip of Macedon must become dangerous so Alliance soon as he had effected the against conquest of Greece. An alliance Macedon therefore, made was, Athens in order to take measures against him. The capture of Perinthus by Philip was prevented by the joint action of Athens and Persia. But the battle of Chæronea, in 338 B.C., coincided almost exactly with the death of Artaxerxes. This made Philip master of Greece, and created conditions by which the

Greek world and Hellenism were impelled to attack Persia in Asia.

Artaxerxes is said to have been murdered by Bagoas, who placed Arses, the youngest of the king's sons, upon the throne, only to slay him in turn when he seemed to be contemplating action against his minister in 336 B.c. In the meanwhile a Macedonian army had Persian advanced into Asia Minor, but King its further progress was checked Maker the by muider of Philip. After the death of Arses, Bagoas placed a distant relation of the murdered man, Codomannus a great-grandson of Darius Nothus, on the throne. He reigned from 336 to 330 в с. under the title of Darius III. Codomannus. But this time the king-maker did not escape his doom; he was soon put out of the way by Darius. Darius was the last king of Persia. We cannot form any notion of his character from the available records; but we may at any rate conclude that he was not in a position to do anything to prevent the tall of the empire. The great empire became the booty of Hellenism. disruption had begun, as we have seen, soon after the defeat at Salamis; a proof. indeed, of the nature of the much-lauded "organisation" by the first Dainis. The

Ten Thousand of Xenophon would in them selves have been enough to overthrow the Persian monarchy, if they had had a competent general; now, when at last a powerful antagonist, with a definite aim before him, appeared upon the scene, the booty fell without trouble into his hands. It was a great success which Alexander enjoyed, but it was not a great exploit to overthrow an empire already tottering to its fall. The history of the ancient East has shown us numerous examples of similar conquests. The many revolutions, which have brought to the East its various populations are on a level with the Hellenistic conquests, although the glory of their leaders is not sung so loudly as that of the representative of the foremost civilised people in the western world. The result of this conquest was End of not then decisive; the East Persian was indeed conquered by the Empire arms of the Greeks, but it resisted its civilisation, and it finally drove out the conquerors once more.

The narrative of the conquests of Alexander the Great belongs to the Greek portion of our history of Peisia. All that we are here concerned with is that the establishment of Alexander's empire terminates, that of the Peisians. The



VICTORY OF ALEXANDER AT THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS

One of the fights in Alexander's conquest of Persia, where Darius III. was defeated. From the picture by Le Brun.

18.0



AT THE BATTLE OF ISSUS THE DEFEAT OF DARIUS III reproduction of a mosaic from Pompen showing Darius III in his chariot at the battle of Issus in B against Alexander. The Peisian stategy is said to have consisted chiefly or running away.

immediate disruption of the new empire and the vicissitudes of its various portions are the subject of the ensuing chapters. but when Persia appears as a political entity it will be a different Persia not the

Ach emenid empire

The Persian empire from with the Greek world stood in the full light of history The Achementin empire appears before us in the brilli mee which it distliged to the Greek historian But looked at from Last instead of from West it appears in a completely different ispect That which seemed to the Greek the mesistibly powerful here to a civilised world shrouded in mysterious darkness nd possessing inexhaustible riches lies clear before us in its evolution. We know that it was neither the first nor the most listing nor the most powerful although perhaps the most extensive phenomenon of its kind. Many a conquest of a similar character has been seen and absorbed by the old civilised world of the Int I ven the Persian regime was not Correct ible to change its character View of fund imentally and did not Persia excit more influence upon in than any other of the well known con The sharp division which we were able partially to recognise in the evolution of a western and an eastern Persia a result of the conquest of highly civilised coun tries by peoples which were still in the early stages of society and further, the econciliation of the Persian families who

were at the head of attairs with the Medes and the ruling powers of the subjugated provinces all clearly show that the doma nant power claimed nothing beyond a purely political conquest of the van-quished countries. Some Persian noll's supplanted refractory rulers of the old population in lone o two Persim officials governed the provinces Conquests But substantially nothing was Without changed A Persian or other Changes Arvin migration which might mtroduced t new - population into the old civilised countries was kept back after the great flood of nations had once been checked through the organisation of a Persian empire by Cyrus fact that Darus although he had at first taken advantage of successful efforts in this direction could no longer sul mit to them when king is only one of those in numerable phenomena in history where circumstances are more powerful than men even when they have had the very bes intentions

Thus only that portion of the empire had become Persian or Aryan which had been struck by the wave of migrating Aryan hordes before they had yet formed a firm union that is to say while they had not yet become aware of the power of the civilisation which they wished to conquer These countries were precisely those which had not possessed a superior civilisation of their ownnamely, the eastern districts. When,

however, the Aryans had come within the mystic circle of Babylonian culture, into Media and Elam, they submitted to it. Media had long been removed from Assyro-Babylonian influences, and Elam's power had been broken by Ashurbanipal; therefore both lands offered suitable conditions for receiving an Aryan immigration with

Invading
Aryans
Civilised

The incomers, on the other hand, fell under the spell of that culture whose very

cradle they had violently seized.

After the subjugation of the western civilised countries that process ceased, by virtue of which, through an immigration of nomadic hordes, a new social life had grown up out of the blending of influences, all tending to evolve a vigorous civilisation. In place of this, political conquest, resting on force, was now made the object of rulers. There could thus be no further prospect of an independent evolution of the Aryan spirit. In the place of a Persian nation, which would have worked itself upward from stage to stage to a higher civilisation and so to dominion over the East, there was now a Persian administration, like an Assyrian, which drained the strength of the civilised lands, and thus became dependent upon them. Not the Persian people, nor a Persian state, but the Persian empire, represented by the army and officials, now held the reins of power in Nearer Asia.

This new empire, in its fundamental principles merely a repetition of the Assyrian empire during the eighth and seventh centuries, shows the same character in all its phenomena. In the administrative sphere the Persian satrap was merely the Assyrian shaknu, although his province was, as a rule, disproportionately larger. Like him, too, he was in fact only a Persian viceroy, who had been placed in the position of the old native The He possessed within his ruler. Persian province all rights of a sovereign. Satrap Above all, he maintained an army at his own cost, pursued to some extent an independent policy, and thus usually reached the point where the

thought of revolt must involuntarily have

suggested itself, whenever the intrigues of

the courtiers threatened to become danger-

ous to him. The constitution of the later

satrapies is traceable to Darius. Cyrus had

in the west simply adopted the old institutions. The accounts of him and his son speak of 127 provinces, which extended from India to Ethiopia. Accordingly the east must have been divided up somewhat after the model of the west. Darius, who went hand in hand with the eastern nobility, instituted the larger satrapies, and the Persians, who administered them, became rulers over separate countries.

After the flood of immigration had abated, and the conquerors had become owners, who on their part had to ward off the hordes that were pressing on after them, wars had to be waged with troops supplied by the civilised states. These proved to be useless material to a great Those of the immigrants who were marked out by landed possessions to be the nobility, and thus the backbone of every army, could do no more than form the backbone of a royal army. The satraps, who were in the first place responsible for the defence and maintenance of their provinces, could not avail themselves of this resource. satrap, therefore, had to keep an army of his own, soon composed, especi-Persian ally in the western provinces, of Army mercenaries, and those chiefly System toreign. The overplus of capable soldiers which the vigorous development of the Greek people produced always found there a ready acceptance. In this way the satraps of the western provinces were soon in possession of armaments which might become a menace to the

Great King. The royal Persian army, in contradistinction, seems to have been constituted on the basis of a feudal state, such as corresponds to the organisation of a newly immigrated people. Any man who had received a grant of land was hable to perform military duties corresponding to his share of the soil. There must, indeed, have been a very motley mixture of nationalities in the army, especially if the same system obtained in the provinces, where civilisation had long passed this stage, and in the western provinces particularly. It is not certain how matters were arranged there; but the "barbarian army," which Cyrus the younger led against Artaxerxes, in addition to his ten thousand Greek mercenaries, can hardly have been collected on another system. Such armies were distinct in armament and customs, even if we are



ALEXANDER BEFORE THE DEAD BODY OF DARIUS III THE LAST KING OF PERSIA

Darius flet to Media in 331 1 c and was murdered just before Alexander overtook him

not required to recept Herodotus's description of the rimy of Nerves is recurrite in all its details.

In other respects the administration apart from the satraps and the highest officials was in the provinces the old national one. Even the Assyrian substitute for the now impracticable colonisation of conquered countries a rando the plan of new settlements with a population ingeniously formed into Assyrians and of the transplantation of pusoners of war to different puts of the empire—was enably abundoned. The treatment of

Sidon which had been made Assyrian by Esuhaddon and the permision accorded to the Jews to return to Palestine, he two striking instances in point. How far in the latter case my alliance of Cyrus with the Jewish element so powerful in Babylon may have played a part must remain an undecided question. The first instance however and the general abandonment of this procedure prove that the Assyrian policy had been deliber tery reversed. It was clearly seen that institutions established by force could never attain the same prosperity as economic structures.

which are built upon the soil and rise from national development. Thus, the Persian empire made no attempt to interfere with the old-established institutions in the various provinces. In spite of the Persian supremacy, the inhabitants of Babylonia thus remained Babylonian, and those of Ionia Greek.

The picture of the effective-Persia's ness of the Persian sovereignty Civilisation in the eastern provinces is quite otherwise. Here from the first the conditions were different. While the centre of the empire, Susiana and Persis, received culture from the west, it must have transmitted it in turn to the east. So far it became important for the conditions which were developed later by the Parthian and Bactrian Western ideas in this way reached India, and finally the Sassanid empire determined the course of the civilisation of Islam So that in truth we cannot speak of a Persian civilisation in the west. That portion of it which developed in its original home possesses a still smaller value for the evolution of mankind. If Elam, during almost as many millennia as the Persian empire lasted centuries, had already borrowed from Babylonia the fundamental principle. upon which its power rested, that will also hold good of its hen. A glance enables us to recognise in the pictures from Persian royal palaces, or in the glorification of the victories of a Darius on the cliffs of Behistun, an intellectual kinship with the Assyrians, the same object of glorification, the same conception, the same technique. The beautiful workmanship of the enamelled tiles which covered the walls of Persian palaces [see page 1800] is also largely due to Babylonian influence

Doubtless the active and gifted people of the Greeks, which after the eighth century BC, entered into intimate relations with the Asiatic empires, assisting Cyrus in his Persian wars and participating in his victories, Art that people which had supplied mercenaries to the Assyrian and Chaldwan armies, and furnished whole armies, as we saw, to the Persians, also sent artists to the court of Susa. It would, however, be an idle task to attempt to trace the influence of Greek art in purely Persian productions. The Persian king was a successor of the old Oriental kings. Just as he, full of

dignity, discharged his time-honomer duties with wig and long, flowing tolso there remained for the art what served to glority him no other par except that marked out by millennia co veneration. The Persian buildings have one feature distinct from the Assyrian ones known to us, and that is the ample employment of pillars. It is, perhaps a permissible conjecture that Greek in fluence may be seen in this. But it is also concervable that Egyptian influence through the medium of Phænicia, may have travelled through the Euphrates valley as far as Susa and Persepolis. Yet granted the case that Helleme architects and artists had helped in building the palaces of Xerves, then Hellenic spirit could evince itself at most in secondary details. What they created must always have been Oriental, copied from the old models, as the Oriental love of tradition demanded

A production similar to this royal art which in some degree had abandoned the national spirit, is the Persian cuneiform script. It was adapted from the Baby-

Persian
Cuneiform
Script

Cuneiform Script

Cuneiform Script

Cuneiform Script

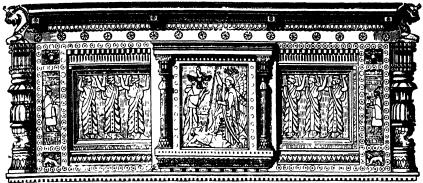
Cuneiform Script

Cuneiform Script

Cuneiform Script

Cuneiform Cuneiform or derived to provide an alphabet for the language of the new sovereign people

This was not suited to the grammatical scheme of the old civilised languages, and therefore could not be written with the old hieroglyphic and syllabic script which had closely followed the structure of the Sumerian and later the Semitic further pursuance of the principle already traceable in Elamite, a specially simplified syllabic writing was invented - actually invented in this case at the royal command-- in order to be able to carve the inscriptions of the kings in the Persian language also. A written language in the sense of Babyloman was never developed from this, so far as our present knowledge goes - Even the Persians made use of Aramaic as the imperial language of intercourse, so far as the Babylonian language and its cunciform script did not maintain their rights. The Persian cuneiform script, evidently first introduced by Darius in order to emphasise his national policy as contrasted with that of Cyrus and Cambyses, has had no history and exerted no influence on the development of civilisation; the Avesta was written in a literal alphabet derived from the Aramaic. HUGO WINCKLER LEONARD W. KING



WESTERN ASIA FROM THE RISE OF PERSIA OCOCOO TO MAHOMET

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER, DR. K. G. BRANDIS, LEONARD W. KING, M.A., AND H. R. HALL, M.A.

ASIA MINOR AFTER ALEXANDER

 ${
m A}^{
m T}$ the death of Alexander, in 323 B ϵ , the empire which his conquests had created extended over all Western Asia and into the Punjab, besides Hellas and Its continuance seemed secured at first by the selection of his stepbrother, Arrhideus, as king under the title of Philip. by the birth of a son and heir, and by the appointment of Perdiccas as regent of the empire. But the foremost generals became governors of the provinces into which it was divided and at the same time commanders of the troops stationed or about to be levied in their administrative districts. Every governor bestirred himself immediately to raise a trustworthy army, by which he might make himself as independent as possible of the imperial power and might carry out his own ambitious designs without regard for the welfare and prosperity of the whole. This naturally furnished the ground of many disputes. The scene of Wars these wars of the Diadochi, or of the "Successors," was Asia Minor. Diadochi Antigonus was sent thither from Babylon as governor of Greater Phrygia, Leonnatus went to Hellespontine Phrygia, Eumenes to Cappadocia, Cassander to Caria, Menander to Lydia, and Philotas to Cilicia. While the others all went to provinces long since subdued, Eumenes had first to conquer his province. The

Cappadocians, whose land had hardly been touched by Alexander himself, had never reconciled themselves to the Macedoman rulers placed over them, and had actually set a native roble-probably of Persian origin -- by name Amarathes, at the head of affairs. He being a clever, enterprising man, had extended Conquest his rule over the whole of Cap-Cappadocia padocia, to which Pontus then belonged, and maintained it with the help of a strong army of 15,000 horsemen and 30,000 foot-soldiers. According to the commands of the regent of the empire, Antigonus and Leonnatus were to help Eumenes in expelling Ariarathes, but neither obeyed orders. Perdiccas, therefore, was obliged to march against Cappadocia with the imperial army. Ariarathes was defeated, taken prisoner, and crucified, and Eumenes received the country as his province. The nephew of Ariarathes, his namesake, saved his life by flight into Armenia, whence, at a later period, he came back to influence the destinies of his tatherland. Leonnatus had in the interval aided Antipater, governor of Macedonia, in his struggle against the Hellenes, and had lost his life in the campaign. Antigonus, instead of answering the summons to

explain his refusal to obey the regent's

orders, fled to Antipater in Europe, and

effected there an alliance against Perdiccas, in which Ptolemy, the governor of Egypt, War followed, Perdiccas was murdered in Egypt, and Antipater became regent of the empire in his stead. Antigonus received back the province of Greater Phrygia, from which he had fled, and was given the supreme command of the imperial army, with the task Fall of carrying on the war against of the Eumenes, who had been on the Regency side of Perdiccas, and had successfully held his own against Antipater and Craterus Eumenes was defeated in the open field, but successfully defended himself in the steep mountain fortress of Nora against Antigonus, escaped, and in a short time assembled a new army, with which he conquered Cilicia and Phænicia and finally crossed the Euphrates, in order to bring the governors of the eastern provinces over to his side. At last, in the year 316 BC, after many

battles, he fell, through the treachery of his picked troops, into the hands of Antigonus, who had him put to death. Previously to this, and in (10 BC, unmediately after the death of Antipater, who had appointed Polyperchon as his successor and regent of the empire, Antigonus had renounced obedience to the new regent, had driven out the governors of Hellespontine

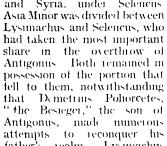
Phrygia and Lydia who were on the side of Polyperchon, and had given their satrapies to men of his own party. Now, after the death of Eumenes, he was ruler of all Asia, from the upper provinces of which he returned to Asia Minor with enormous treasure

But the great power and ascendency of Antigonus produced a hostile coalition of the other governors. These were Cassander, the son of Antipater, who meantime had driven Polyperchon out of Macedonia: Ptolemy, Lysimachus who in the year 323 had received Thrace as a province, and after subduing the wailike. freedom-loving mountain tribes, had founded for himself an important state; and, lastly, Seleucus, who, driven from his satrapy of Babylon by Antigonus, had fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Antigonus refused their request to divide the satrapies equally; so wars resulted, which dragged on with changing fortunes and some

interruptions from 315 to 301. In these the last members of the royal family-Alexander's posthumous son, who was called after him, and his illegitimate son Heracles—met their death—The rulers, therefore, proceeded to assume the title of kings in 306 B.C. Antigonus retained his power, and Asia Minor remained his choicest possession until he succumbed to the last mighty onslaught of his enemies, and was killed at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 BC. There is no sign of lasting institutions or of a government bringing blessings to its subjects in this disturbed period of new and constantlygrowing armaments. Only the Greek cities of Asia Minoi enjoyed peculiar consideration and retained their selfgovernment and immunity from taxation.

After the death of Antigonus there were tour kingdoms in existence—Egypt, under Ptolemy; Thrace, under Lysimachus: Macedonia and Greece, under Cassander,

and Syria, under Seleucus Asia Miñor was divided between Lysimachus and Scleucus, who had taken the most important share in the overthrow of Antigonus Both remained in possession of the portion that fell to them, notwithstanding that Demetrius Poliorcetes, "the Besieger," the son of Antigonus, made numerous attempts to reconquer his father's realm Lysimachus



was defeated and killed in 281 BC., in a battle against Seleucus, to whom, as victor, Asia Minor justly fell. During the immediately succeeding period the line of Seleucus is in the ascendant, and possess, indeed, the greatest power as far as extent of territory goes; but the Scleucidæ are no longer sole rulers, as once Antigonus was

In the confusion in which Asia Minor was involved after the death of Alexander

new states had gradually been Last of the developed there, which, grow-Separate ing into greater power, stamped States their mark on the whole sub-

sequent period. Once more we find on the soil of Asia Minor for the first, and indeed for the last time since the dissolution of the Lydian dominion, states with a separate history and a separate policy, in complete independence of any great political power whose capital and centre of gravity lay outside the peninsula.



PHILETÆRUS Founder of the kingdom of Pergamus about 280 B C

ASIA MINOR AFTER ALEXANDER

Arjarathes, the nephew and adopted son of that Ariarathes whom Perdiccas had crucified at the time when Antigonus was waging his disastrous war against the allied kings, had returned to Cappadocia from Armenia, and, supported by the good

will of the population, which had never grown accustomed to Macedonian rule, entered upon the heritage of his father. His attempt was favoured by events in the immediate neighbourhood Mithradates, the grand-



LYSIMACHUS AND POLIORCETES son of Ariobaryanes, a After the death of Antigonus and despite the efforts of his son. Demetrus Palacetta Jesus Land SOIL OF ALLODOTAILES, at of his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Lysimachus, king former Safrap on the of Thrace, and Seleucus of Syria shared Asia Minor

Hellespont, who had been in the service of Antigonus, warned by Demetrius Poliorcetes that his life was in danger, fled to Paphlagonia. There he was able to occupy the town of Kimiata in the gorges of the Olgassys which he surrounded with strong walls, and now, in concert with Ariai athes, he summoned the Paphlagonians and the inhabitants of the north coast to arms. The Leutenant of Antigonus had to give way

to the two, and when, after the battle of Ipsus, the two victors, of New Lysimachus and Seleucus, turned States then attention to the jugation of these outlying districts, it was too late. An army of Seleucus was totally defeated in Cappadocia, and Mithradates was able to hold his own in the north Later, after the death of Lysimachus and the invasion of the Gauls, and during the continuous wars of the Seleucidæ, both within and outside Asia Minor, no more thought was entertained of their subjugation. Thus Attarathes created an indepen-

dent kingdom in Cappadocia, with which he united Cataonia; and Mithradates, who received the name of Ctistes-the Founderfounded a kingdom in the valleys of the Amnias and Iris, which, situated on the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, came gradually for brevity to be called Pontus. The rulers of both territories naturally styled themselves kings. of Bithynia. From a coin.

In the north-west new states grew up. Bithynia had been ruled in Persian times by princes of its own, who recognised the suzerainty of the Great King and were subject to his satraps, even though they often enough disobeyed them. Alexander freed Bithynia from the Persian domination, but apparently left the princely tamilies in possession of their hereditary power: the Macedonian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, Calas, was appointed to complete their subjection. But

the Bithynian prince, Bas, repelled his attack in the open field, and his son Zipoites succeeded during the wars of the "Successors" in maintaining and even in extending his hereditary position. Zipoites is the first who styled himself king, this must have happened in 297

B (, after a victory over Lysimachus, since the era of the Bithynian kings begins with the autumn of 297. He also maintained his position against the successor of Antiochus, Seleucus, who had sent his general, Patrocles to force Bithynia to submission. In any case, after this Bithynia finally entered the ranks of independent states. Zipoites was able to bequeath to his son Nicomedes a realm which towards the east

Founding included the Greek towns of Teion and Cieros About this Pergamus time there arose an independent state in the valley of the Caicus,

on the borders of Bithynia. At the outbreak of the war with Seleucus, Philetærus had abandoned Lysimachus, whose citadel and treasures he was guarding at Pergamus, and had gone over to Seleucus. When the latter was soon afterwards murdered he won the gratitude of Antiochus by sending him the body of his father, held Pergamus, and succeeded in bringing the whole valley of the Caicus as far as the sea under

his dominion, and thus laid the foundations of the kingdom of Pergamus.

Once more a race of invaders became prominent in Asia Minor and exercised an important influence on the conditions of the country. Just as previously, at the time of the Mermnadæ, Cimmerians, combined Thracian hordes, had crossed

over into Asia Minor and had long scoured the land, plundering and robbing, so now the Gauls appeared. They had before this made inroads into Thrace and Macedonia; now in 277 B.C., Nicomedes, who was contesting his inheritance with his brothers,



NICOMEDES

took a Gallic army under Leonirorius into his pay and by their aid subdued Bithynia. At the same time a second Gallic force, under Lutarius, crossed the Hellespont, joined the force under Leonnorius, which now was again free, and, both combined, raided the fields of Asia Minor and burned the towns. Antiochus, in order to protect, Antiochus at any rate, his own pait of Asia Minor from the Gallic the Gauls pillagers, marched across the Taurus. A pitched battle was tought between hun and the Gauls. overwhelming force—so ran the account of the fight—the "Galatians" confronted the king in a dense phalanx, twenty-four ranks deep, with 10,000 horsemen on each From the centre of the line of battle eighty four-horse chariots, armed with scythes, and twice as many two-horse war chariots were to charge. It may easily be conceived that the king's courage almost failed him at the sight of this formidable multitude, especially since the greater part of his inferior army consisted of slingers and other light-armed troops. He

even wished to make terms; but one of his generals encouraged him and devised a plan of battle for him. The sixteen elephants which the king had with him were driven headlong

against the enemy; the enemy's horses, which had never seen an elephant, took fright, galloped in wild tout back on the ranks, and caused universal contusion. The overthrow of the Gauls was complete.

This victory checked the wandering of the Gauls, in so fai that they were driven back to the eastern part of Phrygia on both sides of the Halys and restricted to

a region to which they gave their name permanently. Here in Galatia they founded their capital, Ancyra, which attained later great prosperity, and at the present day, as Angora, is the chief town of Central Asia Minor. Here they grad-

ually obtained secure settlements and lived, mixed with the natives, without abandoning their language, habits, or constitution, under twelve tetrarchs, each of whom belonged to one of the four cantons of their three tribes—Trocmen. Tolistobou, and Tectosagi--and under a council consisting of three hundred mem-Often enough, starting from here as mercenaries of the rival princes, they helped to decide the destinies of the peninsula For, unfortunately, there was no prosperous development in Asia Minor even after the defeat of the Gauls by In the many wars between Antiochus:

The Gauls
Reappear
War between the brothers Sciencus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, sons of Antiochus Theos, the whole west coast and the central and southern districts, Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Cilcia, were at one time in the hands of Callinicus, at another of Hierax. No wonder that the

Gauls, too, reappeared in this confusion, and, after inflicting a crushing blow on Callinicus in the interest of Hierax, once more assumed a position which threatened danger. Once more

thev laid waste fields. and the their neighbours, to secure peace from them, were forced to pay tribute. Even Antiochus Hierax could not secure immunity in any other way

The credit of averting the new danger of the Gauls belongs to the princes of Pergamus. After Eumenes I., the successor of Philetærus, had defeated Antiochus I. at

Sardis in 262 B.C., the permanence of their rule was secured. The disturbed times gave an opportunity for strengthening and extending it Attalus I. (241-197 B.C.), the son and successor of Eumenes, had brought his name into history by an



to the eastern part of Phrygia on both sides of the Halys

A terra-cotta statue of an elephant seizing a Gaul, reproduced from "Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K. In the battle between successor of Philesides of the Halys

Anti-cotta statue of an elephant seizing a Gaul, reproduced from "Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K. In the battle between successor of Philesides of the Halys

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ASIA MINOR AFTER ALEXANDER

action which conferred on him lasting tame in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity. He refused to pay to the Gauls the customary tribute, and faced their consequent invasion in a battle, where he completely defeated them. By

this means he greatly contributed towards ending their raids an l confining them then own territory On account of this splendid achievement Attalus was honoured by the towns and princes who were saved by him from the Gallie danger, assumed the royal diadem Eumenes II dedicated to him an imposing monument, an altar to Zeus. standing on a massive pedestal, round the sides of which ran for all time the victory

of Attalus over the Gauls under the representation of the battle of the gods with the grants. Pergamene art as shown us by these reliefs marks in some ways the highest point reached by the Greek art of the later style. The statues of Pergamus were regarded as triumphs of art by the Romans, and the various figures of "Dying Gauls"—erroneously called "Dying Gladiators" -in our museums were copied from Pergamene originals.

Attalus I, not only permanently secured his realm, but extended it also by a war Kingdom with Antiochus Hierax, who, of long disputes with his brother Seleucus Callinicus, had Attalus finally withdrawn and held Asia Minor north of the Taurus, so far as it was distinctly Seleucid. Hierax was defeated at Colce, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, and compelled to fly from Asia Minor; Seleucid Asia Minor fell into the hands of Attalus. But the Scleucidae were destined once more to establish their power in the peninsula, and, as it seemed, more firmly than ever. Achieus, the general of Seleucus, retook from Attalus the territory he had recently conquered, but could not resist the temptation of founding a separate state and of placing the kingly diadem on his own head during

the confusion which prevailed in Syria after the death of Seleucus. This kingdom, severed from the main Seleucid state, lasted some years, until Antiochus III., who had restored his authority in his own kingdom by a successful war against



sides of which ran RUINS OF THE ANCIENT METROPOLIS OF PERGAMUS reliefs, which glorified in the second century is a the city of Pergamus became the most important kingdom in Asia Minor and a centre of civilisation. These ruins are all that remain to-day

insurgent satraps, felt limiself sufficiently strong to deprive Achaeus also of his sovereignty. Achaeus, leng beaten, shut himself up in Sardis and held out a considerable time, but was eventually murdered by traitors. Thus Antiochus III. reunited a large part of Asia Minor to his own main territory in 214 B C.

A letter of the king preserved for us in an inscription gives us a slight glimpse into the internal administration. The Seleucid kingdom like the Persian was divided into satrapies—we do not

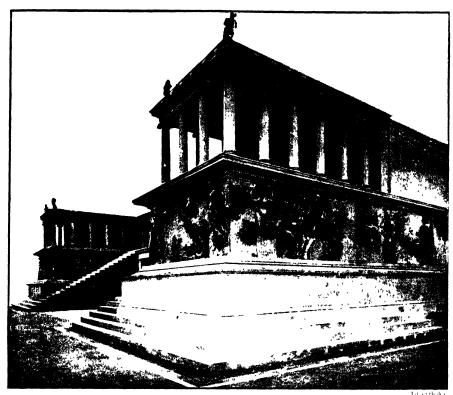
Worship of King and Queen side of the worship of the matter gods, which naturally temained fixed, a similar worship of the king and the queen was introduced; for both there was in each satrapy one high-priest, and sacrifices were offered to both, just as, two hundred years later, in the provinces high-priests were appointed for the Roman emperor.

But Antiochus III. did not rest content with these acquisitions. It was not enough that he had brought even Greek towns on the western coast of Asia Minor into his power; he aimed at Europe also and laid claims to Thrace on the ground that it was by right a possession of the

Seleucidæ, owing to the defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucus. He had already become master of the town of Sestus, and had made Lysimacheia, which he restored, the headquarters of his army and the capital of a province of Thrace that was still to be conquered, when he became involved in a war with Rome. In the revolt, the dominion Seleucidae of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor Confined on this side of the Taurus to Cilicia was ended for ever. They kept only the territory on the far side of the Taurus—that is, practically, Cilicia—and did not venture to cross the sea with warships to the west of the mouth of the Kaly-Rhodes and Pergamus, which had taken the part of Rome, were both splendidly rewarded for their loyalty. The former received the country of Lycia and Caria as far as the Mæander; Pergamus, which had withstood a siege from Antiochus, and whose territory had been ravaged, received Hellespontine Phrygia, Greater Phrygia, Lydia with Sardis and Ephesus (which had been occupied by Antiochus and had not soon enough gone over from hun to the Romans), and the part of Caria which lay north of the Mæander. The Greek towns of Asia Minor, which had sided with the Romans on the day of the battle of Magnesia, where Antiochus had met with his overthiow, were conceded self-government and also immunity from tribute By the despatch of Manlius Volso against the Galatians, who were defeated by him in two battles, the Romans deserved well of Asia Minor; for even after the defeat inflicted on the Galatians by Attalus many towns had still been obliged to pay tribute to them to secure protection from their marauding invasions. The Galatian scourge was now destroyed once for all.

The results of the battle of Magnesia are of the most far-reaching importance. Rome, without appropriating a foot's breadth of land, becomes from this time the foremost power in Asia Minor. It is clear on the face of it that Pergamus and Rhodes, which had long been allies of Rome, would seek to further their prosperity and power by this connection, but the longer the other states. Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus itself, resisted, the less they could avoid the influences of Rome. The power of the Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian monarchies over

Asia Minor was broken from that day. For at least a century the peninsula enjoyed peace, in which it had had no share since Alexander's death. conception Rome had of its rights as the leading power is clearly shown by the political changes which were introduced into Asia Minor thirty years after the battle of Magnesia. After the third Macedonian war Rome, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the free city of Rhodes and its unwelcome intrusion into the course of this war, deprived it of its possessions on the peninsula of Asia Minor and declared Caria and Lycia to be "free." The Rhodian garrisons had to be withdrawn from these countries, and the considerable tribute which till then had flowed into the Rhodian treasury from that source was stopped. Thus the power of Rhodes suffered a heavy loss. The trade of Rhodes was bound to fall off, since the Romans had established the free harbour of Delos and had blocked the main artery of the Rhodian exports and imports on the coast of Macedonia, which had now become Roman. In Lycia the towns, of which Lycian there were many of various City sizes, formed themselves into a League close organisation, the Lycian league. They had always unwillingly submitted to the Rhodian rule, and knew how to make good use of the freedom now conceded to them for the welfare of the country. The beginnings of this Lycian city-league may have been older, especially as far as the common worship of the Lycian tribal deity is concerned; but now other duties fell upon the league representation of the country in foreign lands, negotiations with strange powers, the maintenance of the common interests, as well as the establishment of systematic and assured conditions at home. Though such a city-league in itself presented no novelty, the fundamental thought on which the Lycian league rested was new and excellent. Every member of the league had a different number of votes, according to its size, distributed in such a way that the largest towns gave three, the intermediate towns two, and the small towns one vote, respectively, at the meeting of the league, which was held in turn in each of the communities. At the head of the league was placed a president, chosen similarly in turn from the towns which were members, and elected annually. The



ONE OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE ART OF PERGAMUS AN ALTAR TO ZEUS. This imposing altar to Zeus was erected in honour of Attalus I, who completely routed an invasion of the Gauls. The rehefs round the sides of the altar mark in some ways the highest point reached by the Greek art of the later style

towns exercised their right of voting through representatives. A similarly organised league, the Chrysaotian, existed in Caria, where there were comparatively few towns, but many large village communities.

The most splendid picture at this time is presented by Pergamus, which, through the courage and statecraft of its kings, had become an important kingdom. From the struggle against Bithynia, which broke out immediately after the war with Antiochus III, Eumenes II. emerged as victor. Prusias of Bithynia had occupied some territory in Mysia, which in the peace with Antiochus had been conceded to Eumenes. On this ground a quarrel began between the two, which has the greater interest for us because Hannibal for the last time played a part in it, and for the last time, uselessly, it is true, tried to form a powerful coalition against Rome. Despite some successes of Hannibal,

Eumenes was not only able to maintain his position, but also to incorporate into his own kingdom the territory conquered by Prusias on the Sangarius Prusias did not venture to shelter Hannibal when the Romans demanded his surrender, and the great Carthaginian, being abandoned, put an end to his life at Libussa, on a height above the Gulf of Nicomedia princes of Pergamus, distinguished as they were for their cleverness and statecraft, were not less renowned for their warm interest in art and science. We have already mentioned the altar to Zeus. On the acropolis, which towers above the city, they reared a nich group of buildings, which, rising in terraces one above the other, crown the summit of the royal citadel. And in the middle of it, among palaces and temples and public buildings, was the library, which was also a museum, where, besides a rich collection of books, originals, as well as copies of prominent

works of the older Greek art, were preserved. In this manner Pergamus became an important centre of civilisation, and will be always mentioned with honour by

the side of Alexandria

By the side of Pergam is, Bithynia fell into the background; its princes had gradually subdued the whole territory from the Rhyndacus and the Mysian Extent Olympus to Heracleia, and Bithynia Southward from Heracleia over the Sangarius up to the Paphlagonian frontier. Hellenism early made an entrance here: and an increasing number of Greek towns sprang up. But none of them can be compared with Pergamus in glory and importance.

Up to this time Rome had had no possessions of her own in Asia Minor. But when Attalus III, of Pergamus died in the year 133 B.C. and made Rome his heir. the Romans accepted the inheritance Here begins a new phase in the historical development of Asia Minor. It is true that

Aristonicus, a scion of the princely house of Pergamus, disputed the inheritance with the Romans, raised an army. found adherents, and went against them, sword in hand But it was impossible for him to hold out long. In the year 120 B C, the revolt was crushed and its leader murdered. The consul, Manius Aquillius, created the Roman province, Asia, co-

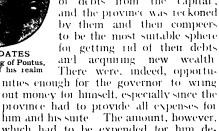
extensive with the kingdom of Pergamus In addition, there was Caria, which had taken part in the revolt of Aristonicus. The latter had been besieged and captured in Stratonicæa. Aquillius, having been bribed, had given Greater Phrygia to Mithradates Euergetes of Pontus, Bithynia raised a protest. The proceedings in the senate on this point were prolonged interminably, until at last Rome appropriated the country herself. From that time, 116 B.C., all Greater Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, were included in the new Roman province. Of the Greek towns, free up till now, those that had supported Aristonicus were deprived of their liberty and made provincial towns; but the others were recognised as free and autonomous.

At first, indeed, Rome had magnanimously relinquished all claim to taxes, which had long been raised by the kings of Pergamus; but soon some of them were

restored. They introduced a tax of onetenth on the produce of the soil, a tax on pasture land, and duties on imports and exports, the collection of revenue was made over to a company of Roman knights, who farmed all these taxes at Rome. This method of taxation was the plague and ruin of the provincials. The Asiatics, exposed to the tyranny and caprice of these companies, who considered only their own profit, and never the welfare of the taxpayers, and who naturally wished not only to get back the sums paid at Rome for farming these taxes but to enrich themselves greatly by it, were shamelessly plundered by them, and could never hope for success if they ventured on a judicial complaint at Rome; for the very knights who composed these companies for farming the taxes were the judges.

A Roman governor, who changed yearly, stood at the head of the province. Even if some of them, such as Mucius Scavola.

were very honourable worthy men, who really had the welfare of the province at heart, the majority of them brought with them only a mass of debts from the capital,



province had to provide all expenses for him and his suite The amount, however, which had to be expended for him depended on his own discretion, since he could impose taxes for a definite object, such as for the building of ships to resist the bold attacks of pnates, or generally for the protection of the land, and it rested with him alone to determine the

rate of taxation, while no one Romans controlled its proper applica-Plunder

Asia Minor tion. Again, he alone distri-buted the garrisons among the towns, and many towns were only too glad to be quit of these unwelcome guests by a money payment to the governor. It was not, in any case, difficult for the Roman officials to plunder thoroughly the province entrusted to them. And, unfortunately, the number of the selfish governors at this time was greater than

MITHRADATES The Great, king of Pontus, from a coin of his realm

ASIA MINOR AFTER ALEXANDER

that of the honourable. Besides this, the suite of the governor was large, and consisted mostly of young aristocrats, to whom the opportunity for acquiring wealth was not unwelcome.

In short, the ma'administration of the Romans was appalling. And in Rome itself the senate usually turned a deaf ear when complaints against its members were raised. Such misgovernment must have greatly excited the anger and disatisfaction of the provincials. Only a spark was needed to kindle a terrible conflagration, and the man was soon found who knew how to deal with these conditions. We saw earlier that the house of Mithradates in Pontus had founded a dynasty.

In the course of time the

Appalling Misgovernment were widened. The Greek

were widened. The Greek of Rome towns on this coast, Amastris, Amisos, and, above all, Sinope, with its own colonies of Trapezûs and Cerasus, had been conquered and Smope made the capital of the kingdom of Pontus. On the other hand, the various attempts of the Pontic princes to bring Galatia and Greater Phrygia under their rule were trustrated, either by a coalition of the other kings in Asia Minor or by the intervention of Rome. Mithradates Euergetes, who had tought in the war of Aristonicus on the side of the Romans, and then thought he had claims on Greater Phrygia, was murdered, at his own wife's instigation, before the transactions with Greater Phrygia were completed. He left a son of tender age, who, young as he was, fled from the plots of his mother and



FAMOUS BRONZE FROM PERGAMUS
The statues of Pergamus were regarded by the Romans as
triumphs of art This group is "The Gaul and his Wife

remained for many years hiding in the lonely mountains. Mithradates Eupator reappeared at Sinope as a young man of twenty, and the people hailed him as then king. His mother was obliged to resign the government to him. Filled with ambition and energy, his first and foremost thought was the aggrandisement of his

kingdom; but required means money, and soldiers of which he had not sufficient at his disposal. A happy chance helped hun In the Tauric Chersonese. the modern Crimea the Scythians of the great South Russian steppe were pressing hard the free town of Chersonesus and the kingdom of Bosporus, now Kertch; Mithiadates, being asked for aid, sent over his general, Diophantus. with an aimy. He



THE OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF PERGAMENE SCULPTURE
The familiar figures of "Dying Gauls" in the museums, erroneously called "Dying
Gladiators," are Roman copies of Pergamene originals. The above is from an original.

defeated the Scythians, drove them back from the peninsula, and admitted the Chersonese, as well as the kingdom of Bosporus, which had submitted to his master, into the union of the subject states

Perhaps more important than the increase in territory was the replenishment of the Pontic treasury by the taxes which

flowed in from the Crimea. Training Mithradates strengthened his the Army army and increased its effiof Pontus ciency by continual training He had already conquered Paphlagonia and Galatia in combination with Nicomedes of Bithyma, had partitioned them with his ally, and had secured his influence in Cappadocia, when the protests of Rome forced both of them to relinquish their conquests. Mithiadates bowed this time to the dictates of Rome, since he did not yet feel himself strong enough for defiance; but the wish to wreak vengeance on Rome for having prevented first his father and then himself from realising the aidently desired scheme of conquest was cherished from this moment.

The disputes about the succession in Bithynia between Nicomedes III. and Sociates, who held possession of the throne by the help of Mithradates until Nicomedes, supported by the Romans, expelled him, and finally the invasion of the territory of Pontus by Nicomedes, led to the outbreak of the war between Rome and Mithradates. This so-called First Mithiadatic War broke out in 88 B.C. at a time when the Romans were still fully occupied in Italy itself. The Roman legate, Manius Aquillius, levied, indeed, some troops in Asia; but he, as well as the remaining Roman commanders in the province of Asia, were defeated by Mithradates or repulsed without attempting serious resistance.

The king marched by way of Apamea and Laodicea into the Roman provinces. Isolated towns, such as Magnesia, near the Sipylus, and Stratonicea in Caria, resisted for some time the attacks of the king, and had to be conquered by him; but these were exceptions. Mithradates was received with open arms and hailed as a liberator from the universally hated yoke. In a very short time the province joined him. At his orders on one day

and more people had poured into the

80,000 Italians were murdered. These had gradually become numerous, as more

incalculably rich land of Asia for the sake of gain and commerce. Greece also was Athens first of all espoused the cause of Mithradates; the Bootians, Achaeans, and Lacedaemonians declared for His general, Archelaus, was in Greece with 100,000 men, and had his headquarters at Athens At Rome itself there was civil war. Not until the beginning of the year 87 B.C. was the great Sulla able to start with an army for Greece. His mere appearance brought many Greeks back to their allegiance. Only Athens resisted and remained loyal to Mithradates, and was conquered on March 1,86 B.C after a long siege, a few days later the Piracus also was stormed and given to the flames. The first great success was followed by others defeated Archelaus at Charonea, and Dorylaus, who had come up with considerable reinforcements, at Orchomenos

In Asia Minor also the situation was not as favourable for Mithradates as at first Rhodes had refused submission to the king, and Lycia did likewise. The siege of Rhodes, like that of Patara in Lycia,

had been a waste of time, for Peace on both occasions Mithradates with had been forced to withdraw Rome without effecting any Again, the cruel and tyrannical governthe liberator ment of -began soon to prove intolerable. Αt Ephesus, Tralles, and other places the king's governors were murdered or expelled, and the towns put into a state of defence Lucullus, Sulla's general, had assembled a fleet in Syria and Egypt, with which he took Cos, Cnidos, Chios, and other towns from Mithradates. Pressed on every side, the king resolved to enter into negotiations for peace with Sulla. By the terms of peace Mithradates was obliged to evacuate the Roman province, give up his conquests in Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and to restrict himself to his Pontic territory; he was also to surrender 70 warships and pay 2,000 talents as war indemnity.

Thus ended the First Mithradatic War, and the Province of Asia was once more Roman. Sulla reorganised it. Rhodes was rewarded for its heroic resistance by a gift of Cauina and other districts on the Carian coast; the towns which had remained loyal were declared free; while those that had revolted were punished and a heavy fine was imposed upon them. This penalty weighed heavily upon the

ASIA MINOR AFTER ALEXANDER

towns; and since it had to be met by loans, it materially retarded their prosperity, already seriously impaired. years afterwards we see Lucullus endeavouring by wise measures to discharge the debts of many of the towns, and vigorously combating the pernicious system by which unpaid interest was regarded as bearing interest in turn. He The Work reduced the rate of interest, of a Wise wiped out the interest which Financier had run up above the amount of the original capital, and appropriated the fourth part of the income of the debtor for the satisfaction of the creditor.

The Second Mithradatic War, from 83 to 81 B.C., was in reality nothing more than a marauding expedition of Murana, the governor of Asia, into the Pontic territory.

Towards the end of the year 74 BC. Nicomedes III of Bithynia died and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. That gave Mithradates a welcome opportunity to invade Bithynia in the spring of 73 B.C., and to bring the whole land under his rule. Lucullus and Cotta were immediately sent from Rome to Bithynia, and the Third Mithradatic War began. Cotta, to whom the supreme command of the fleet had been given, was to defend He withdrew to Chalcedon, while Lucullus advanced from Cilicia and Asia with the legions which had been collected there. Cotta offered battle under the walls of Chalcedon, and was defeated; at the same time Mithradates' fleet forced an entrance into the harbour and captured sixty Roman waiships. After this success Mithradates began the siege of the rich, tree town of Cyzicus, which was loyal to the Romans and defended itself bravely. Lucullus advanced to its relief. Mithradates, taken on two sides, and no longer besieger, but besieged, with his mighty army crippled by hunger and disease, was compelled at last to abandon his attempt and to fall back hastily on Pontus, saving what he could. Even his fleet The Last

was by degrees driven out of the Ægean Sea. Lucullus, on his part, now marched through Bithynia and Paphlagonia into the king's territory, defeated him at Cabeira, and compelled him to fly to his son-in-law, Tigranes, King of Armenia. After the conquest of the towns of Amisus and Sinope, Lucullus advanced into Armenia, defeated Tigranes at Tigranocerta in 69 B.C., and after a second victory at

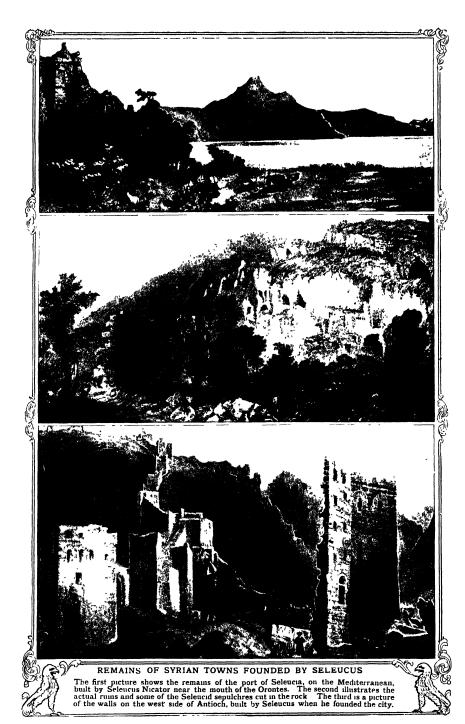
Artaxata, was making preparations to subdue all Armenia, when his soldiers mutinied and forced their general to retreat. As even the enormous booty captured on this retreat did not alter the soldiers' purpose, Lucullus was forced to abandon Armenia.

Meantime, Mithradates had escaped and collected a new army, with which he advanced to reconquer his kingdom. The hostility of the equestrian class in Rome to Lucullus was so strong that he was recalled, and Pompey was entrusted with the conduct of the Mithradatic

War in his place.

Pompey had just ended the War with After the Seleucid and the Pirates. Egyptian fleet had lost the mastery of the Ægean Sea, piracy became rampant Pompey deserves the credit of having at last energetically checked this plague. Covered with glory in this war against the puates, he appeared the most competent general to end the Mithiadatic War. He therefore started in the year 66 B C, for the new theatre of war, and so completely crushed Mithradates at Dastena, which he himself afterwards named Nico-Pontus polis or City of Victory, that the Falls to king of Pontus could save him-Rome self only by precipitate flight through Colchis to the Bosphorus the midst of mighty preparations and great plans—he intended to lead against Italy a large army of Scythians, Thracians, and Celts, and to attack Rome itself—he was betrayed by his son Phainaces and the army, and died by his own hand. Thus Pontus, the kingdom of Mithradates, fell to Rome; Bosporus was left to his son and betrayer, Pharnaces Pompey organised Pontus as a province, founded eleven townships in it, and united it with Bithynia under one jurisdiction. was now mistress of all Asia Minor, except Cappadocia, Galatia, and Lycia. By 25 B.C. Galatia too was a province. Cappadocia was absorbed after the death of its last king, and Lycia in the middle of the first century A.D.

Asia Minor had no separate history in the time of the Roman emperors, just as later under Byzantine and at present under Turkish rule. It has been a part of world-empires, and only as such has it had a share in the events of world-history. The age when its independent states, played a part in the history of the world passed away with the early years of the empire.



WESTERN ASIA TO THE TIME OF MAHOMET



II SYRIA

Seleucus was

THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDAE

FROM Asia Minor, after the death of Alexander, we turn to follow the fortunes of another portion of his empire the eastern countries extending between Asia Minor and Egypt from the Pleenician coast to the Javartes and from the slopes of the Taurus to the Indus. The death of the great king brought no great immediate changes to these districts; Babylon remained the capital of the empire, and the provinces continued, for the most part, under their previous governors excepting Media. At the partition of satrapies at Babylon, Media tell to Perthon, son of Craterus, while its former possessor, the Persian, Atropates, was restricted to the north-western part of Media, the province later called Atropatene after him Syria was given to Laomedon of Mytelene

A great change in the affairs of the East took place at the death of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. Babylon ceased to be the capital

Governor of Babylon

The new partition of satrapies at Triparadisus, arranged by the new regent, Antipater, affected the East much more than the former partition. Laomedon, indeed, retained Syria; Peucestas, Persia, and Perthon, Media, but Parthia received a new governor in Philip, as did Bactria and Sogdiana in Stasanor, Mesopotamia in Amphimachus, Susiana in Antigenes, and, what is most important for the ensuing period, Babylon in Seleucus

Seleucus was born about 356 BC. A member of the Macedonian nobility, he, like all his companions, entered early into the army and followed Alexander into Asia He owed it not merely to his birth, but also to his courage and capabilities, that he belonged to the more intimate circle around the king. We are told, as an instance of his great strength and his courage, that one day in the presence of Alexander he brought a raging bull to the ground. He distinguished himself in the Indian campaign and in the battle against Porus. After Alexander's death he assumed the command of the household cavalry in place

of Perdiccas, who became regent of the empire; Alexander had attached peculiar distinction to this post, and the holder of it, who was then called Chiliarch, filled, according to Persian precedent, at the same time one of the highest places at In this office he made the campaigns of Perdiccas against the insubordinate governors, first against Antigonus, and later against of Ptolemy of Egypt. When the Seleucus Egyptian campaign failed, he was among those generals who abandoned their commander; and it is to him and Antigenes of Susiana that the murder of the regent is ascribed. He was appointed governor of the province of Babyloma, giving up the Chiharchy and the command of the househo'd cavalry therefore became his first concern immediately to create an army for him-Alexander's principle that no satrap should keep an army had been disregarded

very soon drawn into the whirlpool of

Perdiccas, had been declared an enemy to the empire at Triparadisus. Antigonus

had been appointed strategus, or captain-

general, and entrusted with the conduct of

the war against Eumenes This war took

a new turn when Eumenes, after the death

of Antipater, had been appointed strategus in Asia by the regent, Polyperchon, and

by Olympias, mother of Alexander, and

had been amply provided with funds

The theatre of war was shifted to the

east, where he at once found support from

Eumenes, who had sided with

directly after his death

events.

Alexander's Empire Breaks up their troops in Media, where their troops in Media, where they had expelled Petthon who had killed Philip, satiap of Parthia, had placed his own brother in his place, and had thus roused the suspicions of other satraps.

But Seleucus neither took part in the combination against Peithon nor did he then join the side of Eumenes. He expressly declared that he could not make

common cause with the enemy of the empire On the contrary, he joined Antigonus, who came to the East in order there to prosecute the war against Eumenes. Fortune, indeed, seemed to smile on Seleucus at first. He received the province of Susiana, the former governor of which, Antigenes, fought on the enemy's side; proved fickle. but fortune Seleucus When Antigonus had put to Floor death Eumenes, betrayed by to Egypt his own troops, and handed over to his enemy, he behaved as an absolute despot and arbitrarily appointed and deposed governors. When he was in Babylon he required from Seleucus, from whom he had already taken away Susiana, an account of his administration; Seleucus refused, and, feeling himself no longer safe. fled from Babylon to Egypt and the court of Ptolemy.

The great power of Antigonus, as well as his despotic behaviour, led to an alliance of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, to the consummation of which Seleucus contributed his share. Wars then ensued, which continued almost without cessation from 315 to 301 Here we are concerned only with the struggle for Syria and Phoenicia with which the first war began. Ptolemy had occupied these countries, Antigonus drove him out, and when he himself went back over the Taurus, in order to be near the scene of war in Asia Minor, he left behind his son Demetrius there. The decisive defeat of the latter at Gaza and the reconquest of Syria by Ptolemy allowed Seleucus to return to Babylon in 312 B.C. Seleucus had undertaken the march with only 800 infantry and 200 cavalry; but the population, whose love he had known how to win previously, welcomed him back. As most of the garrisons, too, went over to him, he was able without great trouble to re-enter on the possession of his province. When Seleucus, together with Lysimachus of Thrace, appeared in Asia Minor Founding for the last decisive passage of the New arms with his old opponent, Empire Antigonus, he had extended his power far over the borders of Babylonia, and created for himself an empire which went from the Euphrates eastward to the Jaxartes and comprised all the so-called upper satrapies. It would be interesting to be able to tollow the distinct steps of this expansion of his power, but our sources fail here. We hear only that Seleucus unexpectedly by night attacked Nicanor, who had been placed in command by Antigonus in Media and the upper satrapies, and had advanced upon the news of Seleucus' return to Babylon. In this night attack many distinguished leaders fell, among them the satrap of Persia, and the greater part of the troops went over to Seleucus. Nicanor was forced to fly. Media, and Persia fell to Scleucus, who thus won a powerful position. The feeling of the upper satrapies was not favourable to Antigonus, which was to Seleucus' advantage. The governors of those parts either voluntarily submitted or, as in Bactria, were forced into submission. Similarly he tried to make the Macedonian power once more felt in India, where it had been destroyed since the establishment of a strong native empire by Seleucus crossed the Chandragupta -Indus to fight him, but concluded a peace on favourable terms for the Indian prince. In return for a tribute of 500 elephants he confirmed Chandragupta in his former dominions, and subsequent alliance Tribute marriage established permanent from friendly relations between the India two empires. Seleucus had thus in a few years founded an empire and grown strong enough to interfere in the West Like his neighbour, he assumed the royal diadem in 306 в С The advance of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Hellas, and his pressure on Cassander, induced the latter immediately to turn to Antigonus, in order to make his peace with him. Antigonus demanded complete submission, and thus unequivocally asserted his claims to the overlordship. Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, to whom Cassander communicated this arrswer, saw the common danger-all four kings concluded a new treaty of alliance and began the war against Antigonus. But only Lysimachus and Seleucus took active part in it. When the former marched across the Hellespont

Antigonus was defeated and slain.

The allies divided the spoils. The chief share in it, as was fair, fell to the two actual conquerors. Lysimachus received north-western Asia Minor—Caria, Lydia, Ionia and Hellespontine

to Asia Minor, Seleucus went to join him

with his army in Phrygia, and in conjunction with Lysimachus offered Anti-

gonus battle at lpsus in 301 B.C., where

Phrygia; Seleucus had Greater Phrygia and Syria. Ptolemy, who as a member of the alliance against Antigonus had invaded Syria, but had again evacuated the land on the false news of a victory and further advance of Antigonus, was torced to waive his claim on Syria, for the possession of which he had long striven. The expedition of Demetrius Poliorcetes—who had lost Macedonia into Asia in 286 B.C. was without noteworthy influence on the affairs of Asia Minor, for he soon fell into the power of Seleucus and died a prisoner in 282 B.C. But once again Seleucus had to take the field. Lysimachus had caused his son and successor, Agathocles, to be killed on the malicious accusation of his wife, Λ_1 smoe. and hei brother, Ptolemy Ceraunos, who had fled from Egypt to Macedonia because his younger brother had been appointed successor—Lysandra, widow of Agathocles, fled with her children to Scleucus in Syria. Thither also resorted Ceraunos who no longer felt himself secure in Macedonia, and another son of Lysimachus, by name Alexander. Thrace and Selencus received them all with Asia Minor war broke out in 281 B.C.

Thrace and Asia Minor Gained triendly hospitality. Hence a between Lysimachus and Seleucus Lysimachus was killed in battle, and Seleucus entered on his inheritance in Asia Minor and Europe.

Seleucus appointed his son Antiochus, who had for a long time administered the upper satispies, regent of Asia, desiring himself to reside in Macedonia, in order to end his days in the land of his birth; while ne intended Thrace for the children of the murdered Agathocles. He had already landed in Europe when, in 281 B.C., he fell beneath the dagger of Ceraunos, the very man who had shortly before fled to him, beseeching help. The murderer made himself master of Macedonia and Thrace.

In a long life Seleucus had, indeed, learnt the uncertainty of all things, but towards the end had enjoyed permanent prosperity and had attained greatness. Shortly before he died the greater part of Alexander's empire was in his hands. But he was not merely a fortunate conqueror, who forced large tracts of land to his own rule, and might with justice style himself Nicator, or Conqueror, but he resembled Alexander the Great in having done all that lay in his power to

disseminate Hellenic culture, while he promoted trade and traffic in his own dominions and opened new sources of prosperity. He continued on a magnificent scale the policy of colonisation begun by Alexander. The founding of seventyfive towns is ascribed to him, including Seleucia on the Tigris, which, rapidly Founder of flourishing, contained soon after the Christian era 600,000 inhabitants. Antioch on the five Towns Orontes, which flourished even in later antiquity, Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch; Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia, Laodicea in the Lebanon, and Apamea on the Orontes In the east also numerous towns were founded on the Greek model, with a senate and a popular assembly, and these soon became centres of culture and growing prosperity.

When Seleucus L, Nicator, died, the empire established by him had attained its greatest expansion. The power of the Seleucidz—the name usually given in honour of its creator and founder to the dynasty which, through Seleucus, became lords of these dominions—stretched then from the Bosphorus and the western coast of Asia Minor to the Indus and from Syria to the Jaxartes and the Pamii Those who wish to designate the empire of Seleucus no longer by the reigning dynasty, but by a geographical term, are accustomed to call it, in accordance with the true position and the real fulcrum of the power of its rulers, the Syrian empire, this designation is, indeed, less appropriate for the period of Seleucus and his immediate successors than for the later Sciencidae.

But this empire was merely a conglomeration of countries, inhabited by the most heterogeneous nations. In this lav its weakness. Seleucus at first resided in Babylon, at about the centre of his empire. He afterwards removed his residence to Antioch on the Orontes-that is to say, Antioch This shifting of the centre of the Capital gravity of the empire from its central point to the circumference was clearly due to the fact that Seleucus had entrusted his son Antiochus, with the administration of the upper satrapies; but Antioch remained the capital even after his death. The choice of the royal residence was a very important matter for the empire, which, badly defined and devoid of natural coherence in all

respects, as it was, found its ideal unity only in the person of its monarch. Although the Seleucidæ obviously did not renounce any claim on the eastern satrapies by this arrangement, these became, in fact, tar removed from the heart of the empire and withdrew more and more from the influence of the central authority. The The Love first successor of Seleucus was his son, Antiochus, surnamed Antiochus Soter, who even in his father's lifetime had administered as co-regent the countries lying east of the Euphrates He had taken to wife Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Stratonice was originally married to his father, but had been voluntarily surrendered by the latter to the son, who was wasting away with love for her, an occurrence which soon became a fertile subject for the Greek writers of iomances He followed his father's example, and nominated his two sons as regents first the elder, Seleucus, and after his izurder, the younger, Antiochus.

The history of the next two generations, which are taken up by the reigns of Antiochus I., Soter (281-261), Antiochus II., Theos (261-246), and Seleucus II., Callinicus (246-226), is marked by the relations of Syria to Egypt and by the wars which the Seleucidae had to wage with the neighbour states. The position of Syria as regards the states of Asia Minor was not less important. In addition, there was the defection of the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes; for now began the subjugation of the Parthian province by the neighbouring inhabitants of the steppes and the formation of the new Parthian emining.

Complications with Egypt began directly after the death of Seleucus. The first question at issue was that of the possession of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, countries to which Ptolemy Soter laid claim on the ground that he had conquered them in 318 B.C., had lost them Wars with through Antigonus, but had demanded them once more on Ptolemies the occasion of the last alliance of the kings against Antigonus as a prize of victory for his share in the war. Since, however, the battle at Ipsus had been fought without Ptolemy's assistance, Syria had been awarded to Seleucus in the distribution. For this reason Ptolemy's son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, soon after the death of Seleucus, began the

First Syrian War. We know little of its course. Philadelphus conquered Cœle-Syria, the southern part of Syria, and by means of his fleet brought strips of the coast of Asia Minor under his rule, so that Egypt firmly established herself on the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and Ionia.

But besides the Ptolemies, other foes to the Scleucidæ had arisen in Asia In the north-western corner lay Bithynia, which had been able under native princes to preserve its independence throughout the whole of their Even the attempt made by Antiochus, immediately after his accession, to subdue Bithyma had failed. To the south-west of it, in the valley of the Caicus, lay Pergamus, a strong fortress. the commander of which, Philetærus, revolted from his new masters, the Seleucidæ, after Lysimachus' death, and, being amply provided with funds was able to lay skilfully the foundations of an In addition, the unportant dominion Galatians had come into Asia Minor as They had been invited in a new power Coming 277 B.C. by Nicomedes of Bithynia to come over from Thrace, of the and had remained here. Gauls occupied the country on the upper Sangarius and middle Halys, and as far as political influence went, greatly contributed to the disintegration of Asia Minor. Against them also Antiochus had to fight to protect his territory. It is recorded that he defeated the Galatians. This victory helped to confine them to the district called, after them, Galatia, but it did not effect their subjugation. Antiochus was still more unlucky in the war against Eumenes of Pergamus, in which he was defeated at Sardis. Soon afterwards he died, in 261 B c.

His son and Successor, Antiochus II. surnamed Theos, who reigned from 261 to 246 B.C., was not in a position to alter the state of affairs in Asia Minor and to win back the districts torn from his kingdom. With Egypt he waged the Second Syrian War. We know nothing more of it than that its objects, the recovery of Cœle-Syria and the driving out of the Egyptians from the coast of Asia Minor, were not realised. The status quo was recognised in the subsequent peace; and to seal and confirm it, Ptolemy Philadelphus gave his daughter Berenice to Antiochus in marriage. Antiochus'

THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ

first wife, Laodice, who was disgraced and divorced for the sake of the Egyptian princess, in revenge poisoned her husband and instigated her eldest son, the new king, Seleucus II., surnamed Callinicus, to the murder of his stepmother. To avenge this crime, Ptolemy Euergetes, who in 246 B.C. had followed Philadelphus on the Egyptian throne, began the Third Syrian War. While Euergetes marched to Syria at the head of his troops his fleet salled from Cyprus to Cilicia, where many Seleucid officials, as well as many Cilician towns, voluntarily joined the Egyptians; the officials devoted to their old lord, had

Only Seleucia and the Cilician coast remained in the Egyptian power.

The reign of Seleucus II. was extremely stormy and disturbed; and its records lack coherence. His brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, disputed with him the dominion over Asia Minor and rose against him, relying on the independent states of the Bithymans, Cappadocians, and Galatians. But in the war of the two brothers against each other and in that with Attalus, Prince of Pergamus, who conquered and routed Hierax, the country as far as the Taurus was lost to the Seleucidae. Herax was murdered in



THE LOVE OF ANTIOCHUS FOR HIS STEP-MOTHER STRATONICE.

Stratonice, daughter of Demetrus Polion cetes, was married to Sciencius 1, this son Antiochus because the latter was wasting away with love for her From the picture by De Lauesse

to fly, and the towns who favoured him were besieged. The fleet then sailed for Seleucia, the important North Syria. coast town, and later Antioch, the capital, which lies a short distance from it, were occupied. Euergetes himself crossed the Euphrates with an army, made himself master of the upper satrapies, and brought back the treasures and relics which the Persians had in earlier times carried off from the Egyptians. In spite of such astounding successes, the Egyptian king suddenly concluded peace, because, it was said, uproar and revolt in his own country summoned him back.

his flight by robbers about 227 B.C. Even in the east the dominion of the Seleucidae fared badly. In the time of Antiochus Theos the Bactrian governor, Diodotus, had revolted. He proclaimed himself king of Bactria, and was recognised in Sogdiana and Margiana in 250 B.C. About the same time the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, chiefs of the nomadic tribe of the Parni, whose pasturing-grounds were on Bactrian territory, had moved further west and had occupied the Seleucid territory of Astabene. Arsaces was immediately proclaimed king there Thence they invaded Parthia, and, after

defeating the governor, made themselves masters of the country. The attempt of Seleucus Callinicus to expel Arsaces failed, and the Parthian empire of the Arsacidæ became established more firmly; it disappeared only in 226 AD, after a duration of 480 years. When Callinicus died, in 226 B.C., the Seleucid empire comprised The only Northern Syria, without the important scaport Scleucia Pieria; Cilicia, with the excep-Empire tion of the coast; and the land eastward from the Euphrates as far as Media, Susiana, and Persia Asia Minor this side of the Taurus and all the land east of Media was in the hands of the enemy Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, for which battles had so often been fought, belonged now, as formerly, to the Egyptians.

Seleucus III., surnamed Soter, eldest son of Callinicus, reigned only a short time—226-223 B.C. He was assassinated while on a campaign over the Taurus against Attalus of Pergamus. He was tollowed by his brother, Antiochus III. (223–187 B.C.), aged twenty, to whom the surname Megas, or the Great, has been given. At first he was a pliant tool in the hand of his first Minister, Hermeias, an intriguing Carian The settlement of aftairs in Asia Minor, where, after 227, Attalus had extended his territory up to the Taurus, and the war with Pergamus, were entrusted by him to his cousin, Achæus. He himself planned a war against Egypt, in order to bring once for all under his power the longdisputed Cœle-Syria. And in this plan he still held firmly to the counsel of Hermeias, when, in 222 BC, news was brought him of the revolt of the Median satrap Molon, and his brother Alexander, who governed Persia. Antiochus did not himself march until Molon had conquered several of his generals, placed the diadem on his head and, starting from Apollomatis after the capture of Seleucia on the

Wars of Antiochus the Great Babylonia. In 220 B.C Antiochus chus crossed the Tigus and pushed into Apolloniatis, in order to cut off his enemy's retreat into Media. A battle was fought, Molon was defeated, and died by his own hand. As a warning example his corpse was crucified and displayed on the highest point of the Zagros Mountains, over which the road from the West into Media led. Antiochus settled affairs with leniency and moderation.

Seleucia alone was severely punished. He then invaded Atropatene. Here the prince, Artabazanes, who had taken Molon's side, was terrified by the sudden invasion and made a treaty favourable to Antiochus. Hermeias, the powerful Minister, was afterwards murdered.

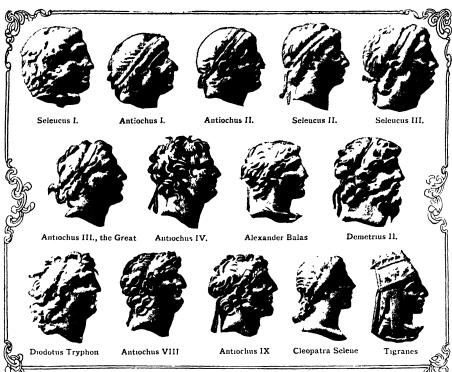
Antiochus on his return to Syria began extensive preparations for the Egyptian war. The campaign of the year 219 B.C. opened favourably. Seleucia Pierra, the port of Antroch, which had been Egyptian since the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, was taken. The Egyptian governor of Cœle-Syria, Theodotus, an Etolian, went over to Antiochus and delivered up the seaports of Ptolemais and Tyre. Other towns also surrendered to him. But what was universally expected did not happen. Instead of attacking Egypt, which was ill-prepared for war, the king marched back from the Phœnician coast to Seleucia. Now began negotiations by Ptolemy's Ministers, Agatholes and Sosibus, while they were busily arming; and in the winter of 210-218 B.C. the conclusion of a four months' truce was actually obtained.

A Truce
After
Victory

In the summer of 218 Antiochus
was again in Code-Syria and
deteated the Egyptians, but
when Ptolemy in 217 B.C., after mighty
preparations, took the field in person,
Antiochus was beaten at Raphia on the
borders of Syria and Egypt and was
forced to relinquish the conquered districts
Ptolemy made no further use of
his victory.

Meantime, in Asia Minor, Achæus had revolted from Antiochus and had been proclaimed king. Antiochus took up the war, and in 216 marched over the Taurus, forced the enemy back to Sardis, and after a siege of two years took the town by a stratagem. Achæus was delivered into the liands of Antiochus, who caused him to be executed.

There now followed a series of successful operations. In 200 B.C. Antiochus undertook a campaign of several years' duration in the East. He first invaded the territory of the Parthians, where the Aisacid dynasty was compelled to recognise the supremacy of Sylia. He then marched to Bactiia. Euthydemus encountered him on the Aielos, but had to retreat after a gallant fight. Bactria, the capital, was besieged; and Euthydemus, reduced to great straits, threatened



THE RULERS OF THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ FROM 306 to 64 B c

The dynasty and empire of the Seleucidæ was founded by Seleucus I about 306 B c Under
the rule of his three successors, Antiochus I and II and Seleucus II, who waged the three Syrian Wars,
the realm fared badly Seleucus III reigned for three stormy years, but his brother, Antiochus III.,
the Great, restored the empire to its original importance. Both he and his son, Antiocnus IV, however,
had to submit to Rome Alexander Balas, an upstart king encouraged by Rome, was driven out by
Demetrius II, and he, in turn, by Diodotus Tryphon. Antiochus VIII and IX and the latter's son all
married, in turn, Cleopatra Selene Tigranes, king of Armenia, conquered Syria before
the final supremacy of Rome The portraits are from coins in the British Museum.

to call the nomads into the country and to give up the Greek civilisation to their mercy. The Seleucid, whose house had disseminated Greek culture everywhere, did not refuse to listen to such arguments. The parties then concluded an offensive and detensive alliance in 206 B.C. Antiochus now went over the Hindu-Kush into the valley of Kabul and renewed with the Indian king, Subhagasena, the triendship which Seleucus Nicator had formed with Chandragupta. Subhagasena also gave him elephants and turnished He began his army with provisions. his return through Arachosia and Drangiana and wintered in Carmania, or Ker-From there he made a digression towards the opposite Arabian coast to the rich trading nation of the Gerrhæi. Thence the king returned to Seleucia. This campaign brought the Seleucid name once more into honour in the East, and won for the king among his contemporaries the surname of "the Great."

In the meanwhile, the young Ptolemy Epiphanes had come to the throne in Egypt in 205 B.C. The kings Antiochus of Syria and Philip V. of Macedonia concluded therefore a treaty, with the avowed object of seizing the Egyptian possessions and of dividing them among themselves. Philip crossed into Asia Minor, but was there entangled in a war with Pergamus, Rhodes, and lastly with Rome herself. Antiochus sought to realise his former intentions against Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. The diplomatic interference of Rome in favour of her ward, Epiphanes,

was not able to check the king in his project, successfully begun, of subjugating Coele-Syria, which was completed by the defeat of the Egyptians under the Ætolian mercenary, Scopas, on Mount Paneum, near the sources of the Jordan, in 198 B.C. Coele-Syria and Phœnicia thus became once more Syrian.

Marriage As Antiochus wished to have a free hand for Asia Minor and With Europe, he concluded peace with Egypt Egypt and sealed it by the betrothal of his daughter Cleopatra to

Ptolemy Epiphanes.

In 196 B.C. Antiochus crossed over to Europe, occupied the Chersonese, rebuilt Lysimacheia, made this town his arsenal, and set about the conquest of Thrace, as if all belonged to him which his great ancestor, Nicator, would have ruled if he had not been suddenly murdered. The strained relations with Rome were intensified when Antiochus hospitably received Hannibal, Rome's greatest foe. After diplomatic negotiations, war with Rome finally broke out, when Antiochus, at the instigation of the Ætolians, crossed to Greece in 192 B.C. and began to subdue Hellenic towns and provinces. Contemptuously ignorant of Roman power, he landed with ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. He attempted to bar the advance of the Roman army at eluded but was and Thermopylæ, defeated. With few followers he fled to Asia Minor in 191 B.C. The Syrian fleet also had been defeated at sea: first in 191 B C. by C. Livius at Corycus, between Chios and Ephesus, then in 190 B.C. by Æmilius at Myonnesus. The king's consternation at this reverse was so great that he evacuated Lysimacheia, his fortified arsenal on the Thracian coast, and thus left the road to the Hellespont free to Cornelius Scipio. The decisive battle took place at Magnesia on Mount Sipylos; Antiochus was completely defeated in 190 B.C. By the terms Expensive of the peace he had to cede Peace Asia Minor as far as the Taurus. With Rome to surrender his elephants and his fleet, except ten ships, and to pay a war indemnity of 15,000 Euboic talents (£4,800,000), of which 3,000 were to be paid at once, and 12,000 in the course of the next twelve years. Soon afterwards Antiochus was killed by the Elymæi, or Elamites, on an expedition to the East, where he wished to plunder the

temple of Belus, in order to fill his empty coffers in 187 B.C.

Antiochus was succeeded by his sons, Seleucus IV., surnamed Philopator (187-175 B.C.), and Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.). Seleucus, who had to struggle with the financial distress caused by the payments to Rome, was murdered by his minister, Heliodorus. The latter attempted to usurp the throne, but could not hold it. Antiochus came to the throne, supported by Pergamus. He was immediately entangled in a war with Egypt. His sister, Cleopatra, had married Ptolemy Epiphanes in 193 BC. and had received as a bridal gift the assignment of the taxes from several towns in Colle-Syria. Cleopatra died in 173 B.C. and disputes arose over her The Egyptians claimed the dowry. towns, and demanded the continuance of the payments even after the death of the queen. Antiochus dechned, since the Syrian claim of supremacy had never been relinquished there. Very never been relinquished there. shortly, war resulted. A victory at Pelusium delivered that important town into Antiochus
Conquers

the hands of Antiochus, and made his road to Egypt open he king, Ptolemy Philometor, Egypt ell into the hands of the enemy, and at the wish of the people his brother, Physicon, undertook the government in Egypt. Epiphanes was repulsed, but kept Pelusium. Philometor, having regained his freedom, came to an agreement

At this juncture C. Popillius Lienas appeared in the camp of the king at Alexandria with an order from the Roman senate, bidding Antiochus leave Egypt at once. He marched out of Egypt, and gave up Pelusium, but kept Cœle-Syria and Phoenicia in 168 B.C. The peremptory command of Rome had been enough. Enlightened by his father's disaster, and feeling hunself not strong enough to wage a war with Rome, he was compelled to recognise the domineering foreign power in distant Italy, and submit himself to it. In the course of a generation, then, Syria had fallen for ever from the position of a worldpower, which it held under Antiochus III.

with his brother. Epiphanes now attacked

Egypt afresh and besieged Alexandria.

We have just seen how Armenia had formed itself into two independent kingdoms. The next campaign of Epiphanes was directed thither in 166 B.C. He penetrated far into the land, took King

Artaxias prisoner, but replaced him in his kingdom, just as once his father, notwithstanding successful campaigns, had in the end recognised the kings of Parthia and Bactria Armenia must certainly at this time have recognised the supremacy of Syna, but it did not again become a Syrian province. From Armenia, Epiphanes turned to the Persian Gulf, where he rebuilt a town founded by Alexander at the mouth of the Tigris, which had tallen to ruins, and called it Antioch. The new Antioch at the mouth of the Tigris having been again destroyed by the floods, was rebuilt afresh by the satrap, Hyspaosines, secured by strong dams, and called Charax. It soon afterwards became a flourishing commercial town and capital of a small kingdom. On the way to Persia to suppress a revolt, Antiochus IV. died at Tabæ, in 164 B.C., of consumption. The story of his relations with Judge and the Maccabees is related in a following section

Eupator (164-162 BC), Demetrius I. Soter came to the throne (162-150 BC). He was the son of Seleucus IV., and had been at Rome as a hostage when Roman Tutelage his father was murdered and his uncle Epiphanes, became king. From the outset he had to contend with the hatred of Roman tutelage. Timarchus, satrap of Media, revolted from Demetrius, and with the assent of the Roman senate assumed the diadem. In alliance with Artaxias of Armenia he soon subdued the neighbouring lands- and became master of Babylonia; but when Demetrius took the field against him, was defeated and slain in 160 B.C. Thus Media and Babylonia were again saved; and the grateful Babylonians, who hated Timarchus, gave to Demetrius the title of Soter, "the Saviour,"

After the short reign of Antiochus V.

But Rome, irritated at the destruction of her protégé, created fresh difficulties for Demetrius and formed an alliance of the neighbouring countries against him, in accordance with which a certain Alexander Balas, who was given out to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, set up as a rival king, and invaded Syria. Demetrius fell in the war against him in 150 b.c. The new king, who styled himself Alexander Theopator Euergetes, was, however, totally incapable. Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, who had joined in supporting him, soon put forward Demetrius, son of Demetrius I., against him. After long struggles, in which

Alexander Balas was worsted, Demetrius II. became king in 145 B.C. But against him also a certain Diodotus rose as a rival under the name of Tryphon, and succeeded in driving Demetrius out of the greater part of Syria. The effect of these calamitous civil wars was soon apparent. The rich and fertile provinces of Media and Victories Babylonia were now lost and passed into the power of the of the Parthians. Seleucia, on the Parthians Tigris, the proud creation of the first Seleucidæ, was taken by them, and Demetrius II. himself was defeated by the Parthians and taken prisoner in 138 в.с.

His brother, Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who took his place in Syria, succeeded in ending the civil dissensions, after removing Tryphon, and in re-establishing the royal power. In 130 B.C. he undertook a campaign against the Parthians. The latter, being defeated on the Lycus, now released his brother Demetrius from captivity, probably in the hope that he would begin afresh the civil war and thus draw off Antiochus from Parthia. But before that happened the Parthians once more contronted Antiochus, and this time he was deteated and slain in 120 B C. Thenceforth the dominion of the Seleucidæ was limited to the countries west of the Euphrates.

When Demetrius returned to his home under Parthian auspices, he began a war immediately with Egypt. The Syrian towns, especially the capital Antioch, and Apamea, sick of incessant war and misgovernment, and contemptuous of a Parthian protégé, revolted, and Ptolemy of Egypt set up against him in Syria Zabinas the son of a merchant, who received the name of Alexander, and was passed off for an adopted son of the fallen He succeeded in deteating Antiochus Demetrius, and the unpopular Demetrius went to Tyre, where he was killed as he disembarked from his ship in 125 B.C. Demetrius II. had two sons Antiochus by his marriage with Cleopatra. Of these, Seleucus was Nose " killed by his own mother soon after the father's death, because he had assumed the diadem without her consent: the other, however, mounted the throne. A disturbed reign was the lot of this Antiochus VIII. Grypus, or "Long Nose," as it had been that of his father. A breach between Ptolemy and the rival king, Alexander Zabinas, led to closer

relations between the Egyptian and Grypus, in consequence of which the latter received not only ample assistance from Egypt, but also the hand of the Egyptian princess, Tryphaena. This open help from Egypt brought many Syrian towns to the side of Grypus, who thus, being supported on all sides, could War of Z Alexander Zabinas was worsted in the battle: the Brothers a fugitive, he was seized by rob-bers, and was brought to Grypus and killed. Thus Grypus was lord and ruler of his father's realm. He did not, however. long enjoy the sole rule. His stepbrother. Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus, opposed him The war between the brothers led eventually to a partition of the realm obtained Syria proper and Cilicia. Cyzicenus had Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia - In the year of BC Grypus was murdered. His son Seleucus VI., repulsed indeed, the attack of Cyzicenus, but had to fight with his four brothers In Coele-Syria and Phoe-

micia, after the death of Cyzicenuslus son, Antior has X. Eusebes "the Prous," regard. He married - an event which throws light on the morality of family relations at that time — his own mother, Cleopatra Selene, who had been the wife of Grypus and then of Cyzicenus, after having been previously wedded to Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt.

A greatly diminished empire, torn by fraternal wars and civil dissension whose history teemed with muider and horrors of every kind—that is the unedifying picture of the conditions of the Seleucid dynasty about 100 B.C. There was no longer any thought of accomplishing the great task pointed out by Seleucus, that of making the powerful empire into a state which should spread the blessings of civilisation and should find its most honourable work in the dissemination of Hellenism.

Antiochus III had ultimately given back to the empire for a brief moment the position which it had held under the first Seleucide, although none of the successors had ruled an empire as wide as that which Seleucus had bequeathed to them. Antiochus Epiphanes and Antiochus Sidetes had striven earnestly to re-establish the former power, but all they created or founded soon tell to pieces again.

Under their successor the empire w_a abandoned to the influence of the neighbouring powers. The intervention of Rome or Egypt in Syri callairs prove too often fateful and controls to the Seleucida.

In this helpless condition the empire King Tigianes of Armema as able to conquer first Syria proper in \$3.1 C and then the greater part of Phomos with Ptolemais in 74 B.C. The Roman In Lucullus, prepared the death blow to as supremacy in these regions. Shortly aften in the year 64 B.C., Pompey appeared at Syria and put an end to the Seleucif take Henceforth Syria ceases to have may history of its own. It flourished independent of the Strong arm of the Roman empiror for Rome carefully continued all that the Seleucida had accomplished by the extension of Hellenic culture. The land passed from the Romans to the

Byzantines, and from K. G. Bryxing them to the Arabs. H. R. HM



GREEK INFLUENCE ON INDIAN ART
The wonderful Buddhist art of Gandhara, the modern district of
Peshawar, of which the above is an example, was based on the
tradition of classical art brought to Bactria and India by Greeks.

WESTERN
ASIA TO THE
TIME OF
MAHOMET



III BACTRIA

BACTRIA: A GREEK CENTRE IN THE EAST

NORTH of the Hindu-Kush, west of the Pamirs, and east of Iran there stretches towards the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral a wide region, through which two streams, the Oxus and the Jaxartes flow. In antiquity the country on the upper course of the Oxus was called Bactria, on which Sogdiana bordered in the direction of the Jaxartes, towards the north, while the country on the lower courses of these two invers, which stretched to the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, was usually called Chorasmia or Khwarezm.

The Bactrian kingdom, the rulers of which are said to have fought for many centuries against the Turanians—that is, against the nomads—and to have won great victories, was of immense antiquity. But the kings in the accounts handed down are mere mythical figures.

The Bactrian kings ended when Cyrus on his great expedition to the East subdued Bactria and gave the administration of the

land to his brother, Bardias. The Bactria supremacy of Persia over the Under Iranic East was maintained until Persia Alexander the Great, as hen Persian empire, which had been destroyed by him, subdued Bactria and Sogdiana in the course of his conquests. He sought, by founding towns —among them Alexandria Eschate on the Jaxartes --to ensure the obedience of the conquered country and to win it over to Greek civilisation. He settled Macedonian and Greek soldiers here, and these, doubtless, were joined soon by merchants and enterprising persons of all sorts, since the country, through which of old the wares of India were brought to the Black Sea, promised rich profits.

On the tidings of Alexander's death, the Greeks settled by him in the military colonics, consisting of 20,000 foot-soldiers and 3,000 horsemen, marched out, wishing to force their way to their old home; but, at the orders of the regent, Perdiccas, Peithon, governor of Media, went against them, defeated them through the treachery of one of their leaders, and his victorious troops put them and their generals to the

sword, in order to seize their property. Notwithstanding this, the Macedonian supremacy remained unshaken here.

When Seleucus became governor of Babylonia and founded round it a great empire for himself, Bactria and Sogdiana formed part of it. The first Settling Sciencide spared no precautions to secure these Eastern domi-Colony nions. Alexandria Eschate was strengthened, and a new town, Antioch, founded in the same district, and others were restored or strengthened. These countries remained provinces of the Seleucid empire until, in the year 250 B.C., the governor, Diodotus, revolted and caused himself to be proclaimed king. Margiana and Sogdiana belong d from the first to the new The times had been peculiarly kıngdom favourable for the revolt. The successors of Seleucus Nicator had been so occupied in Asia Minor and by the wars with Egypt that their attention had been completely diverted from the Far East. The Bactrian empire was able, in the meanwhile, to strengthen itself. The treaty that Diodotus II., the son and successor of the first king, made with Titidates of Parthia against Callinicus shows that both rulers accognised their common danger. Diodotus might enjoy his possession undisturbed so long as the Parthian empire lay between him and his former masters.

But the dynasty of Diodotus was soon dethroned by a Greek from Magnesia, in Asia Minor, named Euthydemus. When Antiochus III, had brought the Parthians at least to recognise the Seleucid supremacy and marched against Bactria in 208 B.C., Euthydemus ruled there. The campaign ended with the recognition of

Greek Rule in Bactria

Bactria

Tuler's threat of calling the nomads into the country and giving up Hellenic civilisation to their mercy. The treaty shows the importance attached both by Euthydemus and Antiochus to Bactria as a barrier against the "Scythian" barbarians.

The same Demetrius, to whom Antiochus III, had betrothed his daughter while his father still lived, crossed the Hindu-Kush and extended the Bactrian rule as far as the Indus and the Punjab. Thus, the valley of Kabul and the Punjab, which Alexander had once possessed, were won back to Hellenism. The old town of Sangala, henceforth called Bactrian Euthydemia, was made the Conquests capital of the Indian possesin India sions. About the same time Arachosia, where the city of Demetrias, so called after Demetrius, was founded and probably also Aria and Drangiana were made subject to the Bactrian supremacy. This is the period of Bactila's greatest Demetrius succeeded his father. Euthydemus, in the government, but was fated to see Eucratidas successfully contest

fought against the tribes inhabiting Aria.

Drangiana, Sogdiana and Arachosia We

have no details about these internal wars,

the rule with him

and culture from them. At any rate, these conditions greatly simplified the conquest of Bactria by the barbarians.

When, about 140 B.C., the Yue-tshi, nomads akin to the Tibetans, driven by the Turkish people of the Hiungnu from their abodes, appeared on the Bactrian frontiers, in order to seek new homes for themselves there, they found no opposi-The land as far as the Oxus fell tion to them. This sealed the fate of Greek culture north of the Hindu-Kush. South of the Hindu-Kush the Greeks maintained themselves a century longer. Among the numerous kings, handed down to us on coins, who seem to belong to this era and this country, only Menander is known from other sources also He extended his dominion over the Punjab up to the middle course of the Ganges, but ruled also down to the mouth of the Indus and east of it in Syrastene, the He is said to have been a Buddhist, and was renowned for his



Eucratidas also

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF RULERS OF BACTRIA FROM THEIR COINAGE Diodotus proclaimed himself king in 250 B c. His dynasty was overthrown by the Greek Euthydemus, who was followed by his son Demetrius. Eucratidas, in turn, overthrew him. Euthydemus II was one of the later kings

but only hear that the Parthians, under Mithradates, at this time became masters of Aria, or Herat, and that Eucratidas, on his return from an expedition to India was murdered by his son.

But an addition to him there were other The civil war had thus had rumous consequences. Numerous toyal names have been handed down to us on the coms, and the empire was clearly broken up into separate portions, the respective kings of which were at war with each other But however little we are able to give with certainty the order of succession among the recorded kings, or the period of their reign, or the country where this or that king ruled, still it is very certain that this empire, weakened by intestine wars and manifold divisions, must have continually become more alienated from its chief task-namely, that of keeping the barbarians far from its frontiers and in protecting civilisation

This Greek dominion in India was ended by a chief called by the Chinese Kieu-tsieu-Kio or Kadphises in the Greek legend on the coms, the prince of Kushang, one of the five tribes into which the Yue-tshi were broken up After he had united all these nomads into one aggregate, he conquered Kabul and Kophene south of the Hindu-Kush. His son, Kadaphes, added part of India to his dominions. This Scytho-Indian empire lasted to the end of the Greek fourth century A.D. Its central Art in point was the territory of Gand-India hara, the modern district of Peshawar. Here developed first century B.C. the wonderful Buddhist art which was based on the tradition of classical art brought to Bactria and India by the Greeks see the statue of Buddha reproduced on page 1846. The influence of Greek art on that of Gandhara is obvious.



THE JEWS AFTER THE CAPTIVITY

XX/ITH the Persian conquest of Babylonia, the "Babylonian captivity" of the Jews was brought to an end. Cyrus. who on the whole followed the policy of granting self-government to small communities, had nothing to say against the desire of the fervent Jews to sacrifice to God in His own dwelling place. He granted permission for the return From this point we have as authorities only the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah From the post-exile narratives, such as the Chronicles furnish. it is impossible to gather even such facts as can be established from the Books of the Kings - Ezra and Nehemiah write in the spirit of the Chronicles—namely, from the standpoint of the hierarchical party Although we are unable, in the absence of other sources of information. compare their statements with secular narratives or evidences, historians may make use of them by recognising the bias which underlies narrative Soon after the occu-From pation of Babylon by Cyrus, in Exile 530 BC a caravan of Jews stated to consist of 40,000 personsstarted for the Promised Land under the leadership of Zerubbabel, a descendant of David and of the priest Jeshua. Zerubbabel's descent we may see evidence of the belief that the house of David and the priesthood must govern together the promised Jewish kingdom. The newcomers tared like all enthusiasts found everything very different from what their spiritual Utopia had made them expect. They could not be prominent in the midst of a population which cared little about the Jewish people, and the kingdom of David soon proved to be still a thing of the future, like the ideal states of so many a Utopian undertaking of later times. On the other hand, the temporal and spiritual powers, the prince of David's lineage and the high-priest, soon fell out. Cambyses then forbade the completion of the Temple.

A new stimulus, or rather, subsidy, was given to the undertaking, in the year 520 BC, under Darius, at the urgent request of the new community, which found expression in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah The rich body of Jews in Babylonia and elsewhere in the empire went out of their way Help and exerted all then influence From to effect the completion of the Darius Temple. At the same time the quarrel between the prince and the highpriest was decided in favour of the latter. The high-priest was recognised as possessing equal privileges. It must, however, have been apparent that the returned exiles had already begun to show themselves ordinary mortals in place of religious sectaries. Many, including the leaders themselves, had abandoned their strict isolation and had begun to seek contact with the heathen world. It was seen from the very first of what spirit "this return from exile" was the off-It was an attempt to realise the hierarchical ideals of Judaism, with the aid of its supporters throughout the world The situation was precisely the same as would be created if the Jewish plutocrats of the present day founded There never a new Jewish Jerusalem, was a state which has been independently developed on the basis of the Jewish code, and there never can be one, for this code is the organisation of a religious body. It arose as such, and as such it was employed; but a state obeys the universal laws of the Nο development of mankind, and Political these are different from those History of a religious body, which lives under their protection. There never been any political history of Judaism, and least of all can the history of the period we are now examining be regarded as political. A history of Judaism belongs to the internal history of the development of all civilised countries—in

of Western civilisation, from the Persian era to the present day. The branch of Judaism, which hoped to attain its ideals in the Promised Land, was far from playing the most prominent part in this development, and it has little or no bearing on the history of the world. Even Christianity did not grow up in the narrow sphere of this Jewish hierarchy, but in the Persia domain of the civilised East, flooded by Judaism, as well as in the countries of Hellenistic culture over which it also spread - Judaism, which was a power in the Persian empire and at the court, was forced therefore to make a fresh advance if it did not wish to acknowledge the ideals of its religion to be impracticable. It was powerful and sufficiently imbued with its faith to undertake even costly political attempts. Ezia, described as a Jewish scholar from Babylonia and of priestly descent. received in the year 514 BC mission from Darius -tradition erroneously makes him out to be Artaxerxes Longimanus -to head the second great migration to Jerusalem, in order to realise the ideal state of the Jewish hierarchy The undertaking was carried out with the fullest sanction and support of the state Judaism accordingly was in a position to obtain a hearing for its wishes at court—But Ezra and his trusted followers soon experienced the stern realities of life to the detriment of their ideals. Ezia met at once with opposition from the most influential part of the population already settled in the land, which was by no means willing to submit to his There was especial opposidemands tion to the stringent regulation that non-Jewish wives should be put away, and mixed marriages avoided. Even strict Jewish discipline had to give way before the force of the requirements of daily life.

fact, of all nations lying within the region

Our accounts are vague, and Rebuilding give no actual facts for the ensuing period of his activity Jerusalem until thirteen years had passed. The hierarchical party, in order to secure for themselves the possession of Jerusalem, took steps to rebuild the walls of the The secular party, as we may term them, who saw in this the consummation of the rule of the intolerant priesthood, strained every effort in order to hinder the undertaking, through the Persian

officials and the neighbouring princes-Tobiah the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian —with whom they entered into close relations. But strictly enforced orthodoxy had long been the firm bond of Judaism throughout the empire, and thus the party of the priests won the day. The influence of the Jewish element which listened to them was stronger at court than that of the government officials, and Nehemiah, a Jew holding, it is said, the high post of cupbearer, was enthusiastic enough to devote his powers to the service of the holy cause. The Persian government, meanwhile, came to the conclusion that the purely hierarchical organisation was not a success. Nehemiah was therefore nominated Persian governor, and given full authority, which placed him above the secularised highpriest. Armed with all constitutional authority, which the influence of the great Jewish party procured for him, he started for Jerusalem, and in the face of all the difficulties which his antagonists. supported and incited by the secular party, placed in his path, he carried out his purpose of fortifying Governor of Jerusalem with a wall. He thus Nehemiah

offered to the hierarchy the Jerusalem means by which to exclude the influence of their neighbours, and to control those sections of the population in the city

which were in league with them

Nehemiah is said to have governed in Jerusalem for twelve years, and then to have retired to the court of Susa. But he had hardly turned his back, when the ascendency of the orthodox party was agam threatened, he was compelled to return if he was not to abandon the realisation of the ideal religious state. Once more he exerted all the power which the influence of his sect conferred on him in order to exercise compulsion on the refractory; and he converted them by force to an acknowledgment of the strict demands of their religion. Even the family of the highpriest was bound to admit that Israel endured no attack upon its institutions. The Ammonite Tobiah, who was related to the high-priest El-ashib, was expelled from the Temple precincts; and a grandson of the high-priest, who had married a daughter of Sin-uballit, or Sanballat, probably the prince of Moab—not as usually assumed, Samaria — was driven from Jerusalem. Strictest orthodoxy reigned.



EZRA, LEADER OF THE SECOND MIGRATION TO JERUSALEM, READING THE BOOK OF THE LAW Ezra received permission from Darius to head the second migration from Babylon to Jerusalem, and, with Nehemiah, legialised the experimental state by the publication of the book of the law, which event is here pictured

The new order of things, such as Ezra and Nehemiah wished to introduce into the experimental state, received its legal confirmation by the publication of the book of the law, which comprised the institutions of Judaism, the priestly code The account given of the outward ceremonial which atterded its solemn publication by Lzia is unimportant as might be expected, he tells us only of the rejoicings and enthusiasm of the people The record of the difficulties which had been surmounted enables the historian to form a correct idea of the matter. The law was not the work of Ezia and Nehemiah, nor did they raise it to be the effective law of Judaism. It had long been the standard found which Judaism in the empire rallied; and its introduction into Jerusalem signified The Book only the obligation of the ideal οf state, restored with the help The Law of Judaism, to observe the law which it had been founded to fulfil real development of Judaism was not perfected on the soil of Palestine. The law was not the product of a political community, but of a religious body, and it was not the result of a national struggle for existence. The spirit of the law itself, which had thus been long in force tor

Judaism throughout the empire, is tolerably tamiliar. It is the sprit which since then has prevuled and has become only more rigid—the sprit which Judaism has observed down to the present day.

Vague and scanty as are the accounts for this period of the vigorous activity shown by the new Jewish spirit in the process of its develop-Priestly ment, they are still more so dui-State ing the ensuing period of the We can, however, reconcile Persian rule ourselves to this lack of information The hierarchy which was here established presents in no respect a momentous event in the history of mankind It was not even a unique phenomenon in the history of antiquity. Similar constitutions were possible even in the sphere of pagan religious, as is shown, for example, by the priestly state in Comana, in Cappadocia. In the Persian period the development of the hierarchy continued to advance. Although Fzra and Nehemiah exercised a sort of secular power conferred on them by the court, and were to some extent governors, and although from the first there had been the wish to uphold the royal dignity of David, yet power was gradually concentrated in the hands of

on quietly at this growth, which threatened no danger to the maintenance of order and was fostered by the influential body of Jews. As punishment for an attempt to take part in the Syrian insurrection against Artaxerxes Ochus, the Jews had to submit to the deportation of part of their population into Hyrcania; Growth the satrap Bagoas is said then of the to have shown that Persia Priesthood would not tolerate any contumacy. Dissensions, which are reported to have been rife at this period in the tamily of the high-priest and to have led

the high-priest. The Persian court looked

tamily of the high-priest and to have led to the murder by the high-priest of his own brother, were certainly connected with the hostility of the rival parties, but are, after all, of no great importance.

When Persia broke up, the Jews are said from the very first to have secured for themselves the favour of Alexander by adroit compliance. From this point onward we possess accounts which are influenced, even more than those of the Persian period, by Jewish self-complacency. Flavius Josephus is an untrust-worthy and, from his concert, irritating authority

The disputes among the Diadochi severed Egypt from Babylonia. Syria was the apple of discord, but soon came under Egyptian influence. During the prosperity of Egypt under the Ptolemies we see Judaism also powerful and prosperous and affording welcome assistance to the government in all matters of trade and of administration

Judaism undoubtedly did not then come to the front in Egypt for the first time. Just as one part of the hierarchical party had been brought by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylonia, so another had taken refuge in Egypt. During a later attempt at insurrection, Jeremiah and others had been carried there by force. With the further spread of Judaism these fugitives and newcomers had there, as else-Judaism where in the empire, gained in in importance and had played a Egypt prominent part. It is, however, quite plain that the real strength of Judaism lay with the ruling power of the East—that is, in Persia and Babylonia. The East was now divided, and we see at once two centres of Judaism-in Babylonia-Syria and in Egypt. This is again an indication that the evolution of Judaism did not have Palestine for its

scene. A Hellenic Judaism now comes into prominence at the court of the Ptolemies, which was able rapidly to appropriate the results of the ripening Hellenic spirit ingrafted on the East, and adroitly adapt them to its own requirements. It was more through this transference of the centre of the power of Judaism from Persia and Babylonia to Egypt than through political conformity to the rule of the Ptolemies that the Jewish state fell under the influence of Egyptian Hellenism. A production of Egyptian Judaism is the Septuagint Version, intended in the first instance for the use of those who could no longer read the Holy Scriptures in the original language.

Towards the end of the third century, in the struggle between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, the former gained the upper hand and Judah became subject to Syrian supremacy. Antiochus III. was received by the Jews with open arms. Assistance was even given in the siege of the Egyptian garrison in the Akra, the citadel of Jerusalem. Antiochus is said to have shown himself correspondingly gracious at

first and in particular to have Antiochus sanctioned a remission of taxation, which was certainly cal-Jerusalem culated to win men's hearts, since their own compatriots had already proved themselves very active taxcollectors in the service of the Ptolemies. But when the power of Antiochus was afterwards broken by the battle of Magnesia, in 100 B.C., the greater advantage seemed once more to rest in an alliance with Egypt. Antiochus, in order to pay the war indemnity, was certainly forced to wring from his subjects all that he possibly could; on the other hand, the influence of the Egyptian Jews, in whose support hopes were now centred, must have been powerful.

How far the ever restless spirit of enterprise had already ventured to cross from the land of the Pharaohs to the latter's powerful protectress on the Tiber we do not know, but we can hardly place the beginnings of a Jewish colony in Rome at a much later date. In short, the influential and wealthy members of the Jewish body must now be looked for more and more in Egypt and the west rather than in the east, which at this time under the Parthian rule was quite severed from civilisation. Accordingly, Judah, which was thrown upon the support of those



JUDAS MACCABÆUS, THE HERO OF THE JEWS, ADDRESSING HIS TROOPS
The famous rebellion of the Maccabees against the rule of the Seleucidæ was begun by Mattathias Maccabæus, and waged most successfully by his son Judas, who defeated the Syrians. From the engraving by Gustave Dorć.

who held the same faith, was forced in its policy to incline more to the west than to the empire of the Seleucide, now

approaching its end.

In conformity with old tradition, it was once more the orthodox party that leaned towards Egypt. The Seleucida attempted, with the support of the elements in Jerusalem which were inclined to Hellenism, to secure Judah for themselves. Jason, the brother of the high-priest Omas, was favoured by Antiochus IV. For a time everything in Jerusalem tollowed the Athenian mode, and the theatre and the palæstra attracted the Jewish youth, who were eager to ape their Greek models. The domestic quarrels of the family of the high-priest with the Tobiadæ, the chief representatives of philhellenism, are of no importance here. The accounts do not tell us how, after the failure of the philhellenic Jerusalem pro-Seleucid party, an open Becomes

breach with Antiochus IV. was brought about; but Israel is represented as having been an innocent victim. We may see the reason for the intervention of Antiochus in the fact that the orthodox party really had the upper hand and was in sympathy with Egypt and Rome. When Antiochus, in 168 B.C.,

returned from the expedition to Egypt, which had begun triumphantly and had been so suddenly interrupted by Rome, he called the Jews sternly to account; they must have known the reason well. Jerusalem was stormed, sacked, and de-

Antiochus Sacks
Jerusalem vastated, the walls razed to the ground, the inhabitants massacred and dispersed. Only the "renegades" remained behind and were reintorced by pagan settlers; an that could escape fled to Egypt.

But the destruction of Jerusalem was Antiochus knew periectly not enough. well that the power of Judaism did not depend on the existence of the He took measures against the entire body of Jews in his dominions, and he must have had deeper motives for his action than his philhellenism. He did not wish to extirpate the Jewish religion, as tradition represents, but to disperse the subject community which had the seat of its power in the enemy's country, and must therefore naturally be in favour of a union with it. His fury was not really directed against the Hebrew religion and its unaccustomed manifestations, and he was no ardent supporter of Zeus. Antiochus did not attack the Jewish religion, but the Jews,

who in his empire courted Egypt and had in their religion a bond which kept them together. It was no accident that the orthodox and the philhellenic parties in the Jewish body collapsed.

Antiochus with his forcible intervention now met the resistance which brutal violence always provokes when opposed to a

living ideal, especially that of Rebellion stubborn Judaism. The Books of the of the Maccabees tell us of Maccabees those who scaled their faith with their blood, many o' whom have had their deeds extolled in verse down to our The more violent the measures taken by Antiochus, the more stubborn became the resistance, which finally found its expression, after the characteristic method of the country, in the formation of a band of men, which grew from small beginnings among the mountains into a force that at last could not be easily suppressed tamous rebellion of the Maccabees has been assumed to be a glorious monument of Jewish heroism owing to the method of description adopted by our authorities; but it was nothing extraordinary, and has its parallels by the score in the history of Oriental as well as of other peoples

The course of the rebellion, according to the account given us by the First Book of the Maccabees, was as follows—In Modin. a place between Jerusalem and the sea a priest, Mattathias of the family of the Hasmon eans, resisted the violent Hellenising measures of the Syrians, and gradually collected a band, which was joined by the pious, and succeeded in holding its own among the mountains On his death soon afterwards, in 166 B.C., his son, Judas Maccabaus, took over the command, and defeated the detachments of Syrian troops sent against him Antiochus, meanwhile, had started on his Parthian expedition, in the course of which he died In the place of Philippus, the intended guardian of his son, Antiochus V. Eupator, Lysias usurped Victories of the regency of the empire. This latter now sent a larger army against Judas, to help Gorgias, Maccabaseus the commander of the troops in Philistia; but Judas was able by a sudden attack to defeat it also in 165 B.C. When Lysias himself advanced against him in the same year, he had no better success. Judas was now able to reoccupy the pillaged capital, Jerusalem, with the exception of the Akra, which was held by a Syrian garrison. The Temple and divine

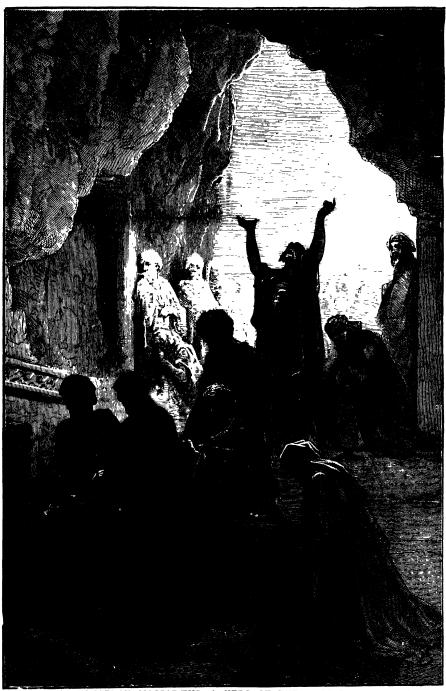
worship were restored, and in the name of the true God vengeance could now be taken on the "renegades," the adherents of Syria. But we have no particulars of their martyrdom.

For two years Lysias desisted from operations, and Judas ruled with unlimited power as the head of the orthodox party. The country, as may be easily imagined, does not seem to have found this system of administration an unmixed blessing. Numerous attempts at resistance – which our accounts naturally term contemptible raids – were made against the dominance of the minority. It is clear from the records that the country was still far from being Jewish, and that the "liberation" by Judas was in fact a despotism maintained by force of aims, though it championed the cause of right.

It was a fortunate occurrence for Judas that Antiochus IV, died on his expedition in 164 B.c., and that Lysias's attention was thus occupied with the arrangement of affairs. Judas proceeded to lay siege to the Akra, which had hitherto been a refuge for the partisans of Syria. The question of active interference was now

Jerusalem urgent for the government Falls Lysias therefore started with a to Lysias nominally large army accompanied by his ward, the young king Antiochus V., and marched against Jerusalem from the south. He defeated Judas in the field near Beth-Zachariah captured Bethsura, and besieged Jerusalem where the temple hill had been fortified. After a long resistance, negotiations were began which Lysias accepted, since he wished to turn his arms against Philippus, who in the interval had raised claims to the crown ın Syria. The contents of the treaty are not known, but since Lysias ordered the execution of Menelaus, the candidate tor the high-priesthood who had been previously recognised by him, we may fairly assume that the orthodox party had offered guarantees of their loyalty, and that the trustworthiness of Menclaus had been questioned.

Soon after this, Lysias and Antiochus V. were deposed by Demetrius I., who seems on the whole to have given the Jews in Jerusalem a free hand. He had every reason to avoid a breach with Rome; however, even then the power of the ubiquitous Judaism was making itself felt. His appointment of Alcimus, of the family of the high-priests, as "Ethnarch," proves



BURIAL OF JONATHAN MACCABÆUS, A HERO OF THE MACCABÆAN REBELLION

At the death of Judas Maccabæus, his brother Jonathan held out against the Syrians, and eventually succeeded in founding the Hasmonæan dynasty, which lasted in Jerusalem from 145 to 63 B.C. From an engraving by Gustave Doré,

that the power of Judas had, as a matter of fact, been restricted by Lysias. Alcimus, ushered in by an army under Bacchides, was accepted without resistance; since, however, he was a representative of the Syrian Hellenistic party, it would have been strange indeed if he had not very soon aroused the dissatisfaction of the orthodox. Naturally, according to the version in our account, Alcimus was the peace-breaker; but we may perhaps find a cause for the revolt among the Maccabeans also, who, on his appointment, had certainly been forced to leave Jerusalem. So soon, therefore as the Syrian army had withdrawn the orthodox party revolted, and Aleimus had once more to fly was brought back by an army under Nicanor, and the two were received with The Maccaacclamations in Jerusalem bæans, however defeate! Nicanor at Adasa, in the vicinity of Beth-Horon, in The country was forced once 161 BC more to recognise in Judas the "liberator," until Bacchides himself with an army,

reputed to have been very large advanced against him and totally defeated Judas, whose whole tollowing amounted only to 800 mea-We may estimate from this his relative importance to resistance near Elasa, Judas himself was slain. The

Hasmonæans thus lost thea warlike leader, who had confidence both in himself and his righte ius cause

The Syrian party was once more quit of the blessings conferred by the orthodox, and Alemus was reinstated in Jerusale n No sort of restrictions were placed on the Bacchides restored exercise of religion. order in the country and cleared it of the unsettled bands of Maccabæans. A part of them still held out under the leadership of Jonathan, a younger brother of Judas, and lived as nomads in the desert of Thekoa. To these cucumstances—namely,

the struggle between the religious zealots and the fruitless efforts of an enlightened party to Hellenise the Jews —the most remarkable book which the biblical canon has accepted, Ecclesiastes, owes its origin. The work gives expression to the pessimism of a well-meaning man who, while tolding the post of ruler, was anxious to guide his people aright, but at the end

in despair lets his hands fall feebly by his side. The suggestion is forced upon us that Alcimus the high-priest was himself the author, and that the book may have been published after his death, with some additions in the same spirit. Owing to its

reception into the canon, which The Work could not have been refused to High-priest the work of a high-priest, it of the was atterwards, furnished with qualifying rejoinders in the spirit of devout orthodoxy

Alcimus died in 159 BC When Bacchides soon afterwards withdrew, the Maccabæans once more caused trouble A message was therefore sent from Jerusalem to Bacchides imploring help since a sudden attack on the castle of Jonathan failed, Bacchides conclude l peace with him and acknowledged him as high-priest Ionathan was probably no longer a zealot for the faith and the interests of Egyptian and international Judaism, but he fought for the establishment of a Hasmonæan dynasty To attain this end

he ceased to be a "Jew" and made his peace with the Seleucidæ Jonathan in the wars between Demetrius I. and Alexander Balas and under Demetrius II from 145 to 138 B.C, held his own, and finally, notwithstanding his action against the Syrian party, obtaine lacknowledg-

ment from Demetrius II He then joined cause with Tryphon. He at last went to the length of setting aside the influence of the Syrian party with the help of his orthodox followers, and seems to have had the sanction of the court in doing so. At least the influence of Judaism over Tryphon seems to have ceased, and the latter advanced with an army into Palestine Jonathan now presented himself at Akko to render an account of his actions, and was arrested.

In his place Simon Maccabæus took over the management of affairs Tryphon attempted to interfere, the former was skilful enough to frustrate all the designs of the Greek army, including an attempt to relieve the Akra, and he contrived to free the land from it. By means of giving the required hostages in the shape of his brother's sons, he at the same time got rid of any rivals to himself. When the Syrians had left the country, and the walls of Jerusalem had been rebuilt



COINS OF SIMON MACCABÆUS

he could securely regard himself as prince of Judah. With him the princedom of the hierarchy of Judah—that is, the high-priesthood—was transferre I to the Hasmonæans. Simon struck money in his own name, and dated it after his accession the year I (142 B.C.). The Syrian party was thus overthrown, and orthodoxy could benefit the people in its own way. The records speak only of tranquillity and happiness in the land.

Simon was murdered in 135 B.C. by his son-in-law, who aspired to power; but his son, John Hyrcanus, succeeded in securing Jerusalem and the crown for The rapidly advancing downtall of the Seleucid empire was favourable for him, for he could thus assert his indepen-When he had successfully concluded an alliance with the Romans he proceeded to demonstrate the splendour of the new realm and to realise the ideal of his religion—namely, the restoration of the kingdom of David. comparatively small territory was enlarged by a successful subjugation of Sichem, of Samaria – thanks to Roman intervention – and of Edom.

Hyrcanus was succeeded by he son, Judas Aristobulus, who secured his authority, according to Oriental custom, by the murder of his relations. He died after one year His widow, Salome, by marriage procured the sovereignty for his eldest brother, who had been kept in captivity by him, Jannæus (Jonathan) Alexander, who held the power from 104 to 78 B.C. The latter first secured his position by the removal of one of his two brothers, and proceeded to complete the conquest of Palestine. As he was besieging Akko he was hindered in the further prosecution of his plans by the intervention of Egypt, and he was saved from the direr consequences of his ambition only by the efforts of the Jewish influence with Cleopatra, mother of Ptolemy Lathurus, in 100 B.C. He then conquered Raphia and Gaza, and secured to

Revolt of the Pharisees humself the country east of Jordan. But Jannæus here came into collision with an enemy stronger than humself, the North Arabian empire of the Nabatæans; and he was defeated by their king, Oboda, in Gilead. When he returned to Jerusalem without an army an insurrection broke out among the orthodox party, the Pharisees, which, after many changes of fortune,

ended in the victory of Demetrius Euchærus, who had been called in by the insurgents, over Jannæus in 88 B.C. But the indefatigable Hasmonæan was able to collect a new force around him in the mountains, and, after the withdrawal of Demetrius, to reoccupy Jerusalem. wreaked his vengeance there, as only Orientals can, in the course of party struggles in 87 B.C. After Jannæus had thus firmly re-established his power, he renewed the war with the Nabatæan king, Oboda; but as the latter had meantime won for himself Coele-Syria, Jannæus was worsted and was forced to make peace. He then strengthened his power once more in the territory east of Jordan, and died there on an expedition. He, like his father, had extended the Jewish dominion, although he did not gain possession of the whole of Palestine. The map of this country, so adapted for petty states, presented even under h m a very chequered appearance.

Januarus always relied on the support of the now powerful party of Sadducees, which tried to harmonise in some degree

the unendurable bonds Rise Judaism with the demands of of the This led insenordinary life Sadducees sibly to a closer sympathy with Hellenism, and the Hellenic culture which dominated even the East. The house of the Hasmon.eans, which had formerly entered the war on behalf of religion, thus became a purely Oriental dynasty, which adapted itself to the requirements of religion only so far as was necessary to serve its purposes. Now the state had only been founded to realise this very ideal of a hierarchy in the sense of the "law," and not in order to call into existence a kingdom, on the model of so many others, with a Jewish religion. So long as the state existed, it was constantly brought back to the path which it wished to desert, until such attempts were brought to an end by Titus and Hadrian.

On the death of Jannæus a reaction followed. His wife, Salome Alexandra, took over the government, which had been nominally conferred on her by Jannæus on his deathbed. Her son, Hyrcanus II., a teeble character, who was completely under her control, was appointed high-priest, while his capable brother, Aristobulus, was passed over. This state of things lasted for nine years, from 78 to 69 B.C.

Meanwhile, the Pharisees governed after their own heart and laid no restraint upon themselves.

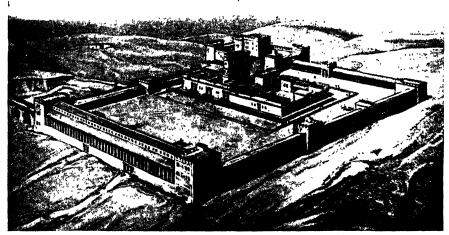
The country, however, could not possibly tolerate the Pharisaic rule for long, and Aristobulus gained more and Intolerable Rule of the pharises of Salome there could be no Pharisees more doubt to whom the kingdom belonged. The Pharisees had no sort of following in the country. They attempted a resistance and led Hyrcanus, with the mercenary army, against Aristobulus. But at Jericho, where the battle was fought, their troops went over to Aristobulus, and he was able without great difficulty to occupy Jerusalem. He was acknowledged as high-priest and king, and Hyrcanus retired into private life

Tranquility, however, did not last long. Jannæus had appointed as governor in Idumæa a native convert to Judaism, Antipater, the father of Herod. This man himself cast longing eyes on the throne of Judah. He followed a policy of his own and induced Hareth III, king of the Nabatæans, to make an expedition in 65 B.C. against Alistobulus, who defended himself in the Temple. The protracted siege was ended by Roman intervention.

The Arabians were forced to withdraw from Jerusalem, and Aristobulus momentarily triumphed over Hyrcanus, although the latter had part of the country on his side. When, then, in 63 B.C., Pompey came in person to Palestine, after many prevarications on both sides, he finally decided against Aristobulus. The latter was taken prisoner; his adherents threw themselves into the Temple and gallantly defended themselves against the onslaught of the Romans, until they finally succumbed, and the Temple was taken by storm. This brought the rule of the Hasmonæans to an end, and Judaea became a component part of the province of Syria Pompey granted the Jews liberty of religion and confirmed Hyrcanus in his office of highpriest. The orthodox party loudly sang the praises of the great Roman; they preferred that Judaa should be tributary rather than non-Pharisaic. The new province, and with it Judiea. Judæa received four pro-consuls, until a Roman Province Cæsar master of the East and West. Cesar allowed the Jews religious liberty, and appointed as procurator Anti-

with the norm in mended acted ition.

Roman Province the overthrow of Pompey made Casar master of the East and West. Casar allowed the Jews religious hiberty, and appointed as procurator Anti-pater, the Idumaean, who was clever enough to make himself indispensable



A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF HEROD IN JERUSALEM
Under the Romans the religious influence of the Jews greatly increased throughout the empire, and although Herod, the Roman king of Judæa, spent much in building the Temple, he never succeeded in winning his subjects' affection.

13

THE DESIRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY THE ROMANS



THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ASIA

AFTER the final campaign of Pompey, Western Asia lost its political independence. Nevertheless, the part it played in history during the first six centuries of the Christian era was not

insignificant.

The chief of the Roman possessions in Western Asia, Asia Minor and Syria, were retained by Rome throughout their whole extent until the Arabian conquest, and to them were added, during favourable times, portions of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the South Caucasian districts. Asia Minor was the most tranquil, the best protected, and the most uniformly organised of the Roman Asiatic provinces. Scarcely a trace remained of political independence; but in many of the country districts and towns a certain form of self-government, such as the Romans were in the habit of allowing to their dependencies, still existed. The larger of the settlements in the peninsula were, as a rule, of Hellenic origin. Thickly distributed along the

Greek Influence in Asia Minor

western coast and in the liver valleys, more sparsely on the elevated plateaus and among

the mountains of the interior, they formed the centres of the Greek influence which had penetrated into the peninsula during an earlier period, encouraged by the Attalidæ, and in later times had been allowed to continue undisturbed by the Romans.

When Rome first took possession of the peninsula, entire provinces exhibited hardly a trace of Greek influence; others, such as Lycia and Pamphylia, had developed an independent civilisation on a Hellenic foundation. In the very centre of the land were settled a Celtic people, the Galatians, who had preserved both their language and their martial spirit, and during the times of the emperors furnished the majority of the recruits from Asia Minor. But gradually these local peculiarities grew less and less apparent, the language and civilisation of the Greeks, slightly Latinised, it is true, became diffused over the entire peninsula; and, finally, even rustic Cappadocia sent to Athens its bands of students, whose rude dialect must, indeed, have caused the cultured protessors to wring their hands in despair.

The few politically independent provinces and small states that had survived the period of Roman conquest, as well

as a number of unimportant Independent principalities which had once belonged to the empire of States Mithradates and were allowed a provisional existence by the Romans, disappeared during the first period of the emperors The kingdom of the Galatians was transformed into a Roman dependency as early as 25 B.C. Shortly after his accession in 17 A.D., Tiberius put an end to the independence of Cappadocia. The territory of the Lycian league of cities was annexed in the year 43 A.D., and the provinces of Pontus were added to the Roman Empire in 63 A.D. The wildest, least civilised districts of Roman Asia Minor were the Taurus provinces, Isauria and Cilicia. The Cilicians were practically unconquerable so long as they remained in their native surroundings. The thickly wooded mountains that sloped down to the sea oon became the favourite haunt of the dissatisfied spirits and criminals of the Roman Empire, who, together with the native inhabitants of the coast, soon gave themselves up to piracy, which became in time their habitual occupation. Neither the republic nor the empire was able to put a stop to the deeds of robbery by sea and by land, or to subdue the inhabitants of the mountains, among whom several tribes of the Pisidians are also to be reckoned. But in Asia Minor also, with the gradual opening up of the country, customs became less rude; and the mountain Pirates dwellers were compelled to cease

dwellers were compelled to cease their warfare, although even a short period of political disorganisation was sufficient to cause them all to return to their old manner of life. In fact, the Cilicians and Isaurians constantly made their appearance as robbers and pirates, until the sturdiest of the wild rabble attained the honour of forming the

bodyguard of the Eastern Roman Emperor; and finally two of them, Zeno and Leo III., succeeded to the unperial dignity itself.

The remainder of Asia Minor became

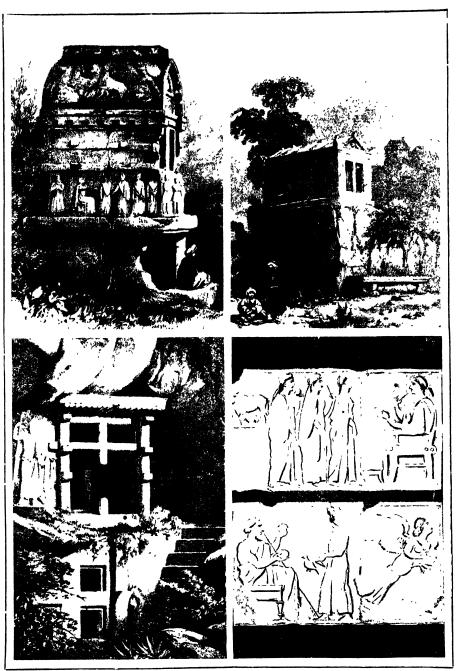
under the Roman emperors a flourishing land with a dense and highly civilised population. The province was governed by the Senate, and was divided Asia into four districts, of which only Minor two -Asia Minor proper, and Flourishes Pontus together with Bithyma —were situated on the mainland. Cyprus and Crete, to which Cyrene in Africa was added, were accounted parts of the peninsula for purposes of administration. In later times this division was frequently altered; and during the period of Byzantine rule, owing to the constant danger of invasion, the province was separated into a great number of districts and governed according to military law. The inroads of hostile nations Legan at the time of the Persian wars. In the year 600 A.D. the Iranians first appeared in Cappadocia, and during the following decade they marched through the peninsula several times, finally threatening Constantinople itself. The invasion of the Persians was only the first of many blows dealt to the civilisation of Asia Minor.

The condition of Syria was totally different from that of Asia Minor. Only the eastern boundary of the latter was a frontier of the Roman Empire, and was, moreover, protected by the buffer states Armenia and Iberia. Syria, on the other hand, was directly adjacent not only to that portion of Mesopotamia, for the possession of which continual war was being waged between Romans and Persians. but also to the boundless Arabian desert, over whose anarchic Bedouin tribes a permanent government was never to be established by the Romans. The province itself, however, was exceptionally favoured by its racial and political peculiarities; then, as to-day, it was a harbour of refuge for an immense Invasion number of different peoples and adherents of various creeds. Two of the most remarkable states known to history, the Phœnician league of cities, which occupied a narrow strip of Mediterranean coast, and the kingdom of the Israelites in the mountains of Palestine, arose during an early period on Syrian soil. The prosperity of both had faded when Syria became a Roman

province; in fact, Phœnician freedom, if not Phœnician civilisation, so far as commerce and industry were concerned, had long ceased to exist. There were still flourishing settlements scattered along the coast, and commerce was actively carried on; but the civilisation of Phænicia was that of the Greeks. Hellenism had expanded in all directions from the city of Antioch as a centre during the period of the Seleucidæ; and as for the northern districts of Syria, however undisturbed the native population had been allowed to remain, and however little influenced by Greek culture, they formed at the time of the Romans practically a Greek province. It is true that the infusion of Oriental luxury and efferimacy was of the greatest injury to the Greek spirit; and Antioch as a city of sensuality and pleasure stood in sharp contrast to Alexandria, which had developed under the influence of the Greeks on Egyptian soil. The shiftless inhabitants of the Syrian metropolis contributed little enough to the development of morals; but for all that, Syria long remained the centre of the Eastern Roman Empire. As a result of the dominion of the Syria the Seleucidæ and the subse-Centre of quent process of Hellemsation, the East Northern Syma fell into the hands of the Romans as a tolerably wellorganised province, which even during later periods developed no very marked characteristics, and of which the administration presented no great difficulty. Southern Syria, on the other hand, consisted of a multitude of small-mutually antagonistic states. There were some more or less independent principalities in Lebanon, which had ever been a land of promise for the dispersed and conquered races. On the borders of the desert lay the kingdom of the Nabatæans, and Arab tribes were constantly appearing on the steppes and along the Mesopotamian

The greatest confusion of all, however, was to be found in Palestine. At first the Romans found it to their own interest to increase the number of minor states in order to avoid the risk of united resistance. Many different races and parties were clamouring for a settlement of their political, national, and religious claims. The Jewish ecclesiastical state of Jerusalem, constantly striving for freedom, and yet not strong enough to

frontier.



AND CIVILISATION OF LYCIA AND PAMPHYLIA UNDER ROME ART

When Rome took possession of Asia Minor most of the provinces and settlements were centres of Greek culture, but a few, such as Lycia and Pamphylia, had developed an independent civilisation on a Hellenic foundation. The outstanding examples of their art are their tombs. The top picture on the right is of a Pamphylian tomb among the mountains. That on the left is a Lycian tomb at Kanthus, some of its sculptures being shown at the bottom right. The remaining illustration shows one of the remarkable rock-tombs at Myra, which occur throughout Lycia.

desired, could not be treated as a helpless minor province. Indeed, in dealing with the Israelites of Palestine the Romans had to reckon with the entire Jewish people, already widely diffused throughout the empire and in many districts dangerously numerous, who could not have regarded a violation of their ancient sanctuary as other than an attack on their very existence. Moreover, the religious influence of the Jews was increasing, for the unsettled state of religious, thought, led

maintain the independence it so greatly

unsettled state of religious thought led numerous proselytes to join their ranks. It even appeared to a time as if Judaism would succeed in overthrowing the belief in the defties of the Greeks. The rise of Christianity, however, turned this phase of development into another channel.

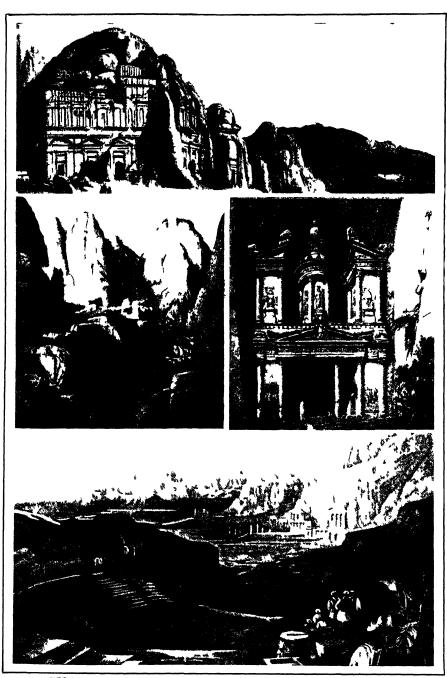
In spite of all the caution exercised by the Romans in their administration of Palestine, the antagonism between the claims of political life and the rigid ritual of the priesthood remained a constant source of complication. In the year 47 B.C. Julius Cæsar appointed Antipater the Idumæan procurator and successor of the Maccabees, and he could scarcely have made a better choice. Nevertheless the numerous champions of the Jewish national spirit were not in the least satisfied; and after the invasion of the Parthians, during which the new dynasty was temporarily compelled to take flight, Herod, the son and heir of Antipater, was obliged to resort to force in order to subdue his rebellious subjects. Herod passed through the period of the great struggle between Cæsar Augustus and Marcus Antonius with singular good fortune; but he was unable to win the affection of the Jewish people. The ruthless manner in which he put to death the members of his own family injured him, however, far less in the eyes of his subjects than his foreign origin and leaning to Hellenism.

Division
of Herod's
Kingdom

After the death of Herod, in the year 4 A.D., his kingdom, which had been considerably enlarged by the annexation of minor principalities, thanks to the benevolence of Cæsar Augustus, was divided between his three sons: Galilee and Peræa fell to the share of Herod Antipas, the region south of Damascus to Philippus, and Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa to Archelaus. The two northern kingdoms continued in existence for many years; they were

united into one state by Agrippa II., a great-grandson of Herod, and remained intact until the time of Trajan. In the south, however, insurrections soon broke out among the Jews. Archelaus proved incapable of government, and it was not long before Cæsar Augustus found it necessary to transform Palestine into a Roman province with Cæsarea as its capital. It is obvious that this time also the Romans desired to spare the feelings of the Jews as much as possible; but a true reconciliation with the subjects of the Jewish ecclesiastical state, whose demands increased rather than diminished with the growing hopelessness of their cause, was impossible. Christianity provided a means for escape from the bigotry that must finally have led to destruction, although it received but little support from the true Jews, among whom the national spirit was at first strongly at work. In general, the Christian religion cannot be said to have played other than a subordinate part in the political history of Palestine.

The hostility between the Roman emperors and the Jews of Palestine gradually increased. The Jews who had Anti-Semite emigrated to various parts of the empire also received but Riots little sympathy, as was proved by the terrible riots that broke out in Alexandria during the reign of Caligula –the first manifestation of anti-Semitism in the Roman world. It was unfortunate that the imperial government had not from the very first taken such precautions as would have rendered a rebellion in Palestine an impossibility; instead of ruling with a firm hand, it carelessly allowed events to take their own course. Bands of rebels were in constant activity as early as the year 44 A.D.; Roman soldiers and officials were murdered more and more frequently; and a spirit of sullen hostility gradually spread over the entire province. In the year 66 A.D. an insurrection broke out in Casarea; another soon followed in Jerusalem, where frightful scenes of carnage took place; and soon the whole of Judæa was in a state of civil war. Vespasian, the imperial legate, conquered the land anew in a difficult campaign which lasted for several years. The confusion that reigned in the Roman Empire until Vespasian himself ascended the throne in 69 A.D. was of great assistance to the Jews, although a final victory



PETRA THE ROCK-CAPITAL OF THE NABAT/EAN KINGDOM

Nabatæa lay between the Red Sea and the Jordan and even included at one time Damascus. Petra its capital situated on a rocky plateau perhaps flourished most under Roman rule. At the top are shown some of the remarkable cliff structures above the city and below on the right the most beautiful of the relics probably a tomb. On the left is the ravine by which the city is entered at the east and at the bottom a view of the plateau from the theatre

of the Hebrews was out of the question owing to their fanaticism and lack of unity. In the year 70 A.D., Titus, son of Vespasian, entered Jerusalem, destroyed the Temple, and put an end to all hopes of Jerusalem independence.

of Jewish independence.

Jerusalem lay in ruins until the time of Hadrian. The Jews of Palestine had but little share in the great re-The Last bellion which broke out during Effort of the reign of Trajan; and it is the Jews a significant fact that the last great insurrection of the Jews in the Holy Land came about owing to the well-meant design of Hadrian to establish a new city on the rums of Jerusalem. At that time the Jews arose in final despairing revolt under the leadership of Eleazar the priest and the bandit Bar-Kokhba, with the result that their country was completely devastated and lost even its name of Judæa, henceforth being known as Syria Palæstina.

A quiet neighbour, and in later times a dependency of the Roman Empire, was the kingdom of the Nabataeans, which during its period of widest expansion embraced the greater part of the region north of the Red Sea and east of the river Jordan, at one time even including Damascus. The original Nabatæan people in all probability were descended from a mixture of Arabian and Hamitic, or, at least, Syrian elements. A part of their kingdom lay on the north-eastern coast of the Red Sea, and was at the same time a natural junction of many caravan roads; the Nabatæans had thus from the earliest times devoted themselves to commerce. thereby acquiring a culture that rendered them far more capable of developing a permanent state than the Bedouins of the neighbouring steppes, for all their love of freedom and courage in battle. The capital of the kingdom of the Nabatæans and the residence of the sovereigns was Petra, situated on the rocky plateau that lay between the Dead Sea and the

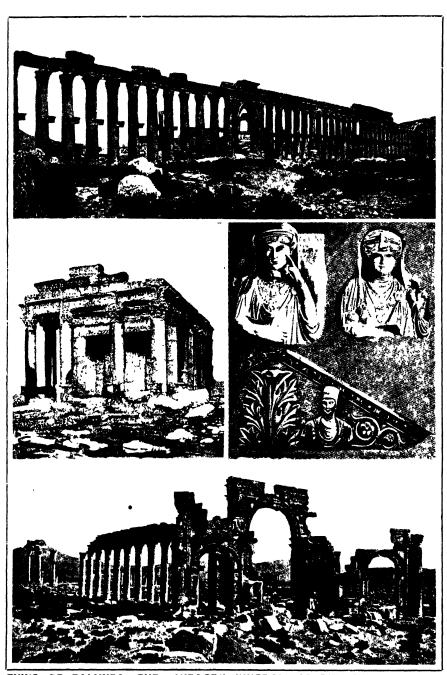
kingdom of Nabatea between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba. Nabatea submitted to Casar Augustus, and in spite of various small misunderstandings remained undisturbed until the time of Trajan, when, together with the bulk of the minor Syrian states, it was transformed into a Roman province. In the year 106 A.D., Damascus was annexed to Syria, and the remainder of the kingdom, henceforth known as the "Province of Arabia," was placed under

Roman rule—by no means to its disadvantage, as the runs of its once flourishing cities testify. Roman Nabatæa included only a portion of the northern border of the Arabian desert, and was environed by a number of semi-independent Bedouin states, of which the influence and extent greatly increased when the power of the empire began to weaken.

Remarkable for sudden changes of fortune was Palmyra, a kingdom of the Syrian-Arabian borderland. times, before the occupation of Syria by the Romans, a flourishing community arose in an oasis of the great Syrian desert that had long served as a convenient halting place for caravans travelling between Phœnicia and the middle Euphrates. The city was made a dependency of the Roman Empire during the first period of the emperors: but owing to its important frontier situation between Parthian and Roman territory, it retained a certain amount of freedom, and at the same time became possessed of considerable power. The necessity of protecting the caravan routes led to the formation of a well-organised army; and Growth of constant feuds with the Bedthe Power ouins, which, as a rule, terminated in the victory of the

onins, which, as a rule, terminated in the victory of the Palmyrans, resulted in continual accessions of territory, so that Palmyra finally embraced the greater part of the region between the Euphrates and the Syrian border.

The language of the Palmyrans was not the Arabic of the Bedouins, but the Syrian of the agricultural and town-dwelling classes. Originally the city may have been organised as a republic; but the Romans, who were accustomed to choose a ruler from among the native inhabitants of their provinces, created a monarchical form of government that finally became hereditary. No small amount of power lay in the hands of a Palmyran sovereign, who possessed a well-trained army of veterans who had taken part in numerous struggles with Arab tribes, and the hoarded wealth of a strongly fortified city—a city, moreover, that was in addition protected by the desert. Thus it is not surprising that before many years passed an ambitious ruler came to the throne, who resolved to take part in the border wars between Rome and Persia, to seize the balance of power, and to establish a new empire at the expense of both the contending parties.



RUINS OF PALMYRA, THE "MIRAGE" KINGDOM OF THE SYRIAN DESERT Palmyra arose, before the Roman occupation, in an oasis on the Parthian frontier, and became supreme over Syria. It fell as suddenly as it rose. The runns of its magnificent city are now one of the sights of Syria. The principal remains are shown at the top and bottom of the page, and in the centre are a temple to Diana and specimens of Palmyran sculptures.

The opportunity for such an undertaking was never more favourable than during the reign of the Sassanian Shapur I. The Roman emperor Valerian was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, Antioch had been captured, and the whole of Syria, with the exception of a few unimportant strongholds, lay open to the

Persians, who, eager for plunder, Palmyra marched about hither and Supreme in thither in disorganised comthe East panies. As soon as Shapur began to withdraw his forces, the Palmyran cavalry sallied forth, dispersed whole divisions of the scattered Persian army, and returned to their desert city with untold Odenathus, king of Palmyra, made the most of the prestige won by this daring stroke by immediately espousing the cause of Gallienus, son of Valerian, whose opponents in the struggle for the succession had gained the upper hand in As a result, when Gallienus the cast. finally triumphed over his enemies and ascended the throne, Odenathus was rewarded with the title of Augustus, and became practically supreme in Syria. He soon restored affairs to order, strengthened his troops by the addition of the remains of the Roman legions, and marched against the Persians Atter clearing Roman Mesopotamia of the enemy, and raising the siege of Edessa, he appeared twice before the walls of Ctesiphon

On the death of Odenathus, his wife Zenobia, or Bat Zabbai, seized the reins of government in the name of her son, who was not yet of age. Her energy was quite equal to that of her husband, but she was lacking in the diplomatic skill which had enabled the latter to preserve at least the appearance of being a vassal of Rome, and thus successfully to maintain his difficult position. As "Regent of the East" she laid claim to both Asia and Egypt, invaded the valley of the Nile, and advanced into Asia Minor—sufficient

Fall of Zenobia's Cause for a declaration of war on the part of Aurelian, the new emperor, who realised that unless a decisive step were taken it would not be long before the last trace of Roman power would disappear in the East. Egypt was reoccupied by the Romans in the year 270 A.D., after a severe struggle; and in the next year Aurelian himself appeared in Syria at the head of a powerful army. The forces of Zenobia were defeated at Antioch and

Emesa; but Palmyra, difficult to approach and still more difficult to besiege, still remained in her hands. However, when Aurelian made it clear that he intended to march on the capital, she lost courage; under cover of night she fled towards the Euphrates in order to escape into Persian territory. It may have been that she also hoped to relieve the city with the aid of a Persian army; but she was immediately pursued and taken prisoner by Roman cavalry. Thereupon Palmyra opened its gates to the Romans, and the empire of Zenobia fell. A not of the citizens in the year 273 AD. ended with the complete destruction of the city, which never again arose from its ruins. Like a mirage of the desert, this strange empire suddenly arose on the eastern horizon of the Roman world, and as suddenly disappeared.

In Armenia, the rugged mountainous country from which the Euphrates and Tigns flow down into the Mesopotamian plain, a warlike, freedom-loving people had developed from a mixture of ancient Caucasian and Iranian elements. The

Expansion of Armenian race must have been very heterogeneous The presence of numerous small feudal demesnes and

strongholds scattered over a land of ravines and forests caused their country to be from the earliest times a theatre of private warfare and a home for robbers and fugitives of all nationalities. As time passed, the influence of Iranian culture and religion smoothed over the roughness of the native population. The example of the Persian emperors fired the ambition of Arimenian ruleis, and at the same time aroused the national spirit to the development of unexpected power.

For a time it appeared as if the Armemans were destined to become the most representative of all the Iranian peoples. Under the rule of Tigranes the Armenian empire expanded with surprising rapidity and power. But the mutual jealousy of the various sovereigns of Western Asia bore bitter fruit. Tigranes did not make the slightest attempt to assist his great western neighbour, Mithradates, king of Pontus, in his hopeless struggle with Rome; and with the same composure the Parthian emperors rejoiced when Tigranes. cast down from his high estate, knelt before Pompey and placed his crown in the hands of the Roman consul.



After the death of Odenathus his wife, Zenobia, reigned She did not maintain the fiction of vassalage to Rome, and the emperor Aurelian marched on her capital, from which she fied, but was captured by his cavalry

After the overthrow of Tigranes, there was no longer any hope of Armenian supremacy. Several times Armenia was separated into a western and an eastern province, temporarily, as early as the days of the Seleucide, and again during a later period, when the Eastern Roman Empire and the Persians agreed as to the division of their spheres of influence. Moreover, the country was usually a patchwork of dominions of minor princes, who seldom refused to accept foreign and against their own sovereign.

It is scarcely worth while to give a detailed account of all the varying phases of the wars between Rome and Parthia, or to enumerate the constant changes that took place in the dominion of the Romans and Parthians in Armenia. It is, however, important to remember that throughout this troubled period, in spite of all confusion that reigned in political affairs, the Armenian consciousness of nationality constantly increased, produced a spiritually finally independent people; and that this people, by developing a purely Armenian civilisation, ultimately succeeded

in defeating the attempt of the Iranians to acquire a position of intellectual supremacy

The decay of these world powers, largely brought about by the rown fierce rivalry, prepared the way for the advance of Islam. The process of disintegration, which marks the period between the close of the Alexandrian epoch and the earliest of the Arabian conquests, rendered the task of the Mohammedan generals easier than it would otherwise have been, but it does not maitself explain their success. The empile founded by the Arabs after the death of Mahomet was the result of an influx of new blood, brought by the nomads, who once more were pressing forward from the Arabian peninsula, and were beginning to flood and overwhelm the more highly civilised but decaying races of Western Asia Signs of this expansion had not been wanting in the previous period, as we shall see when we turn later to Arabia itself in order to trace in greater detail the earlier periods of her history, and to define the events which preceded and led up to the victory of Islam.

WESTERN ASIA TO THE TIME OF MAHOMET



VΙ PARTHIA

PÄRTHIA

AS a result of the wars of Alexander the Great, the Persian nation was suddenly cast down from its position of supremacy, and placed under Greek rule. The dominion of the Seleucidæ also rested upon a Greek foundation, and found its most powerful support in the Hellenised cities of Syria and Mesopotamia; within Persia, strangely enough, the civilisation of the Greeks took firmer root in the eastern mountain districts and in Bactria than in the western and more ancient provinces of

Iran. But the Seleucidæ soon The New recognised the impossibility of Power in holding their vast empire tothe East gether, and decided to move the centre of government to the west, and we have seen that a new Power arose in the east, which, unlike the Seleucid empire, was never brought within the Roman dominion.

Even during the most gloomy periods, the old civilisation and religion of Iran had not been wanting in a place of refuge. Atropatene, a small Persian state, had all the while preserved its existence in the mountainous country of the north-west, in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiya district was either over'ooked or intentionally spared during the stormy period of Alexander; for, according to all appearances, it was the seat of no temporal power, but a region sacred to the priestly class of Persia, a sort of Iranian ecclesiastical state which Alexander did not venture to destroy.

The origin of that religion itself, and the history of its founder, Zoroaster, or Zarathustra, are obscure. It would seem to have been the outcome of an effort to spiritualise the Hindu doctrines at an early stage. Its fundamental tenet is the dualism which sets in opposition, in eternal war, the spirit of Good, Ormuzd, and the spirit of Evil, Ahriman; and undoubtedly influenced later Western conceptions of Satan. Fire and, by consequence, the Sun are the visible manifestations of the good spirit, the emblem of purification. Hence arose the

prohibition against burning the bodies of the dead, extended first in the case of the priesthood to prohibition of burial. The Zoroastrians have their representatives at the present day in the Paisees of India, who "bury" their dead on a high tower, where the corpses are consumed by birds

It is significant that the foundations of the Parthian nation do not seem to have been laid by a man of Iranian blood, but by a Turanian, a member of one of the nomadic tribes, of which many had already won for themselves a secure position in the steppe lands of Central Persia. But the Turanian ruling house that gained the position of supremacy in Iran had already become conversant with Persian customs and culture before its advance to power; indeed, it consciously trod in the footsteps of its great Persian foreignners, tracing its origin back to Artaxeixes III., the Achæmenian.

The carly history of the Parthian was devoid of interest 50 that the contemporary Greek chroniclers hardly mentioned the affairs of Persia, and have left us little more than a few bare statements concerning them Moreover, since all Parthian kings were known by the name Arsaces on their accession to the throne, many changes in the succession must have taken place, of which we now possess little or no knowledge. It is probable that

of Parthian Arsaces I. the founder of the Territory dynasty, reigned but a short Empire time In the year 248 B.C. he made way for his brother and successor Arsaces II., or Tiridates I., who, profiting by the neglect into which the eastern provinces of Syria had fallen, greatly enlarged his dominions at the expense of the Seleucidæ. Unfortunately, the extent of the territory originally occupied by the Parthians is no longer known with cer-There can be no doubt that it was situated in the north-eastern part of Persia; and that it must have consisted largely of steppes may be inferred

from the fact that the bulk of the Parthian army was made up of cavalry. Although the Parthians were not of pure Iranian descent, both the language and civilisation of the empire were Persian.

Tiridates I. also added to his empire the province of Hyrcania; this included the greater portion of the Khorassan of to-day, of which the inhabitants were especially nearly related to the Parthians. The rulers of the ne ghbouring kingdom of Bactria, that remarkable Greek state on Iranian soil, were, naturally enough, at first unfriendly to the new empire. With the assistance of the Bactrian king,

Diodotus I., Seleucus Callinicus expelled Tiridates from his kingdom in the year 238 BC, but Diodotus II. reversed the policy of his predecessors, joined forces with Tiridates, and compelled Callinicus to withdraw. At the end of these wars the Parthian empire may looked upon as firmly established

The mountainous country in the west was also conquered by the Parthians, with the old Median capital, Echatana. The ecclesiastical state of Atropatene entered into a close relationship with the new empire, without, however, becoming merged in it In later periods it even happened that this curious nation of priests at times assumed a position of decided hostility to the Persian rulers,

who were never looked upon as true Iranians, and allied itself with the Romans. That Antiochus the Great planned a From a Persian rock sculpture campaign against Atropatene after crush-

ing the rebellion of the Median governor Molon from 222 to 220 B.C. proves only how dangerous this little state had become now that the Iranians A Nation had entered into a conflict with

of Hellenism and the religious Priests influence of the priesthood was beginning to transform itself into a political agency. Artavasdes, the governor then in office, escaped the storm through timely submission in 220 B.C. The third Parthian Arsaces, Artabanus I. (214–196), was also compelled to acknowledge the

Seleucidæ when supremacy of the Antiochus advanced with a powerful army nto Iran and penetrated as far as India in 200 BC.; but this acknowledgment was little more than an empty form, and the campaign of Antiochus remained

for a long time the last attempt Seleucid made by the Scleucidæ to Supremacy maintain their prestige in the in Parthia east. The vigorous efforts towards expansion made by Antiochus the Great in the west, and the rise of the Bactrian kingdom in the east, were great obstacles to the development of the Par-

thian state. Not until the accession of Arsaces VI., (or Mithradates I.), who came to the throne in the year 174 B.C., did circumstances become more favourable to Parthia. While the empire of the Seleucidæ was in a state of hopeless contusion, Mithradates invaded the western provinces of Iran at the head of his multitudes of horsemen, and advanced into Media and Persis. broke through the mountain passes, subdued the Elimaei, who inhabited the south-western slope of the Iranian mountains, and finally appeared on the broad plain Mesopotamia—a region that was destined long to remain a field of action for the hordes of mounted Parthians.

In the east, also, the decay of Bactrian power furnished an opportunity for engaging in a successful war, as the result of which Bactria lost several provinces, and finally acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parthian king.

attempt to reconquer Western Iran, made by Demetrius II., Nicator, terminated in the capture of the Syrian king in 139 B.C. Mithradates gave Demetrius the hand of his daughter in marriage, and then endeavoured to place him upon the throne of the Seleucidæ as a vassal of the Parthians. Although this effort to extend the influence of Parthia failed, the Seleucidæ were unsuccessful in winning back their lost provinces. The vast army which Antiochus VII. assembled in the year 130 B.C. was attacked, and the greater part of it destroyed at its winter



ZOROASTER

quarters in Mesopotamia, almost without assistance from the Parthians, by the non-military inhabitants of Western Iran. With this event the period of wars between the Seleucidæ and the Parthians ended.

Turks
Against
Parthia

The former contented themselves with their western provinces until they were overcome by the Romans; the latter were soon obliged to defend themselves

against new enemies.

Phraates II., the successor of Mithiadates, for the conclusion of the struggle with Syria obtained the aid of troops of "Scythian" horsemen; not Scythians, but probably Turks Turks, however, arrived too late upon the scene, and were told that they would have to return to their Turanian home without receiving either Thereupon they attacked or plunder. the Parthians, who sought to strengthen their army by enrolling among their ranks the prisoners captured during the campaign against Antiochus. These recruits went over to the side of the Scythians The Parthians took to flight, and King Phraates was slain on the field of battle The Turkoman Scythians, m 127 B(. laden with booty, now returned to their native steppes; but their disappearance was followed by a new and still more serious invasion of the nomads.

Another great movement had taken place among the Central Asian races—a movement similar to the many that were constantly recurring in this boundless region. The nomadic tribes of the Yue-tshi, a mixed Turkish-Mongolian race, driven from their homes in the north of China by the Hinngau at the beginning of the second century BC., had thrown themselves upon the regions lying to the south, but were again dislodged and driven still farther southward by the Usun, a race that had likewise been disturbed by the Huing-nu. After marching through the plains of Turkestan, the Yuetshi finally descended upon the eastern provinces of Iran, and took possession of the kingdom of Bactria, about the year 126 B.C.

Mongols the Parthian empire also was threatened by a formidable enemy upon its very borders. This danger was not to be warded off so cheaply. The Yue-tshi soon succeeded in establishing their power, and by conquering the northern valley of the Indus as well as a portion of Turkestan, secured

for their ends the control of populous territories. Mithradates II., perhaps the most able of all the Parthian kings, was all his life engaged in endeavouring to subdue the Yue-tshi, and also to force back the Scythians, who had again attempted to take possession of the western provinces of Iran. In the west the activities of Mithradates were necessarily limited; but it speaks volumes for his political sagacity that he sought to extend the influence of Parthia over the rising nation of Armenia.

On the death of Mithradates II., in the year 76 B.C., it soon became apparent that the wars in the east had not only weakened the Parthian empire, but had also endangered its position in the west. The kings of Armenia, in pursuance of their newly-instituted policy of expansion, took possession of Northern Mesopotamia, and even of the sacred state of Atropatene; and with the latter they also obtained a certain political influence over the whole of Iran. Tigranes, king of Armenia, at that time considered his power sufficiently great to warrant the assump-

tion of the title "King of Kings," Tigranes, which, as a highly-valued inof Kings" heritance of Achæmenid times, had descended to the Parthian Arascidæ , in other words. Armenia made preparations for supplanting the Parthans in their leadership of the Iranian race. Tigranes, however, soon became entangled in the wars of Mithradates, king of Pontus, against Rome and lost his kingdom. When Pompey took control of the affairs of Roman Western Asia there were repeated disputes with Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), king of Parthia, who laid claim to the Euphrates as the western boundary of his dominions; but the moderation of the Romans and internal disorders that followed assassination of Phraates by his Mithradates III., Orodes, prevented the outbreak of a serious conflict. attempts of the Parthians to regain possession of the provinces that had also been torn from them by Armenia led to no open warfare. In the year 54 B.C. the civil war in Parthia came to an end; and Orodes, now sole ruler, was in a position to enter into the first great struggle with the Roman Empire.

That Rome was unable to gain any permanent success in this war, and that the Roman legions failed to make their

THE EMPIRE OF PARTHIA

way to India across the mountainous frontiers of Western Iran, following in the footsteps of Alexander, are facts of vast historical significance. The civilisation of the western world, which had once been carried by Alexander as far as the Indus, was destined for more than a thousand years to be cut off from all contact with the world of the east; for the small flame of Greek culture that shed its feeble lays over Bactria counted for little and was soon extinguished.

When the Parthian empire first made its preparations for war with the Romans no one would have ventured to prophesy that the power of Rome would be unable to penetrate beyond the Tigris, or that the Euphrates was destined to become the eastern boundary of Latin influence. The land ruled by the kings of Parthia was great and populous it is true, but it was possessed of small unity being rather a conglomerate of small and more

sovereignty of the Parthian emperor. As in China, the native population, owing to the superiority of its civilisation, despoiled their conquerors not only of their national character, but also of their dominion.

United Parthia
Defies Rome matter for the Parthians to overthrow the feeble government of the foreigners, and through the installation of a branch of the house of the Arsacidæ, once more to unite the eastern provinces to Western Iran. Hence the Parthian kings were enabled to oppose the Romans with the undivided

strength of their empire

There was also another small kingdom of Arsacid origin in Persia; but of this our knowledge is very indefinite. It appears that on their accession to power the family of the Arsacidæ came to an understanding as to the division of the spoils. One branch obtained the imperial dignity, and the others were granted semi-









Mithradates I Phi aates III Orodes I Tiridates II.

SOME OF THE RULERS OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE

Mithradates I (174 B C) extended the Parthian dominion to Western Iran and Mesopotamia Phraates III claimed the Euphrates as his western boundary. He was assassinated by his son Orodes I. Tiridates II reigned from 34-32 B C

or less independent kingdoms. Everywhere, especially in the mountainous districts, small dynasties had been preserved, and retained their independence throughout the storms of the Alexandrian period. These princes played an important rôle in the struggle between the Scleucida and the Parthians for the possession of the mountain regions of Western Iran. In the wars with the Romans, however, they took a less prominent part, because the scene of conflict lay further to the west in the Mesopotamian plain.

The most distinguished of the minor dynasties—one, moreover, that was frequently independent of Persia—was the Armenian. Here the Arsacidae had succeeded in placing one of their own family upon the throne. It is worthy of note that in Eastern Persia also, after the government had been overthrown by the Yue-tshi, Arsacid dynasties soon came to the front again, and acknowledged the

independent dominions, most of which were situated in the northern part of Persia Certain hereditary offices also seem to have been given to members of the imperial family—for example, the Suraship, a bearer of which title commanded the forces sent against Crassus in the year 53 B C. The Sura was also possessed of other important functions, and his title seems to have signified both an office and a family name, somewhat in the way that the name Arsaces was adopted by all the emperors as a title as well as a surname.

The Parthian empire being thus loosely constructed, its military system remained badly organised and thoroughly inefficient. On the outbreak of a conflict each of the separate nations of the empire were called upon to furnish its quota of irregular horsemen. These assembled in helpless masses differing greatly from one another in armament as well as in methods of battle, and ever ready to scatter in wild flight on the death of their leader. There is also

but little to be said in favour of the Iranian infantry. The strength of the army lay in the mercenary cavalry, mainly Turanian, before whom the Roman legions, for all their uniform equipment, and their magnificent tactics and discipline, were constantly compelled to retreat. Archers, who overwhelmed the opposing ferces with a hail of arrows, formed the bulk of the Parthian cavalry, and behind them rode heavily armed lancers, ready at any moment to break through the weakened ranks of the enemy.

It was fortunate for the Parthuans that the decisive battles against Rome were fought on the plains of Mesopotamia, where



A ZOROASTRIAN TOWER OF THE DEAD Zoroastrians are forbidden to bury or burn their dead, but, like the Parsees of India, expose the corpses on high towers where they are consumed by birds of prey,

the hordes of Iraman cavalry found a field well adapted to their peculiar methods of fighting. The effects of the heavy blows dealt by the well-tried Roman legions were completely lost on the endless plain, and the clumsy pilum and short sword were useless against the scattered Parthian squadrons. The latter, fleeing before the legions, poured back upon them a storm of lances and arrows, and returning from all sides, surged over the awkward masses of Roman infantry as storm-tossed waves dash over a sinking ship. The hot sun that beat down upon the and plain was the best ally of the Parthians, for it placed

many a body of hostile troops almost defenceless in their hands, and proved but a small obstacle to the movements of their desert-bred horses. Thus, it was with true nomadic weapons that the Parthians fought and conquered in a region thoroughly adapted to their national methods of warfare. However, the Romans were not completely lacking in allies. The Limit There were still remains of of Western former civilisation and abund-Culture ance to be seen in Mesopotamia along the banks of the rivers. After the conquest of Alexander a number of towns and cities were founded there by the Greeks, the inhabitants of which in later times were by no means inclined to acknowledge the supremacy of the As long as the Parthian emperors Seleucidæ ruled over Mesopotamia these cities had been the firmest support of their power indeed it seemed then that the whole land would be Hellenised and permanently united to the culture of the West. After the downfall of the Scleucida the Romans became the representatives of the western world. It is true that they were less sympathetic to the Greeks than the Seleucidae had been nevertheless, they were far more acceptable to them than the hated Iranian

the Greek cities

As soon as Romans and Parthians had become close neighbours, a conflict was only a question of time. Julius Gasar himself looked upon war as inevitable. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the first struggle was due entirely to minor considerations. M. Liemius Crassus was elected consul for the second time in the year 55 B.C., and received from the senate a commission to restore order in the eastern provinces. This important but comparatively humble task

races. That the Romans were able to establish themselves at least in the northern provinces of Mesopotamia was due in a large measure to the influence of

Rome Against
Parthia promised as little gratification to his ambition as did the plunder to his greed for possessions. Moreover, his being sent to Asia was little more than a compensation granted him by his allies, Casai and Pompey, in return for the pitiful part he had already played elsewhere. However, he now resolved to make the most of his opportunities. The deeds of Lucullus, who had returned from Asia with boundless treasure,

THE EMPIRE OF PARTHIA

awakened in the vain man a spirit of rivalry, and it was not long before his lively imagination presented to his eyes the vista of a campaign even greater than that of Alexander.

Affairs were not entirely unfavourable to Crassus when he first arrived in Western Asia. The struggle for the Parthian succession between Arsaces XIII. and Arsaces XIV. had just been brought to an end by the assassination of the former, and the new emperor had had as yet scarcely time to seat himself firmly on the throne. King Artabanus I., or Artavazd, of Armenia, voluntarily allied himself with the Romans, and the Mesopotamian cities welcomed Crassus as a liberator. But the consul was unable to take advantage of his position. To

shot into the closely formed legions from all sides, as they toiled painfully onward under the hot rays of the sun. After a contest that lasted for two days the remnants of the Roman army took refuge behind the walls of Charran. Crassus was treacherously put to death while negotiating with the Parthian general, and 10.000 his troops were soon forced to Captive lay down their arms on June Romans 9th, 53 B c. This unlucky campaign cost the Romans more than 30,000 of their best soldiers, of whom about 10,000 were taken prisoners by the Parthians, and sent to the eastern provinces But the Parthians did not of Iran. tollow up the victory, and so lost their natural rewards, Mesopotamia alone falling into their hands. They also failed to



A GROUP OF MODERN ZOROASTRIANS IN PERSIA OF TO-DAY

be sure he crossed the Euphrates in the year 53 BC without making a very careful search for a protext, won several victories over the Parthians, whom he surprised, and occupied a number of cities which offered but little opposition; but in the autumn he recrossed the river in order to seek more comfortable winter quarters,

Parthian Defeat of the Romans and left the conquered cities under the protection of disproportionately feeble garrisons. The Parthians took advantage of this laxity, and, collecting their forces, marched against the Romans.

The two armies met not far from the city of Charran, on the river Belikh. The Romans were able to effect little or nothing with their short swords in face of the showers of arrows that were

reap any advantage from the wars between Casar and Pompey, although the latter had prevailed upon them to become his allies. Casar's plan to invade Iran was shattered only by has assassination in the year 44 BC. On the whole, the Parthian successes amounted to very little indeed; everywhere they had been foiled by the stubborn valour of the Romans.

Yet Antony's expedition in 35 B.C. was entirely unsuccessful. He intended to avoid a battle on the Mesopotamian plain, and by invading the mountainous districts of Iran thought to avail himself of the superiority of his intantry. But he neglected to make proper arrangements for provisioning his vast army. When he had advanced as far as Atropatene, he

began to lay siege to the city of Phraspa with insufficient war materials at his disposal, and was soon obliged to retreat and to seek refuge in Armenia, after suffering severe losses. The faithlessness of the Armenians, who did not send the promised reinforcements, contributed not a little to the defeat of the Romans, who soon afterwards—in 30 B.C. Retreat —led away the Armenian king, of Artavasdes, a prisoner to Alex-Antonv andria. Shortly after the retreat of Antony, the king of Media and Phraates IV, quarrelled, and as a result the repulse of the Romans led to no further Parthian successes. Antony was even able to form an alliance with the Medes

During the following years Phraates IV. was fully occupied in maintaining his position on the throne, and consequently he treated the Romans with great deference. In the year 20 B C Casar Augustus received back from the Parthians the captured insignia and the prisoners of war, to the general satisfaction of the Roman people—Neither Phraates nor his incapable successor took any important part in the Armenian-Roman wars Several Parthian princes were educated in Rome, not, however, to their advantage, for when one of them, Vonones I. became emperor, his preference for Latin institutions made him so unpopular that he was soon forced to abdicate in favour of a rival. Aitabanus III (Aisaces XIX), in the year 16 A D. Artabanus was scarcely more successful than his predecessor, his endeavours to reconquer Armenia A powerful party of his own subjects rose against him with the assistance of the Romans, and finally drove him into the eastern provinces. On his return he concluded a treaty with the Emperor Caligula, was once more obliged to flee, but nevertheless died as emperor in 40 A.D. The civil war continued under his successors also, and disturbances in Armenia and in the East Sovereignty caused the empire to tremble to its very foundations. In the in Armenia years 58-60 A.D. the Romans and Parthians were once more on such good terms that they finally succeeded in bringing the Armenian question to a peaceful issue. As a result of this the Parthian prince Tiridates went to Rome in 62 A.D., and was there ceremoniously invested with the sovereignty of Armenia, as a dependency of the Roman Empire.

The decay of the Parthian empire proceeded apace during the years immediately The Parthian people became following less and less energetic, and the Iranian provinces and principalities gradually gamed in independence; indeed, at one time the empire seems to have been divided into several independent states. For many years the Roman emperors showed no inclination to take advantage of the disturbances in the Parthian Trajan was the first to resume empire. policy of conquest which characterised the age of the Casais, and the affairs of Armenia once more furnished a prefext The great weakness of the Parthian empire was shown by the feeble resistance offered by the Arsaces of the period, Khosiu I; little opposition was encountered except that of the mmor princes of the frontiers Trajan, after the conquest of Northern Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris, and, with the aid of a rapidly-constructed flotilla advanced as far south as Ctesiphon, captured the golden throne of the Parthian emperors, and even penetrated as far as the Per-

Trajan Invades
Parthia

Peror to withdraw his forces after having ceremonously but, of course, frinflessly—appointed a Parthian prince as ruler in his stead

The death of Trajan, in 117 A.D. brought his unsuccessful undertaking to an end. Hadrian, his successor, hastened to recall the Roman troops from Armenia and from beyond the Euphrates, and thus re-established the old boundary line. Hadrian realised that the days of great conquests were past. Not until the time of Marcus Aurelius was Mesopotamia permanently occupied, and the boundary of the Roman Empire pushed forward to the Upper Tigits. The wretched condition of the Parthuan empire finally enticed Caracalla also to seek easilywon laurels through a treacherous attack on Emperor Arsaces XXXI, in 216 A.D. Artabanus V., Macrinus, the next Parthian emperor, was obliged to content himself with the possession of Mesopo-Shortly afterwards a complete tamia. change took place in the affairs of the Iranian empire, when the dynasty of the Arsacidæ was supplanted by the house of the Sassanidæ,

WESTERN ASIA TO THE TIME OF MAHOMLT



VII PLRSIA

THE NEW PERSIAN DOMINION

I INFORTUNATELY we have no certain knowledge of the more immediate causes of the change of rulers in Parthia, to which the old name of Persia is The new dynasty of the Sassanidæ was beyond all doubt- as indeed became evident in later times -a more genume representative of the Iranian race than the Turaman Arsacidæ who must always have appeared as foreigners to the Aryan Iramans. That the downfall of the Arsacida betokened a more or less conscious return to the ancient Iranian spirit was shown by the great importance attached by the Sassaman rulers to questions of religion and unity of belief. The religion of Zoroaster was an exclusively Iraman creation The early Parthum emperors had never shown the slightest inclination towards religious propaganda, on the other hand, the Sassanida were fanatical defenders of their faith. The fact that the Iranian people Defenders became more and more enοf thusiastic in regard to their the Faith ancient religion proved only that they too were unable to escape the general tendency of the times. Ouestions of faith were not only becoming more and more prominent, but were also gradually being transformed into elements of political power. It was during this period that Christianity was beginning to shake the spiritual life of the ancient world to its very foundations, and the waves of this movement had already begun to flow over the frontiers of Iran. If the new religion had struck firm root in Persia, if it had finally won the victory over the worship of fire, then there would have been an end to the isolation of Persia. Iran would have become a member of the western civilised world, just as in later days it became a portion of the Mohammedan empire. The Jewish religion had already penetrated into Persia. There were large colonies of Hebrews in Babylon, and about the year 57 BC. the king of Adiabene, a dependency of Parthia, within

which was included a portion of ancient Assyria, became a convert to the Jewish faith. Toward the end of the first century Christianity had begin to spread over and the first Christian Mesopotamia missionaries must also have Iran appeared at that time in the Rejects Christianity highlands of Iran The priests of Zoroaster were inflamed with anger when they beheld the advance of the new doctrins which diminished then sphere of power in the west, while in the east Buddhism had been at work for centuries in undermining the pillars of their faith The downtall of the Parthian princes who had looked upon matters of religion with indifference, may perhaps have come about indirectly owing to the milnence of the priests - certainly there is no doubt but that the dynastic change was most welcome to the latter The very first of the Sassaman rulers appears in history as a religious fanatic whose accession was especially dreaded by the Jews. Almost immediately after coming to the throne he issued several edicts commanding the suppression of the Hebrew faith. During the following years the Zoroastrian religion became one of the chief means for attaining imperial unity. Its diffusion was the highest duty of the ruler, and the sacred fire remained a symbol of the exclusive and isolated Iranian nationality until it was finally quenched by the waves of Mohammedan conquest. tounder of the Sassaman dynasty, Ardishir Babekan, or Artaxerxes, son of Babek, was born in Persis, the centre of ancient Iran, his family claimed descent from a mythical ancestor, Sasan, Founder and for that reason possessed of the a hereditary right of priest-Sassanidæ hood. His tather, Babek, seems to have founded a small kingdom in Persis and to have seized the territories of various minor rulers. Although Ardishu vigorously continued his father's policy of territorial expansion, Artabanus V., who

died in 224 A.D., permitted him to pursue his way in peace. When it was too late the "King of Kings" took hostile measures against his unruly vassal. Aidishir conguered and put to death Volagases V., the whether welcome or otherwise to the Emperor Alexander Severus. The first campaign, tought in the year 231 A.D., was indecisive. In the interior of Persia, however, the culture of Iran was awakened to fresh life and received

the full support of the triumphant priesthood. New towns were founded, schools and temples arose on all sides, the judicial system and the army were thoroughly tormed. Everywhere there appeared evidences of a new development of the true Iranian spirit. and before long deemed nation itself sufficiently strong once more to enforce its old claims to the sovereignty of Western Asia

The period of the Persian-Roman wars began with the accession of Shapur I, or Sapor, who

came to the throne on the death of his father, Artaxexes I., in the year 241 A.D. The first campaign opened in the following year; Shapur advanced as far as Antioch, and after several severe engagements had



ARDISHIR, THE FIRST OF THE SASSANID KINGS OF PERSIA Ardishir Babekan extended his power from the small kingdom of Persis until he conquered the last of the rulers of Parthia and formed the Sassanid empire of Persia From a rock-sculpture showing the king receiving the sacred symbol from Ormuzd

last of the Arsacidæ, on the plain of Hormujan in the year 227 A.D.

It was not long before Ardishir was acknowledged as King of Kings by the western provinces of Iran as well

as by Armenia, and the east also soon became subject to his rule, the surviving Arsacid princes taking refuge in India. branches of the family of the Arsacida became reconciled to the new emperor and retained their pro-A new feature entered Persian history with the appearance of the first of the Sassanidæ. The ancient traditions of the Achæmenian period were brought into prominence once more, and consciousness of national unity greatly developed. Ardishir had scarcely founded his empire when he hastened to send a pretentious embassy to the Romans, and demanded that they should cede to him the whole of Western Asia. Soon afterwards he sought

to regain the lost provinces in Mesopotamia by force of arms. This was in the year 230 A.D. War with the Persians, as the Iranians were once more called in the west, now that the ancient ruling nation had again risen to power, became inevitable—



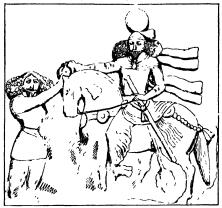
SHAPUR I. TRIUMPHANT OVER VALERIAN
Shapur I. began the period of the Persian-Roman wars, in his second campaign he invaded Syria and took the Roman emperor prisoner

been fought, was forced back to the river Tigris. The Emperor Gordian ceded Armenia and Mesopotamia to the Persians in order to avoid further conflict with a dangerous opponent during a time when senous disturbances were taking place in

THE NEW PERSIAN DOMINION

Rome. The two empires remained at peace with one another until 258 A.D., when the Persian king again invaded Syria, took the Emperor Valerian prisoner together with his army in 260 A.D., captured Antioch, and returned triumphantly to his country with an immense quantity of plunder. The rising power of the Palmyran king, Odenathus, who declared war on Persia and advanced as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, saved Syria from turther invasion; for Shapur was no longer in a position to make war on Rome.

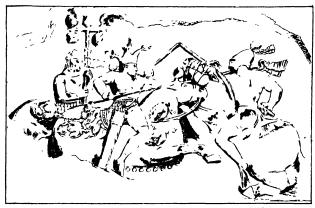
The general state of affairs in his own country may also have diverted the attention of Shapur—an enthusiastic believer in the religion of Zoroaster—from matters of foreign policy. As with all the great religions of the world, imitations and degenerate cults were constantly cropping up among the Zoroastrians. An attempt was made to combine the Iranian faith with Christian and Hebrew elements, and thus to create a new and uniform belief The leader of the new movement was Manes, the founder of the Manichæan sect, whose first appearance probably took place in the year 238 AD. accounts have been preserved of his relations to Shapur It is probable that the emperor, who died in 272 A.D., although at first disposed to treat the Manichæans or Bahram, and his followers were dispersed. Thus the danger of a split in the national religion of Persia was avoided. Iran preserved its own character, but became isolated from all other nations, and in the future was obliged to depend entirely on its



THE SASSANID KING NARSES
In the successful Roman campaign in Persia, Narses was
defeated by Diocletian, who obtained a favourable peace

own resources. There is little to be said about the immediate successors of Shapur, many of whom remained but a short time upon the throne. The war begun by the Emperor Carus in the year 283 A.D., simply because the disturbances in the

kingdom of the Sassanidae seemed to present a favourable opportunity for an invasion, came to an end on the sudden death of the Roman emperor, after his army had advanced as far as Ctesiphon. The campaign of Diocletian in the year 207 A.D. was more successful; after being deteated in one battle the Romans won a brilliant victory over the Sassanian king Narses. A peace favourable to Rome Armenia betollowed. Roman depencame a dency, and several districts beyond



BAHRAM V. FIGHTING THE TARTAR PRINCE
In the reign of Bahram V. the frontier of Persia was pushed out into Transoxania,
the country of the nomads Tradition alleges a personal conflict with the Emperor
of China, which is probably represented in this sculpture from Naqsh-i-Rustam.

with tolerance, was finally induced by the orthodox priesthood to take steps toward suppressing the sect. Manes fled to the east, and on his return to Persia in the year 274 A.D., was seized and executed by the son of Shapur, Varanes I., Tigris were surrendered to the victors.

The confusion in Persia did not come to an end until the accession of Shapur II., who ruled from 309 to 380 A.D. His was a truly Oriental government with a born leader of armies at the head of the state.

The wars with Rome, now under Constantine, continued, but with little positive result, the first period ended with a tutile siege of Nisibis, or Mygdonia, the Roman stronghold of Eastern Mesopotamia, in the year 350 A.D. When the struggle broke out anew in 350 v.D., Shapur captured the strongly fortified town of Amida after a long Shapur and severe contest The death Defeats the of Constantine was followed by Romans

the accession of Julian the Apostate, who also resolved to walk in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. He set out from Antioch with a well-tried army, and without encountering any great difficulties arrived before Ctesiphon in the year 363 A.D., but owing to a lack of supplies he had to fall back pursued by the main body of Shapin's cavalry Soon after Julian was mortally wounded in a battle, and his successor. Jovian, whom the soldiers had elected from their midst, was compelled to make peace on humiliating terms, in order to save his army from annihilation. Shapin recovered Eastern Mesopotamia, together with Mygdonia, and, thus in possession of a favourable

strategic position was enabled once more to turn to Armenia

Armenia was the chief scene of the religious - political struggle that was then taking place along the entire western frontier of the Persian empire, it was a struggle between Christianity and fire-worship, Roman influence against Persian When, the onaccession of Constantine the Great, to the Christians

in the Roman Empire, the rulers of Armenia and Iberia hastened openly to adopt the Christian faith They naturally encountered opposition from the adherents of the older religion, who immediately endeavoured to win the support of the Persians, while the Christians looked to Rome for protection.

Even the influence of Julian the Apostate was insufficient to prevent the struggle between Persia and Rome from becoming more and more of a religious war: and, as a result, it followed that until its downfall the Persian empire in spite of many bulliant successes, was always on the defensive, never once appearing as a conguering nation

The sweeping victory of Christianity in the west rendered it impossible for the Iranian faith permanently to keep pace with the Persian dominion in Armenia and Mesopotamia The Iranian emperors had to content themselves with the persecutions of the Christians, Why Persia begun by Shapur II, and thus Made no at least to ward off the danger Conquests from then own in the east The diffusion of Christianity in the west was therefore, the fundamental reason why the victorious expeditions of the Persians into Roman territory remained so unfruitful, effect they were little more than sortics from a besieged forticss, or invasions of robbers on a large scale they were

> struggle that kept him actively employed all his days, Shapin succeeded establishing Persian rule $\Lambda_{
> m imenia}$, but he was unable to do VEWE with the Christian religion Under his successors it was in 388. AD, finally agreed that Armenta should be divided into two parts, one Roman and the other Persian, each of which was to be ruled by a native prince. We have little definite know-

AND HIS QUEEN being occupied with border wars against the Turanian nomads ledge of the war in which Shapur was engaged on the northcastern frontier of his kingdom. It is certain, however, that the Persians had to keep a sharp look-out on the nomads of Central Asia, whose frequent migrations

> Of the immediate successors of Shapur, the most distinguished was Yesdigerd I.

were a constant source of danger



BAHRAM V VICTOLY WAS ASSUITED Bahram V reigned from 420 to 438 vp., most of his reign

(300-420 A.D.), called by his subjects the Bad," who at first seemed to lean towards the Christian faith, but during his later years became an orthodox believer in the religion of Zoroaster, and a fanatical persecutor of the Christians. In consequence of Yesdigerd's barbarity, war was declared by the Romans, and continued through the second year of the reign of his successor, Bahram V. (420) 438 A.D.). On the other hand, the Oriental accounts of an alleged conflict of Bahram with the Emperor of China are wholly without foundation, and were no doubt, derived from an exaggerated report of one of the frequent border wars against Turaman nomads - It is almost certain that during this period the north-eastern boundary of the Persian empire was pushed out further and further into Transoxama, and that the Persians were actively engaged in diffusing their culture and religion among the Turamans, endeavouring to subduc them by the same method that was employed with such marked success by China on her nomadic During the Arabian conneighbours. quest a small nation of Wars

Wars
With the
Turanians

The Bokhara of to-day it bravely resisted the advance of the Moslems, and must at one time have been an advanced post of Persian civilisation in the land of the Mongols.

The Persian emperors were soon compelled to turn their attention to the passes of the Caucasus also, troops of Huns and ' Scythians'' had already broken through into Iran for the inhabitants of Caucasia either could not or would not check their advance The most important event of the reign of Yesdigerd II (442-450 A.D.) was the occupation and fortification of the passes of Derbent, near the Caspian Unfortunately the emperor also permitted himself to be drawn into an attempt to crush the Christians in Armenia, which led only to ruinous wars and remained without permanent result Persian kings were well aware of the importance of maintaining their position in the Caucasus; the Emperor Peroses even requested contributions from the Byzantines for the support of the mountain garrisons, on the ground that the closing of the passes was to the interest of Persians and Romans alike. Peroses successfully made war on the nomads, who advanced from the west of the Caspian Sea; but he encountered great difficulty in subduing the Cushans and the Hephtalitæ, who had established a kingdom in Turania, losing his life during the struggle in the year 484 A D.

The period of Kobad I., who occupied the throne from 488 to 531 A.D., was remarkable in many respects. During his

reign there developed a new Reform reforming sect of the fireof the worshippers, who were at first Priesthood favoured by him, but who subsequently involved the empire in serious complications Although a change in the orthodox belief had been avoided through the suppression of the Manichæans, nevertheless the practical lesson taught by the development of Christianity had produced an effect which was only the more powerful because concealed. orthodox priesthood became more and more unpopular as time passed, and, as is almost invariably the case in popular revolutionary movements, extreme political and social opinions were united with ideas of religious reform, finally both tendencies found their most definite expression in the doctrines of Mazdak. The religious principles of the reformer, which were in the main a continuation of Manichæan ideals, were far less radical than his plans for a social revolution, of which the fundamental idea a community of goods --even of wives--was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the people. For a time Kobad seems to have regarded the new doctrines as an excellent means for combating the feudalism into which his empire had fallen, and the overwhelming influence of the priesthood. It was not until later that he learned to his sorrow that communism is not precisely the best toundation upon which to build up an Oriental despotism. Mazdak no doubt meant well, but his methods of improvement were adapted only to the capacities of model citizens, and deteriorated greatly

An Early
Persian
Communist

about a successful reactionary movement.
Kobad himself was imprisoned, and for several years deprived of all share in the government. Finally, with the assistance of a tribe of nomads, he succeeded in recovering his crown, but was obliged in accordance with the views of Mazdak.

chiefly with wars with the Romans, in which he found a good means for diverting the attention of his people from domestic affairs. For the first war the refusal of Rome to pay the customary contributions toward fortifying the passes of the Caucasus furnished a satisfactory pretext. After this guarrel Renewed was settled, a second soon Wars followed. During the very last With Rome days of his life Kobad was compelled once more to lead an army to the west, this time in order to maintain the influence of Persia over Lasistan, an important South Caucasian kingdom, whose prince had become a convert to Christianity and an ally of the Byzantine empne.

Kobad's second period of rule was occupied

After the death of Kobad the usual quarrels as to the succession arose, and finally ended in 531 A.D. with the accession of Khosru I , or Anushirvan, whom Kobad had looked upon as the most capable of his sons Khosru was a champion of the ancient Persian spirit, a friend of the priestly class, and an irreconcilable enemy of the reformers of the school of Mazdak, who had chosen one of his numerous brothers as their imperial candidate. During his reign the Persian empire attained to the height of its splendour; indeed, the government of Khosru L., '' the Just,'' was both equitable and power-But it must not be forgotten that also signified the final victory of reaction and the cessation of all develop-Nor did the brilliant feats of arms accomplished by Khosru alter this fact, of which the results were, one hundred years later, suddenly to become manifest, with most disastrous effects.

One of Khosru's first acts was to make peace with the Romans, who agreed to pay a large contribution towards the fortification of the Caucasian passes, which the Persian emperor began anew on a great scale; the Byzantines, how-Khosru. a ever, retained Lasistan. In Splendid addition to strengthening the Reactionary Caucasus, Khosru also sought to fortify the north-eastern frontier of his empire by constructing a great wall after the Chinese model, at the same time substantiating by force of arms his old claims to a portion of North-western India. But he soon turned his attention again to the west; for during the reign of Justinian I. the Byzantine empire had

suddenly awakened to new life, overthrowing the dominion of the Vandals in Africa and annihilating the Goths in Italy. The impression made by these events on the Christian inhabitants of his kingdom was alone sufficient to cause Khosru to take measures of defence, and of all defensive measures, the very best, according to the opinion of the Persians, was a sudden campaign of aggression. Consequently, war against the Romans followed in the spring of 540 AD, without being preceded by the conventional declaration. The Romans had no army with which to fight the Persians, and Khosru, who did not entertain any thoughts of permanent conquest, plundered as many Syrian towns as possible during a short campaign, and exacted from others exorbitant ran-He also captured Antioch, which was very badly defended, and refused to return to his own dominions until a large sum of money had been paid him by the Byzantines, and an annual tribute pro-During the next few years he mised. met with less success, and in Raids on 545 A.D. a peace was concluded. Byzantine Lasistan, however, the In

Dominions war with the Romans still continued: for Khosru was most anxious to acquire possession of this country, which extended as far as the Black Sea, and he even formed a scheme for building a fleet there, in order to attack Constantinople by water. On the other hand, the Romans considered themselves to be the natural allies of the Christian inhabitants of Lasistan, and looked upon the province itself as a bulwark of defence against the encroachments of the tribes of the Caucasus, as well as of the Scythians and Huns, who were ever lying in wait beyond the mountain wall. The struggle ended disastrously for the Persians, and Lasistan was surrendered to the Byzantines in the year 556 A D. During the last few years of this war the attention of Khosru had been directed chiefly to Central Asia, where affairs had once more assumed a threatening aspect. The kingdom of the Hephtalitæ had fallen before the attack of the Turks, who burst forth from Eastern Turkestan in 555 A.D., and founded a powerful empire in Transoxania. Owing to the skilful diplomacy of Khosru, Persia escaped the consequences of this storm, and was itself able to take part in the sharing of the plunder. During the following years there were

THE NEW PERSIAN DOMINION

no further military operations on the western frontier; but the spiritual war between Christianity and fire-worship still continued. That Khosru was greatly interested in the religious life of Western Asia was proved by his interference in the affairs of Yemen, whither Christianity had penetrated through the agency of the Abyssimians. With the help of a Persian army the latter were driven out of Arabia in 575 A.D., and a Persian protectorate, which lasted until the time of Mahomet, was established in the south-western part of the peninsula. Towards the end of the reign of Khosiu war broke out anew with Rome; Persian troops advanced as far as Antioch, and a number of indecisive battles were fought in Armenia

Under Khosru's successor Hormuzd IV

(573-590 A.D) the boundary dispute continued. One of the results of this constant state of war was that the Persians dethroned then who emperor. was most un popular and apparently of disordered intellect His son, Khosi u H., was installed in his place, but was straightway compelled to flee

rai who had risen in revolt. With the help of the Byzantines—who were, of course well paid for their good offices—Khosru II, finally succeeded in expelling the usurper from his provinces. But the friendly relations with Byzantium were not of long duration, in fact, an insurrection that broke out in Constantinople.

Plunder of Syria and Mesopotamia in tavour of the losing side, that he might set out on a plundering expedition through Syria and Mesopotamia. Although these campaigns of robbery, which began in the year 604 A.D., and constantly increased in radius of action, were of little benefit to the Persians and cest them dearly in troops, they had a marked effect in preparing the way for

the Mohammedan conquest. It was owing to these same expeditions of Khosru that the power of Roman Syria and Mesopotamia was broken. The Arabs of the steppes, however, who assisted both Peisians and Romans, according to the whim of the moment, became trained in war and pillage, and

the Way for Islam where constantly being suffer up to the highest pitch of extended until mally the hand of Mahomet welded their various tribal elements into a power that Western Asia was totally unable to resist.

Persia arrived at the height of her military glory during the years 614-622 A.D. Damascus was captured and plundered in 614 V.D., Jerusalem together with the whole of Palestine yielded in 615 A.D.,

Egypt was conquered in 616 The armies of Persia then advanced Asia Minor, and finally Persian troops encamped on the shores of the Bosphorus, within sight of Constantmople at the very same time that Seythian army was threatening the city from the European side



the country by Rhosru II RECEIVING THE ROYAL DIADEM Heraclius the Bahram, a gene- Apaivez, "the Victorious." He broke the power of Roman Syria and Roman emperor, all who had risen Mesopotamia and thus prepared the way for the Mohammedan conquest resolved to avert

the danger by making a counter attack on Persia. His plan was wholly successful, he advanced through Armenia to Atropatene, destroyed the temple of the Zoroastrians, and compelled Khosru to return to Persia in 623 AD During the following years, also, he held the Persians in check, threatened Ctesiphon in 627 A.D., and finally brought matters to such a pass that Khosru was descrited by his own subjects, who had become thoroughly embittered, owing to the excessively heavy buildens of war. The army, which until this time had been encamped opposite Constantinople, retreated in disorder to Persia, and found that Khosru had already been dethroned and put to death in the spring of 628 A.D. The fact that it finally became necessary

to enrol even women in the ranks of the Persian forces is a proof of the terrible loss of life occasioned by the ambition and insatiable greed of the king.

Khosru was succeeded by Kobad II., who reigned seven months only—from February to September, 628 A.D.—and made peace with Herachus. The reigns of

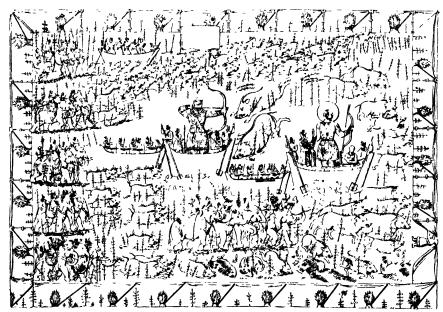
Lack of Male Soldiers and Princes of the lack of male princes, and the grandson of Khosru, Yesdigerd III (632-651 A.D.), the last of the Sassandae The wars with the Arabs broke out during the first years of Yesdigerd's reign and at the same time the gradual dissolution of the empire began

It has already been mentioned that the exhaustion of the Persian empire—a result of the incessant wars with the Byzantines—contributed greatly to the victory of the Arabs; but that the Persians were so swiftly and thoroughly conquered by the Moslems was due almost entirely to the isolation into which both people and prince had tallen and to the stubbonniess with which they held fast to their obsolete religion and culture—All that was pro-

gressive in the teachings of Manes and Mazdak had been forcibly suppressed; and while the most profound religious conceptions were developing in other lands the faith of Zoroaster became utterly ossified.

Practically nothing had been accomplished in either science or art, and when Khosru II determined to build a city that should surpass Antioch in splendour, the result was little more than a grotesque mutation of Roman models. The pagan philosophers, who sought refuge and sympathy at the Persian court, returned bitterly disappointed to Roman territory. That Persia proved incapable of becoming an active member of the western civilised world, but obstinately preserved its own worst characteristics, only to be compelled finally to exchange them for an active even less efficient religion and

Persia's Culture, was one of the greatest misfortumes in the lustory of Western Asia. How far Christianity would have continued in its victorious course had it not been for the barrier of Iran is hard to determine, at any rate, the great success attained by the one Christian sect that was tolerated by the Persian emperors, the Nestorians, proves that it would have made great progress.



BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE PALACE OF KHOSRU II.

Khosru II, "the Victorious," determined to build a city which should surpass Antioch in its splendour, but the resu't was little more than a grotesque imitation of Roman models, and this relief from his palace seems to bear out the view.

1882

WESTERN ASIA TO THE TIME OF MAHOMET



VIII ARABIA

ARABIA BEFORE ISLAM

THE name Arabia or Aribi did not originally belong to the whole pennsula, but, in the Assyrian inscriptions where it first meets us, designated only the northwestern portion, substantially the Syrian desert and the adjoining districts, that is to say, the region occupied by the nomads who came into contact with the imbabitants of the countries on the Euphrates and of Syria. There, after 1000 B.C., the fourth great migration settled, that of the Arabs themselves after whom the land henceforth was called

The Syrian desert stretches along the lunterland of Northern Palestine in its widest extent towards the north. Here to the east and the south of the district of Damascus was one of the most suitable points of attack for Arabian tribes. Here, then, we find Arabs mentioned for the first time. In the great army which Bu-idri of Damascus put into the field against Shalmanesci II the Arab "Gindibu"the name is quite regular in the Arabian torm, Lundub or Gundub— was also forced to furnish his contingent. We must regard him as an Arab sheikh, who lived within the sphere of Bu-idii's power, and stood in a dependent relation to him, a position which we shall repeatedly find after this time The mention of this fact signifies the beginning of the

Beginning of Arabian Immigration into those parts, that is to say, the beginning of the same great movement which culminated in the spread of Islam

Our next notice is that Tiglathpileser IV, made expeditions to Arabia and forced various Arabian tribes, whom he enumerates, to pay tribute. He was acquainted with a "kingdom" of Aribi in the north, in the Syrian steppe, which was ruled by queens—for instance, Zabibi and Sainsi—who paid tribute and acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria, as he definitely records, in 738 and 733 B.C. The subject condition of Aribi or Arabi, occasionally enforced by fresh chastisements, is recorded under Sargon Sennacherib, and Esarhadden

Further to the west, in the land which adjoins the district of Southern Philistia and comprises the borderland of Egypt, or Musri, Tiglath-pileser IV appointed a Bedouin sheikh as Assyrian "overseer." The district, which hitherto had been subject to Egypt, thus became an outlying Assyrian state under native princes appointed by Assyria A theory according to which their were two "Musris," the one being Egypt, the other an unknown country in Northern Arabia, has lately been Arabia put forward. It is sufficient to say that the case made out for Under this view is wholly madequate. Assyria The Musri over which Tiglathpileser appointed the Arab sheikh Idibi'ilu as warden of the marches is the borderland of Egypt not a hypothetical country ın Northern Atabia - Idibi'ilu did not hold his own for long: for under Sargon we find that the governor of Musri, who is no longer appointed by Assyria, but is dependent on the "king of Melukhkha," is no other than Pharaob king of Egypt, or Pir'u of Musii - The king of Melukhkha is, without question, the Ethiopian monarch with whom Egypt was allied, probably Kashta.

Until the year $670~\mathrm{B}$ C, only the kingdom of Aribi was kept in strict subjection to Assyria, Fsarhaddon then, in contimiance of his Egyptian policy, attempted to bring additional parts of Arabia under his dominion. The discord between Assyria and Babylonia, which was accentuated by the victory of the military party and the accession of Ashurbanipal, destroyed all these successes won in the spirit of Babylonian influence. Shamashshum-ukin sought help against Assyria where he could, and summoned into the land the Bedouins, who had been so long kept in check on the frontiers. Other tribes and peoples under their "kings" now meet us as allies of the Babylonians. Besides the kingdom of Aribi, which played

a less aggressive part, there were in particular the Kedar, nominally a vassal people of Aribi, and west of these the Nebaioth of the Bible, or Nabaiati of the cuneiform inscriptions. The Nabaiati possessed the Syrian desert up to the borders of the Assyrian province; they harassed the vassal states, Moab and Edom, Raids situated on the border of the steppe and roamed northward as far as Damascus. They were, it is true, chastised by Ashurbanipal's expeditions, and driven out of the region of civilisation, but it lies in the nature of the circumstances that they would be kept back only as long as they continued to fear a power which at once anticipated every encroachment. When, therefore, with the death of Ashin banipal and Nabopolassar's declaration of independence, the beginning of the end drew near the Arabs had a splendid oppor-Naturally they immediately advanced once more. According to a notice in the book of the prophet Jeremiah, which may perhaps be traced to the annals of the kings of Judah, Nebuchadnezzai undertook an expedition against the Kedar and punished them by destroying their stronghold Hazor

The want of native accounts from the Persian era deprives us also of any notices as to the relations of Persia with Arabia. The few materials, however, that we possess are at least sufficient to corroborate the idea which we should naturally form from the preceding and the subsequent periods. So long as the Persian empire was firmly consolidated and adopted a strong foreign policy, even the Arabs had to curb their eager passions. At a later period they were restrained more by concessions and payments. When Cambyses marched against Egypt they were compelled to supply him with the means for his march through the desert, more particularly the camels.

Persia and Arabia — the Assyrian Aribi — among the countries subject to him; but since it is uncertain whether some other names of subject peoples refer to Central and Eastern Arabia, we do not know how far his sovereignty extended. In any case the advance of the Kedar against Palestine, begin under Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar, assumed wider importance. In Yemen the kingdom of the Sabæans was now flourishing; in the

north political organisations, like those of the Aribi, Kedar, and Nabaiati, were the medium of trade. We do not know when these peoples were replaced by others; and after all it does not signify what the names of the sheikhs were who maintained relations with the Persian officials. rule over the wild sons of the desert certainly was secured to them by this alliance, and yet they remained in all their sympathies and ideas no less Bedouins than their countrymen. They cannot indeed be compared with the Bedouin sheikh, who is distinguishable from his poor fellowtribesman, his "brother," only by a larger share of cattle; they had by this time thoroughly well civilised themselves, so far as it was a matter of filling their Duises.

An inscription from Teima, which belongs to the Persian or the New Babylo-Assyrian time, gives us a picture of the life and organisation of the North Arabian towns and states with their sanctuaries. This resembles far more the picture which some of the towns of Palestine and Israel present during the time of the kings which the than that Life in Islamitic tradition has given of Early the conditions of the pre-Islamitic Arabia time. There is a city sanctuary with a specified domain, which is reserved for the maintenance of the cult and its priests. The hierarchy, at all times ready to open the doors of the temple to new divinities, was bound then to take measures for their support. The necessary means were derived partly from the temple income, partly from the royal revenues, even the king, therefore, had his "fiscal" domain. The language of the inscription is not Arabic, which was not written until Mahomet, but This result of civilisation was Aramaic therefore borrowed from Assyria or Babylonia, where Aramaic was the written and spoken language of commerce; the portrait of the high-priest Salm-ushezib shows Assyrian finish, and he himself bears a name constructed on Babylonian analogy. With the written language were borrowed also the political and fiscal terminology.

The fall of the Persian empire would have been a welcome opportunity for the Arabs to invade the civilised countries had not more energetic opponents soon arisen in the Hellenistic states. In addition to this, civilisation had already

taken a somewhat firmer hold of these The beginnings, traces of countries. which may be seen in the kingdoms of Aribi, with the inscription of Teima, developed during the Hellenistic era into the kingdom of the Nabatæans, which now exists for some three centuries as a marvellous creation of the mixed civilisation of North Arabia, thoroughly preserving its national Arabian character, on the borders of a civilisation which was once Oriental but now impregnated afresh Of this kingdom an with Hellenism. account has already been given.

The annexation of Nabatæa by the Romans resulted in the prosperity of a new Arabian commercial state—namely, Palmyra, for which also we may here refer our readers to a previous section.

With the fall of the restraining state of Palmyra (273 A D) the Saracens, a name by which the Arabs inhabiting the steppes were usually designated by the Romans, tound the civilised country open to them whenever the Roman power was unable to protect the frontiers with a firm hand. In the wars of the Romans, Byzantines,

Rise of the Saracens and Sassanide, they played an important part as lords of the desert, and as valuable allies in the struggle for the traversed by them

Both Byzantium and the court of the Sassanidae were unable to extend their frontiers further than the region of civilisation, and were compelled, like the Assyrians and Persians, to allow the Saracens to retain their territory. usual it was thought to be enough if the sheikhs of the adjoining tribal districts were won over and brought into loyal relations with the empire - Just as Idibi'ilu was appointed by Tiglath-pileser to rule over the frontier district of Egypt, and the Nabatæans were the allies of the Romans, so now the Byzantines and Persians favoured the formation of Arab states on their frontiers, the "kings" of which, by their support from the Great Power, and with titles conferred on them by it, ruled over the sons of the desert. With an organisation superior to the Bedouins, they formed a protection both for the Persians and Byzantines against the advance of subsequent tribes. this way both the princely house of the Ghassanidæ, on the Byzantine frontiers in Syria, and the Lachmidæ, on the

Babylonian frontiers, ruled under Persian supremacy as the connecting link and barrier between civilised country and steppe. They discharged this function, perpetually warring against each other, both on their own initiative and in the service of their hege lords, with ceaseless skirmishes and raids, which the earliest Arabian poets known to vs

have sung. Finally, the pent-up Semitic power of the tide of nations in Migration the heart of the country broke a way through, and under the flag of Islam, once more flooded the countries of civilisation, helping the "Arabian migration" to force its victorious way, and at the same time rolling on the last wave of the Semites which the history of the world knows. In the ninth century B.C. we found the first Arabs on the frontiers of civilisation pressing on after the Aramæans, in the seventh century AD, 1,600 years later, the Islamitic movement inundated the East. Since then 1,200 years have clapsed, and we cannot perceive any new movement in the cradle of the Semitic nations. which is, to a great extent, depopulated.

We now turn to Eastern Arabia, with the coast districts on the Persian Gulf, and their mysterious centre, Yemama. The Chaldreans, or Kasdim, whom we meet in the civilised zone first in South Babylonia, probably came hence into the light of history. So far as they became Babylonians, they no longer concern us here But as the western districts, already occupied by "Arabs," present, even in the time of Ashurbanipal, distinct traces of then earlier Aramaan inhabitants, we may equally conjecture that remains also of the Kasdim were left in Arabia itself, until they were absorbed by the onward movement of the Arabs. The Bible is acquainted with Arabian Kasdim, who are to be found in the East-that is to say, toward Yemama; in these may fairly be seen the first stratum of the great Later they are remigration

chaldzeans in East
Arabia garded in the introduction to the Book of Job on the basis of ancient tradition as being, with the Sabzans, the rulers of Central Arabia.

A part of the Kasdim must have occupied the Arabian maritime districts of the Persian Sea. As the Chaldwans of the South Babylonian 'sea country' were masters of all that was still left of Babylonian navigation and commerce on the Persian

Sea, so these Chald cans also must have occupied the island of Dilmun, or Bahrein, which in ancient times was in close connection with Babylonia. Under Sargon, their king Uperi, after the capture of Babylon, entered into the same relations with the Assyrians which he had hitherto kept up with Merodach-baladan, the king of the "sea country" and of Babylon Whether this king was an Arab, or still a Chaldeain, must remain uncertain. Esarhaddon records his expedition into

Esarhaddon records his expedition into the interior of Eastern Arabia, called by him Bazu, the biblical Buz, it can hardly be looked for elsewhere than in Yemama. Eight "kings" and queens are enumerated whose "towns" had been captured if ever information should reach us from this still unexplored corner of the earth, we may become acquainted even there with the traces of a culture of which notices are found in Arabian writers.

Strabo, following old accounts, can speak of Chaldaeans on the sea, whose capital and seaport, Geriha, formed the emporium for the trade with the interior Antiochus the Great, after the rebellion of Molon once more secured the eastern provinces of his empire and resumed triendly relations with the Indan kings. Further, on an expedition undertaken against the maritime districts of the Persian Sea, in return for a very considerable "present," he confirmed in 205 BC, the independence of the Gerrhaeans, who were all-important for the commerce on the Persian Sea, and with the interior of Arabia.

Under the dominion of the Parthians, who did not trouble themselves about such trifles as the command of the sea and trade, a successor of the former Chaldean "sea country" arose in the shape of Messene. This was a state which, about the beginning of the Christian cra, ruled the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris,

State of Messene well as the adjoining coast districts, and thus controlled the trade with Babylonia, so far as it yet existed on the Persian Sea and did not go through Yemen. From some notices of classical writers and from coins, we are acquainted with a series of kings of Messene, who were subject to the indicate of Hellenism and Parthia, and had a preponderance of Aramæan subjects, but nevertheless are certainly to be claimed as Arabs. Possibly, the head of

the dynasty was a certain Adad-nadinakh, whose inscription has been found upon bricks in a late addition to the palace at Tello, the town of the old Babyloman kings and patesis of Lagash; he had, therefore, built his palace there. The inscription is bilingual, being written in Aramaic and Greek.

The most important part, as the seat of a peculiar civilisation, was played in antiquity by the south, or rather the south-west corner of Arabia, the so-called Arabia Felix This name was, perhaps, originally given, owing to a misapprehension, which took the Arabian meaning of Yemen, the land lying to the right of the Arab looking toward the east, in the sense of the augur, to whom the right side was the propitious quarter. The country, a lofty mountain plateau, with isolated higher elevations and better watered than the north although only by mountain streams, was always carefully cultivated in the times to which the Here also the rivers inscriptions refer forced the inhabitants to take measures to dam up the precious water in times of Civilisation brimming streams, and to store it against the dry seasons. The of Arabia dam of March the rains of Felix which are still standing appeared to the Arabs of the descrit as something marvellous

Numerous ruined sites have been already discovered, the old names of which are mentioned in inscriptions still visible, but little has been done towards furnish. ing science with what is on the surface, to say nothing of all that is hidden in the to which these remains bear earth-Where only copies of the inscriptions themselves, hastily made by an intrepid travéller at the risk of his life, are forthcoming, it is impossible to form any idea of the remaining ruins; and the temples and buildings to which the inscriptions refer, and the site of which they record, exist for us only in name. These do not enable us to draw a connected picture of the political development.

The most ancient inscriptions which we possess belong to an age which ends in the eighth and seventh centuries. A proof that a connection already existed with the great civilised countries is shown by the character of the script. This alphabetical writing, which has been developed from the general Semitic alphabet,

with the invention of some additional symbols for the greater variety of sounds in this South Arabian Ma'initic or Minæan language, may perhaps be taken to represent in the perfection of its form a completely independent effort, as compared with the North Semitic alphabet of the Aramaans and Canaanites Alphabetical writing was invented in Phoenicia. There the Canaanites and Aramæans became acquainted with it, and thence it made its way to Yemen. It is evident that the same, or perhaps a still brisker intercourse was then maintained with the regions of civilisation from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean than in the times on which light is gradually being cast by inscriptions. We found indications of this intercourse in the ancient Babylonian inscriptions of Gudea and Naram-Sin The very same streams of nations which can be traced from the south of the peninsula so far as the civilised countries of the Mediterranean during the Islamitic age, were flowing at the time when the "Canaanites," and later the Aramæans, flooded the East The tribe of the Sabæans, which submitted to Sabæans Assyria, is mentioned as early Masters as the reigns of Tiglath-pileser of Yemen and Sargon Of all the Λ rabian tribes then mentioned, it is the one which dwelt farthest to the south on, the Assyrians were no longer able to re ain their hold upon the country. In the north, therefore, "Arabs" became masters of the country. At the same time, in the south also, inscriptions mention attacks of "Arabs" inscriptions, however, are not composed in the language of the Minæans, but variety. The new dialectic masters of the south are the same people whom we have recognised as allies of the Assyrians—namely, the Sabæans, Approximately about Esarhaddon's time the Sabæans became masters of the country in place of the Minæans. For a half century, therefore, we now meet with "kings of Saba" as masters of Yemen and its civilisation.

The "treasures of Arabia," henceforth, according to Oriental ideas, belong to the Sabæans. Sabæans now meet us in the Hebrew inscriptions, in place of the Minæans, and the intercourse with the south is now maintained by the Kedar. It is seen that Assyria had once more to her own advantage separated the masses

of nations in Arabia. The position of the great Mingan nation, which had dominated the south, was now taken by two peoples of different stock—the Kedar are Arabs," but not the Sabæans who, being enemies, acted as a counterpoise to each other and rendered it easier for Assyria to rule Esarhaddon had shown himself here, in continuation Assyrian of his Egyptian policy, to be Policy one of the acutest of Oriental statesmen. It finally the "Assyrian policy" had not prevailed over the "Babylonian," the trade of Arabia would have been carried on under the control of Assyria. The struggle between Assyria and Babylon destroyed all this though the Kedar could be chastised, any influence over the south was lost. Sabæans were able to withdraw from this Assyrian guardianship and to assert their independence. The realm of Saba had its most important towns situated south of the Iof country of the Minagans The capital is March, as it appears up to the Himyaritic conquest. The kingdom remained purely Sabaan for several centuries—Then other nations obtained the supremacy, and their rulers styled themselves 'kings of Saba.''

The period of Ma'm and Saba down till about 300 BC was that of Yemen's greatest prosperity, and for a considerable time it commanded the trade with India. Babylonia was then cut off from the Persian Sea by the Childrens Egypt was not in a position to hold the Red Sea, and thus it was a prosperous time for the intermediate trade which went through Arabia from Yemen by land northward to the Philistine towns, or from the ports of Western Arabia to the harbours of Egypt. On the caravan route which led from Kuser, or Leukos Limen, on the Red Sea to Thebes and Koptos, the main line of communication of the Thebaid to the sea, Minaco-Sabæan inscriptions, besides numerous Egyptian ones, have been cut on the face of the rocks, testify-Greatness ing to the former commercial of South greatness of South Arabia. Arabia While the Sabæans were dependent for their intercourse with Palestine and the Euphratean countries on the services of the North Arabian Kedar, and afterwards of the Nabatæans, through whose land they passed, the Minæans had reached those districts directly; in Warka, or Uruk, in South Babylonia, a monument of these relations has been found in a

Minagan inscription When once more the Orient came under a dominion which embraced the old seat of culture in Babylonia, and at the same time was able to revive the Babylonian ideas in place of the Persian feudal economy, the conditions were then altered to the disadvantage of South Arabia. interests must have Sabæan Commerce Ptolemes really set free the Ruined sea route round Arabia, and actually utilised it for trade, while the Seleucidæ reckoned with the Nabatæans and Gerificans as middlemen Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, in his wars with the Seleucide circumnavigated Arabia and made an attack on the Seleucid possessions on the Persian Gulf He and his successor founded on the western coast of the Red Sea, as far as the straits of Babel-Mandeb, Egyptian colonies, which sapped the vitality of the Sabæan commerce with Abyssinia and Egypt These colonies undoubtedly formed stations for a direct Indian trade In Adulis, or Zulla, where the communications between Saba and Habesh, or Abyssinia, crossed Ptolemy III Eucretes, crected an inscription commemorating one of his victories. Thus it was not a revived Babylon of Alexander that became mistress of the Indian trade and the ruip of Saba, but Alexandria

We must place in the third or second century BC the internal commotions to which the realm of Saba was exposed. These brought another people into power the Himyarites, who had settled originally in the south-west corner of the pennisula and occupied the capital at this time. Their kings, just like their predecessors, style themselves "kings of Saba" but add to this title " and of Raidan," the name of their Himyarite ancestral fortiess. Thus, then, no longer Sabaans but Himyarites rule in Saba

At the same time or soon afterwards, the lords of Abyssinia, whither tornerly the Sabæans had sent colonies, began, as the Egyptian power dwindled, to extend their dominion beyond the seas. Starting from the reoccupied Adulis, where one of their kings. Zoskales, son of Alizanes, had his inscription cut by the side of that of Ptolemy Euergetes, they crossed to Arabia and first gained a firm tooting on the coast. There they had possessions as early as the first century B.C.; that is, the sea, or

at least intercourse with Abyssima, was barred for the rulers of Saba, who were exposed to continual attacks from the Abyssiman governors. The same king, who perpetuated his name as Adulis by the side of Ptolemy's, then subjugated the whole Arabian coast to Leuke Kome, the former seaport of the Nabatæans, and Yemen, so far as the Sabæan royal title, which became gradually wider, laid claim to it. From that time, from the second or third centuries a.d. Sabæa is subject to the suzerainty of Abyssima.

This sovereignty did not escape opposithe South Arabian Himyarites made many, and occasionally successful, attempts to eject the Abyssinians from the country. They succeeded, indeed, for a considerable time in once more winning then independence under the standard of Judaism, which in the last centuries before the Christian era conquered Arabia and led to a revival of power in the old state of Yemen information does not go so far as to enable. us to recognise the political parties and currents from which the new prosperity was developed , from

Judaism nature of things, however the in general condition of affairs may Yemen be approximately ascertained. Judaism was a power to be reckoned with m all the great empires of civilisation, played a foremost part in the kingdom of the Nabatæans, and was especially prominent in Egyptian business life. its still eager desire to proselytise it was spread by commercial connections into South-west Arabia, whither the civil-sed empires could not go with their armies, although they had long cherished a desire for the land, the possession of which would have put the Indian trade into the hands of its masters. The prevailing religion there was that of the old Sabaans. The shrewd Jewish men of business were opposed to this heatherism. While the ruling nobles who owned the land clung to the old religion, the missionaries of Judaism found receptive hearers, where it was possible for men to appreciate in their own persons the value of their promises of happiness -namely, among that section of the population which was engaged in trade and industries. In contradistinction to the nobility, it must have been the town population which received Judaism. By its connection with Judaism this population acquired new

strength; the land-owning nobility lost more and more in influence before the increasing wealth and power of the commercial class. Finally the kingdom saw itself compelled, as, for example, in Adiabene also, either by peaceful or by violent changes to side with the merchant class rather than with the nobility, and to accept Judaism; that is to say, the organisation of the feudal state formed by the Himyarite conquest had been transformed into that of a mercantile community. This reorganisation put Yemen in a position to expel the Abyssinians from the country. For some centuries now Jewish rulers held the dominion as "kings of Saba." Such independence did not benefit Rome.

The Roman attempts under Augustus to obtain possession of Yemen had been made in a period when the Himyarites were weak and yet they had failed Judaism had led to a recovery of strength; then the spiritual power could be opposed only by another spiritual power, and this was found in Christianity. Even the dominion of Judaism in Yemen had its dark side and rould not but meet with a period of decline Christianity, the reli-Jewish gion of the poor, which followed Kings in on its track, here found its Yemen path made casy. Just Judaism had once formed the standard under which the vigorous components of the people rallied against a ruling class which was no longer competent to discharge its duties, so all who were excluded from the government joined forces under

The legends of the Christian saints recount terrible sacrifices of human life. which the movement against the ruling class entailed. Despite all the zeal of the Christians in the lands of civilisation, they could not win an unaided victory. The attempt had to be made indirectly. After about the fourth century Abyssinia was won for Christianity from Egypt. The relations maintained with the Ptolemies were once more resumed, and were kept up by the Church, for Abyssinia always received bishops from the patriarch ın Alexandrıa. Sınce Egypt was Byzantine, the kings of Abyssinia were on friendly terms with the court of Byzantium. and both shared in the common desire for the treasures of Yemen. Byzantium the lesson once taught to Augustus had not been forgotten, and it was recognised that the desired goal

the sign of the Cross

could only be reached by the former conquerors, who had been driven out by Judaism; an attempt was therefore made to incite these to a new In the year 525 A.D. the Jewish-Sabæan empire fell, after a valiant resistance by the last Jewish king, Joseph dhu Nuas, who is represented in the martyrologies as a monster,

Fall of

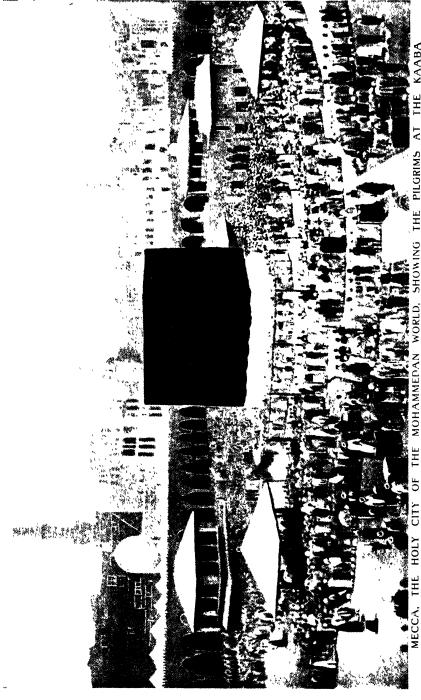
but is better appreciated in the Jewish the otherwise obscure Islamitic Kingdom tradition Yemen became more Abyssinian and was governed by an Abyssinian viceroy, who was very independent. Tradition tells of four rulers, the reign of one of whom is recorded in This state of things lasted inscriptions.

some seven hundred years.

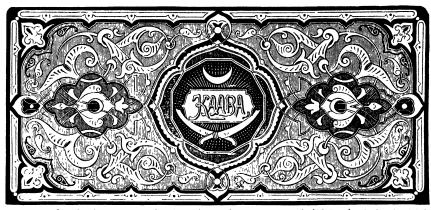
The Jewish monarchy fell, but the old nobility was not yet destroyed; the latter was forced naturally to place its hopes on the opponents of the Byzantines, the Persians A descendant of the noble families went first to Babylonia and then to the Persian court in order to obtain help from that quarter. Anushirwan crossed over to Arabia and drove out the Abyssmians about 575 A.D. Yemen became first a vassal state of Persia, then a province under Persian Christianity and Byzantine influence were thus overthrown. The old nobility and paganism once more enjoyed a brief renaissance until, some fifty years later, the great union of all Arabia under Islam was completed.

In the rise of the power of Mahomet also the opposing forces which were at work are recognisable; the threads which ran to Byzantium and the Sassanian court can be taken up in Mecca. The nobles of Mecca, who commanded the trade of the important caravan station, were closely connected with Yemen. Mahomet, however, having failed to find help from The Rise Judaism, looked for support against the Meccan nobility, Mahomet strengthened by the paganism of Yemen, from the Abyssinians who, even then, had possessions on the Arabian coast. But the old forces and contrasts of civilisation outlasted the conqueror and his bandits. The party of the nobility reached the throne, and the contrast between Northern and Southern Arabia is continually reappearing in the history of the following centuries.

> HUGO WINCKLER LEONARD W. KING



Mecca was the religious centre of the old pagan tribes of Arabia It grew up around the Kaaba a square temple, in the wall of which was inserted the famous Black Stone Althougu Mecca was hostle to Mahomer in his early days and had to be conquered by him he preserved the sacred character of his burthplace and its temple, adapting it to his monotherstic religion. MOHAMMEDAN WORLD, SHOWING THE PILGRIMS AT



WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ & LEONARD W. KING, M.A.

THE HEROIC AGE OF ISLAM

 ${f T}{f H}{f E}$ inhabitants of ${f A}$ rabia are separated into two distinct, classes, as a result of differences of occupation and manner of life. Even during the period of temporary umon at the time of the Mohammedan conquests, the cleft caused by these differences was but superficially bridged The free Bedouin nomads who dwell in tents on the pasturages of the steppes whose possessions are their flocks and herds, look down with hatred and contempt upon the agriculturists, who cultivate the scanty fertile regions— "dragging the plough with their own hands like slaves"—and crowd together with labourers and memals, in the villages and towns. On the other hand, the agricultural classes, superior to the Bedouns both in numbers and in education, return the predatory nomads of the desert their dislike in full measure. Nevertheless, the Arabians never succeeded in making a mark in lustory until both elements forgot their differences, and were welded into temporary unity by a higher power. No unitying force can emanate from the Bedouins, for their whole endeavour is towards disintegration; moreover, the poverty of their land is in itself an insurmountable obstacle to their joining together in large bodies. The tribal sentiment, which transcends all other instincts and emotions.

excludes the conception of nationality, and constant feuds only increase antagonisms, and hinder all mutual understanding. Even the possibility of the scattered races being forced into union by the sword of an ambitious ruler is small, for every attempt of this nature has first to reckon not only with the independent character of the Bedouins, to whom servile obedience unknown, but also with the allpowerful clan interests, before which the very idea of individuality vanishes. Before the time of Mahomet, however, the thought had never occurred to any Bedouin that he might make use of religious fanaticism as a means for union, few races of Western Asia are so completely devoid of the religious emotions as are the inhabitants of the Arabian steppes In this respect the Arabs stand in sharp contrast to their Semitic relatives, the Jews of Palestine, as well as to the ancient Semites of Babylonia, whose ability, first to extend their influence over the lands of Sumerian culture, and finally to attain a position of supremacy, seems to have been due almost entirely to their advanced religious development. There was no such thing as a perfected mythology in Nothing more than a cult of rude images—which originated, no doubt, in the worship of ancestors—and a veneration of certain stars and trees,

supreme being. Allah was exhibited by the Arab of early times. Even to-day the true Bedown has but little interest in matters of belief, and is far enough from being a fanatic, to him the prohibitions and dogmas of the Koran seem scarcely to be in existence. This scanty development of religion and insuper-Bedouins' able indifference to matters of Scanty faith is an outcome of the Religion poverty of imagination of the Arabian people, a characteristic which has also left unmistakable traces in the later civilisation of the peninsula a tendency toward romantic unrestraint and finally the gift brilliant oratory, easily conceal in the

 $\Lambda_{
m rabs}$ then lack of creative genius

Herein lies the most protound difference

together with an indefinite belief in a

between East and West Furope is a continent of discoveries and of unlimited progress, a land of nations that constantly endeavour extend their influence and power; on the other hand, the Mohammedan East, imperturbable in its self-sufficiency and composure is a region that recognises neither labour nor war as other than a means for obtaining sensual enjoyment and undisturbed pleasure of life the Oriental and, above all, the Arab of the steppes conceal behind the veil of romance a spiritual mactivity which they are never able to overcome The only art that is cultivated in the desert, the poetry of the Arabians is very different from the poetry of Europe. The Arabs have never succeeded in the free and imaginative forms of composition that seem to be the peculiar gift of Aryan Indians and Persians, as well as of Europeans he is fettered to the actual, to present lacts in **bold** comparisons and images is his greatest glory, and dexterity in the manipulation of metre and thyme is to him an indispensable requirement. The Arabian mind is dis-

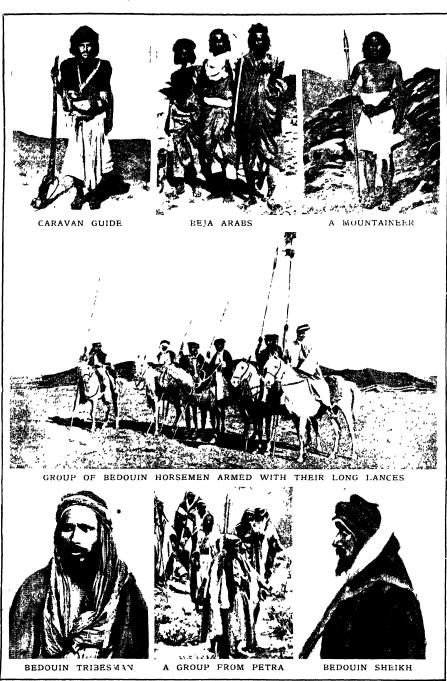
Poetry the Art of the Desert tinguished chiefly by its mastery of dialectic, and, naturally, this feature is also reflected in Arabian verse. The poet is a warrior in the world of intellect; with biting metaphor and satural play on words he falls upon the enemy of his clan. He proclaims in triumph the glory of his tribe, and with mingled praise and scorn spurs on the soldier to heroic deeds. In this sense, at the time of Mahomet, poetry was almost a common

possession of the Arabs, and the ability to make verses was even more necessary to the success of a leader than his sword and lance. The development of Bedouin poetry played an important part in the unification of the Arabian tribes, and had its beginnings about a hundred years before the birth of Mahomet

Before the birth of the Prophet it seemed impossible that a vast, passionate, spiritual movement, capable of bearing an entire people along with it, could arise in such a race, yet nothing short of such a movement could have rendered the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula a danger to the neighbouring world And it was at the very centre of the Arabian world that precisely such a movement arose at first of a religious nature, but later national — which gave to the people of Arabia a dominion over Western Asia that was to last for centuries. This movement began in Mecca, and its leader was Mahomet

The use of Mohammedanism was closely connected with the character and history of two cities, Mecca and Medina, both of which are situated in the steppe The lands of Western Arabia, the Holy former not far from the coast, the latter further mland, and close to the elevated plateau. The two cities differed from one another in every respect, and seemed to have been predestined to rivalry from their very origin. The doctrines of Mahomet could have arisen only in Mecca, and it was simply the hostility between Meccans and Medinans that saved them from destruction

Mecca was the Rome of Arabia, the central point of the feeble religious life of the old pagan tribes — In a barren, desolate valley, that was but seldom exposed to the ravages of sudden rain-floods, was situated a very ancient sanctuary, the Kaaba, a square temple built of unhewn stones, in the wall of which was inserted the famous "black stone"—a meteorite, believed once to have been white, and to have descended from Paradise. According to a later legend, accepted by Mahomet, the temple was known as the oldest house of God; and was supposed to have been built by Adam and restored by Abraham. For a long time the Kaaba, like so many other Arabian sanctuaries, may have been only occasionally visited by the Bedouins who dwelt in the neighbourhood, until finally a small settlement



TYPES OF THE NOMAD BEDOUIN RACE OF ARABS

arose, the existence of which in the midst of the desert was rendered possible probably through the discovery of a spring called Zemzem. The water of this spring, which in later times became one of the most venerated objects in the Mohammedan world, is at the present day drinkable, indeed, but strongly impregnated with the Sacred mineral salts. Perhaps the

The Sacred Zemzem spring mineral salts Perhaps the water was originally valued on account of its medicinal properties, it is possible, however, that the presence of foreign elements may also have been due to the bad drainage of the city that gradually grew up

about the spring

In the middle of the fifth century A.D., under the leadership of Kuzai, the Qurais forcibly obtained the custody of the sanctuary and settled down about the Kaaba, which at that time had long been an object of pilgrimage. The restless, predatory Bedouin tribe soon found a rich means of livelihood in sheltering the pilgrims and in supplying them with food and water and was thus led to exchange its old nomadic pursuits for commerce. In a short time the favourable location must have greatly furthered the prosperity of the city. The pilgrimages to the Kaaba—in which no fewer than 360 tribes placed their clan deities under the protection of the black stone—had during early times led to the custom of looking upon certain of the months of the year, the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth, as sacred, during which every feud must cease, and the pilgrims be permitted to travel undisturbed to the places of worship, at the same time a way was opened up for inland trade and intellectual communication between the isolated Arab tribes. Long before the city of Mecca was founded, the pilgrims had been in the habit of assembling at certain places during the holy months for the purpose of holding fairs, where they exchanged not only material wares, but

Founding of The most celebrated market was at Okaz. Even when the rise of Mecca caused a falling off in the commercial prosperity of this city, as late as the time of Mahomet, the boldest and most eloquent men of the tribes of Arabia assembled there in order to recite poems, competing with one another in singing the praise of their claims and celebrating the deeds of their countrymen, or striving to win the prize offered for the

best love songs. The sheikhs of the tribes, under the presidency of a "king of the poets," were the judges in the competition, which took place during the months of peace, and of which the result was awaited with intense interest throughout entire Arabia.

Thus during the months of the pilgrimages the attention of the whole peninsula was directed towards the sanctuaries, of which there were several in addition to the Kaaba. But as soon as the inhabitants or Mecca began to take advantage of their opportunities for commerce, their city became the centre of Arabian life, the sing epoint at which a union of the scattered tribes could take place There are many indications leading to the conjecture that in the course of time a monotheistic belief either the Jewish or the Christian, would gradually have taken possession of the sanctuaries and have filled the pilgrimages with an entirely new spirit, had it not been for the fact that a strange religion displaced both, a religion that although it arose from external sources, became essentially Arabian in nature having its deve-

dopment in Mecca, while Medina. through it the politically unthe Prophet's important land of Arabia was Refuge suddenly assured dominion over a boundless empire. In contrast to Mecca, a settlement of Bedouin nomads of the Mahadite race, who are not townstolk at all in the ordinary sense of the word, Medina was inhabited by various tribes of the hostile group of stationary Arabs, called Yemenites, after the most important of their provinces Medina is situated in an oasis on the innermost terrace of the elevated plateau, copiously watered by springs that flow down from the neighbouring mountains. At the time of Mahomet's birth the people of Medina were industrious peasants, who guided the plough with their own hands and irrigated their own date groves, but showed little interest in either cattle-raising or commerce.

There was a further ground of difference. Several of the stationary tribes dwelling round Medina had turned to the Hebrew religion, and although the bulk of the population of the city remained faithful to the old animistic belief and joined in the pilgrimages to Mecca, nevertheless the inhabitants of Mecca, ever watchful of their own interests, looked upon the Medinans with increasing apprehension



TYPES OF THE ARABS WHO ARE SETTLED IN TOWNS AND VILLAGES

inasmuch as they had discovered signs of lewish propaganda in their own city. The Medinans certainly showed themselves to be true Arabs; there were constant feuds between the two chief tribes of the city, and thus all united action was rendered impossible. Not until Mahomet arose did these dissensions end. Rivalry religious - military movement that began after the appearance of of the Mahomet was at first limited Cities for the most part to a severe struggle between the two cities, the true Bedoums of the desert appearing on the scene only as predatory spectators, or as auxiliaries, never once did they have the decision of an important battle in their hands. Owing to their closer concentration, the town dwellers possessed a vast superiority over the scattered Bedoum hordes. Judging from the size of the army that fought under the flag of Mahomet at the time of his attack on Mecca, the population of Medina and its immediate neighbourhood could not have exceeded 16,000 souls. Even today, in spite of the advantage of processions of pilgrims and consequent traffic, the number of inhabitants of the same territory can scarcely amount to over 20 000. Mecca on the other hand, had been exceptionally favoured from the very beginning, and apparently possessed a somewhat denser population. Of the other towns of the Hedjaz, Tayef, to the southeast of Mecca alone seems to have been of any importance. In fact, Mahomet had first looked to Tayet as a place of refuge instead of Medina; but his plans fell through because of the determined hostility of its inhabitants.

birth is April 20th, 570 A.D. His family, although old and distinguished, had become impoverished at the time of the Prophet's birth, and had fallen into the background. Malromet's father, Abdallah, who died two months after his son was born, left to his heirs a very modest fortune; and when Amina, the mother of the future Prophet, died a few years after, the boy was thrown mainly upon the charity of relatives, one of whom, his uncle,

Abu Talib, although himself poor, treated

him with the greatest kindness. For a

long time Mahomet was unable to better

his condition; he was compelled to hire

himself out as a shepherd, and even, later,

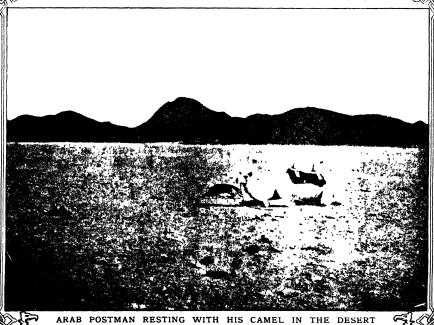
The conjectured date of Mahomet's

when he first entered the service of Kadija, the widow of a rich merchant, he seems to have accepted a very humble post. Although opinions are divided as to whether or not Mahomet made various commercial journeys to Syria and Southern Arabia with his uncle, it is beyond doubt that after his twenty-fifth year he several times accompanied the caravans of Kadija, and was thus brought into closer touch with the adherents of more developed religious In the meanwhile the chief sources of inspiration for his doctrines were to be found in Mecca itself, where there was no lack of proselytes to Judaism, and whither germs of Christianity—to be sure in a very garbled form—had been brought by traders and slaves from Southern Arabia and Ethiopia Mahomet, who was decidedly unpractical by nature, seems not to have been a success as a merchant, but was suddenly freed from his material cares by an unexpected Kadıja, although considerable event older than he, chose him for her husband, and married him in spite of the opposition of her relatives. Until his fortieth year the Prophet lived the life of a Mahomet's quiet citizen in Mecca; and Early how little he thought of an Life attack on Arabian polytheism during these years was shown by the fact that is to say, servant of the deity Manaf, It may be remarked here that of the

during the years was shown by the fact that he named one of his sons Abd Manat—that is to say, servant of the deity Manaf, It may be remarked here that of the numerous children Wahomet had by his several wives, all, with the exception of a daughter, died before him and consequently do not figure in the history of Islam.

Finally, Mahomet, whose inquiring mind had eagerly absorbed ideas from both the Hebrew and Christian religions, became convinced that he was called upon by Allah to do away with the polytherstic worship of the Arabians, to transform the Kaaba -to which as a true citizen of Mecca he held fast with unshakable faith—into a temple of the One God, and to construct from the fragments of Christian and Hebrew doctrines, with which he had happened to become acquainted, a new and purely monotheistic form of belief. His activity was, therefore, confined to the simplification and re-establishment of that which was already in existence rather than to creative reconstruction, for which as an Arab he lacked the necessary intellectual





SCENES IN THE DESERT LIFE OF ARABIA TO-DAY Photos Underwood & Chorenwood

qualifications. The imaginative descriptions that appear in the Koran concerning either the delights of Paradise or the terrors of Hell, are nothing more than confused echoes of the folk-tales and myths of other races which were employed by the Prophet chiefly in order Code to supply a historical foundaof the tion for his doctrines, such as Koran is possessed by the Old Testament. The scoffing assertion of unbelieving Meccans, who claimed that many of the sayings of Mahomet were clumsy imitations of those fabulous Persian stories which in later times formed the nucleus of the 'Thousand and One Nights' and had just then penetrated to Arabia significant enough In general the revelations of the Prophet concoined matters of practical life and civil morality in fact, the simple ethical code of the Koran is the best and the

most powerful portion of the Moham-medan faith.

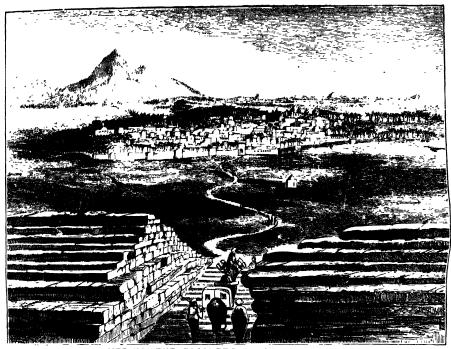
When, in the fortieth year of his life Mahomet experienced the vision in which he alleged that the archangel Gabriel revealed to him his mission, a portion of the inhabitants of Mecca had already received a certain preparation tor a reform in their belief through their intercourse with Jews and Christians However, the personality of the new prophet aroused at aist but little confidence. His family—he most important factor in the life of an Arab, had a good name to be sine but nevertheless was impoverished. Mahomet himself although distinguished in appearance and of benevolent nature, did not possess such characteristics as were likely to make the greatest impression upon Arabs - He was a bad poet, and the smallness of his right to boast of warlike virtues became more

and more evident as time " Couldn t God went on have found a better prophet than you?" was the cry that greeted him on his first appearance in Tayet He had the mystical qualities of his nature to thank for his final victory, and although these very characteristics were ultimately to be traced back to an epileptic complaint they were always looked upon by him as a gift from heaven, and announced as such with evident sincerity

He himself was the first convert to the visions and dreams in which his constant meditations on the true faith became plastic ally embodied He learned how to heighten his states of eestasy through fasting and long hours of prayer. and gradually succeeded in developing the tenacity of purpose and undaunted confidence which rendered his personality irresistible, and were a constant attraction to new adherents first he had no thought whatever of deception; but as time went on, the inner voice frequently showed a



MAHOMET'S ARRIVAL AT MEDINA
Mahomet's migration to Medina, in 622, was the first step toward the unification
of Arabia, for it meant the trumph of religious over tribal sentiment. From that
time the Arabian empire began, Mohammedans reckoning time from that year



MEDINA, THE PROPHETS PLACE OF REFUGE

Medina, the second city of Arabia, is situated in an oasis on an elevated plateau. When the hostility of the orthodox drove Mahomet from Mecca he sought refuge there, and made it his centre until he conquered Mecca.

most remarkable docility in respect to the Prophet's personal affairs and intentions

Nevertheless, the Mahomet of later years was no mere impostor. No longer a prophet, he was then the ruler of a vast and constantly growing empire, and it was the necessity that arose from his position which forced him into a half involuntary combination of succerity and dissimulation, a characteristic that finally becomes a second nature to all leaders of multitudes In later eyears, also, his visions were associated with serious attacks of an epileptic character, which he could scarcely have simulated. Personally the Prophet was modest Simplicity in his requirements, setting of the aside the sensuality which con-Prophet stantly led him to increase the number of his wives, and prepared for him many a mortification Fortunately for him the Arabians, like most Oriental peoples, are very lenient in regard to this point. Simplicity in food and drink undoubtedly appealed to him; but in sexual matters his sympathies were by no means with the ascetics.

It was with no finished dogmatic system that Mahomet first appeared. For a long time his position in respect both to Christianity and Judaism neither of which he thoroughly understood, was undecided, in fact he even displayed a passing inclination to recognise, as a matter of policy, the chief gods of the Meccans, at least in the form of intermediary spiritual beings - though he soon hastened to withdraw that concession The germ of his teaching was from the very beginning a pure monotheism bound up with a simple but impressive doctrine of immortality. Beyond doubt, the minute descriptions of heaven and hell produced a deeper impression on the pagan Arabs, whose conceptions in regard to the life beyond were extremely meagie than did any other portion of his doctrines

By thus combining the visionary accounts of what was to take place in the future with his easily understood ethical teachings and the indispensable prescriptions of ritual, Mahomet succeeded in creating a religion that was throughout adapted, by reason of its simplicity and

of a half-civilised people, but also in a certain measure to subject them to dis-The Koran, which gradually arose as a firm pillar of the religious edifice, was not written by Mahomet himself indeed, it is doubtful whether the Prophet knew how to write at all, it was not until after his death Mahomet's that the tragments of his First revelations and sayings were Disciples

directness, not only to awaken the interest -

united into a book Owing to his innate bashtulness, it was long before Mahomet could summon up enough courage to appear in public. His first disciples were the members of his own family. The prophet's wife Kadija, his daughter, his nephew Ali, later his slave Zaid, and finally a friend, the honest Abu Bekr, were the earliest converts, to whom as time passed other adherents, such as Othman, who later became callph, and, above all, Omar the true representative of the Mohammedan policy of aggres-

sion, joined themselves.

Not until the fourth or fifth year after his first revelation did Mahomet resolve to preach to his fellow-tribesmen; and his fust efforts were attended with very small success. All the while his family proteeted him after the Arabian custom, at feast from the ill-usage with which the innovator who attacked the worship of the gods, and therewith the commercial prosperity of Mecca, was constantly threatened. The greater portion of his disciples, many of whom were members of the lower classes. or slaves, and who through their defiant behaviour had aroused the anger of the citizens of Mecca fared far worse than he, and in all probability were the cause of the at first cool, not to say hostile, attitude of the higher ranks of society. For a time a number of the converted turned to the Christian Abyssimans an incident that was perhaps not without its influence on the later doctrines and views of the Prophet. Mahomet lumself although safe from bodily harm, was in a most Mahomet disagreeable situation Espe-Driven from cially unpleasant were the jeers Mecca of scotters who demanded miracles or benevolently offered to send for a celebrated physician to cure him of his lunacy. After the death of Kadija and of his uncle Abu Talib, his position finally became unbearable. He was compelled to look about for a place of refuge where men were not unalterably hostile to his teachings.

After having been driven from Tayef, where he had sought assistance, Mahomet's choice fell upon Yathrib, the jealous rival of Mecca, which he afterward named Medma. Pilgrims were in the habit of making annual journeys to the Kaaba from Yathrib, as from almost all other parts of Arabia. The Prophet, who possessed relatives in Medina on his mother's side, had established connections with some of these Medman pilgrims, and was favourably heard by them, for they had already become partly estranged from the worship of a plurality of gods, owing to Jewish influence; moreover, unlike the inhabitants of Mecca, they were not prejudiced against his doctrines by apprehensions for their material interests Mohammedan community arose in Medina, which soon far exceeded the settlement at Mecca in number, and finally the Prophet himself determined to emigrate thither with his followers, although at first he, as well as every other true Meccan, was an object of hatred and of suspicion to the people of the rival town. Thus was the first great step taken toward the unifica-

Arabian Unification Begun

tion of Arabia. Religion was victorious over tribal sentiment: and from the very moment that Mahadites and

 ${f Y}$ emenites joined together under the banner of the Prophet the period of Arabian empire began. It is not without reason that Mohammedans reckon time from this year of the Hegna, or "the Flight," A.D. 622.

The number of emigrants capable of bearing arms who gradually arrived from Mecca could scarcely have been over one hundred; but the accession of the greater part of the inhabitants of Medina, who placed themselves under Mahomet's orders as ansar, or "helpers of the Prophet," furnished him with an army at one stroke, and rendered his final triumph certain. The Prophet met scarcely a single irreconcilable opponent in Medina; but, on the other hand, he had the greatest difficulty in establishing even a moderate amount of unity in the loosely banded community that practically acknowledged no chief; and he was at first obliged to be content with reconciling so far as was possible the two principal tribes into which the population was divided. This he accomplished by means of his great influence, and through the erection of a mosque, the first centre of the Mohammedan faith. However, all his attempts to convert the Jewish

THE HEROIC AGE OF ISLAM

inhabitants of the region, in whom he had placed great hopes, failed; even the concession first granted to the Jews, permitting men in prayer to turn toward Jerusalem instead of toward Mecca, remained without effect, until finally the favour of the Prophet turned to hatred, and he resolved on the destruction of the Jewish tribes

Mahomet was soon entirely absorbed by the quarrel with Mecca. He saw the absolute necessity of subduing the inhabitants of the spiritual centre of Arabia if he ever expected

to gain any great influence over the widely scattered tribes which forgot their disputes only during the months of pilgrimage to the Kaaba. The fact that Mecca, as an artificial settlement, was depen-Jent upon its traffic and the importation. products food opened to Mahomet the possibility of worrying and injuring his unbelieving countrymen by watching the roads and making sudden descents on caravans in the usual tashion of Arabian private at first, but on

one occasion, having missed a caravan to Mecca, which he had determined to attack, his band encountered an armed force that had been sent out from Mecca Mahomet's

Mahomet's for the protection of the threatened caravan; and thus the first pitched battle took place—at the wells of Bedr. Although greatly outnumbered, the Moslems won, and Mahomet, who had

Moslems won, and Mahomet, who had viewed the struggle from a distance, sent rich spoils and triumphant news of victory to Medina. This was in the year 624.

The wealth and distinction obtained by Mahomet through the victory at Bedr enabled him to establish still more firmly his position in Medina, and above all to come to a settlement with the irreconcilable lewish Bedouin tribes Bedouin of the neighbourhood. First of Jews all the Benu Kamukah, who Expelled were able to put 700 armed men into the field, and po sessed a strong fortress not far distant from Medina, felt the weight of the Prophet's wrath called in vain for assistance from one of

the chief clans of Medina, with whom they had been once allied Only a safe conduct to Syria was granted to them; them possessions tell to the Moslems

In the autumn of 624 the be-Lievers finally succeeded in capturing a Meccan caravan on the road to Babylon But in the spring of the next year the grave tidings reached Medma that an army of Qurais. strengthened by the addition of several Bedouin tribes, and numbering some 3 000 warnors, was advancing against the city under the command of

one 3 000
OPHET OF ALLAH

twas not until he was forty that he polytheism which ended in the rer subjugation of the Near East

Abu Sufiyan, a sheikh of Media tacitly chosen to be leader, who was now determined to wash away the ignominy of the defeat at Bedr in the blood of the Moslems. Mahomet would gladly have awaited the attack within the walls of Medina but the impatience of his companions, who saw that their fields were being laid waste, soon necessitated his setting out against the Meccans at the

head of about 1,000 fighting men.

The Prophet met the enemy near Mount
Ohod, and was immediately deserted by



Arabian private
Walfare He had but little success
MAHOMET, THE PROPHET OF ALLAH
Mahomet was born in 570 a.b., and it was not until he was forty that he started the destruction of Arabian polytheism which ended in the unification of the Arabian race and their subjugation of the Near East

300 of his followers, who fled at the very sight of the enemy. The battle ended in the rout of the Moslems, and the Prophet, who wore a coat of double chain mail and an iron helmet, and this time had himself taken part in the struggle, escaped being made prisoner by a mere chance. The battle resulted in the loss of some seventy of the faithful, and of about Rout.

Rout of the faithful, and of about twenty of the Qurais, and in spite of its insignificance was a severe blow to the reputation with their triumph, straightway marched back to their native city.

Mahomet then sought to awaken fresh courage in his followers by an attack on the Jewish tribe Nadii, and succeeded in compelling them to emigrate to Syria. Thus the Prophet was now in a position to reward his faithful disciples with possessions of land; and all had time to settle themselves in their new homes, an expedition that had been planned against Mecca falling through owing to the unusual dryness of the next few years.

This delay gave the indefatigable Abu Sufiyan an opportunity to form a league against Medina, which was joined even by tribes of Central Arabian Bedouins, who had been roused to action by the Jews, and were also well aware how greatly their liberty was threatened by the growth of Moslem power. The religious influence of Mecca was in this instance of the greatest assistance to the Ourais. The Ouraidhah, the last Jewish tribe that had been perimitted to remain in Medina, were also concerned in the alliance.

This time Mohammed's plan of remaining on the defensive met with no opposition, a deep ditch was dug for the protection of the single vulnerable side of Medina, on the advice of a Persian freedman and behind it the Prophet and the 3,000 armed men then at his disposal took their position. This primitive fortification, the first defensive work ever seen Siege Cential Arabia, was comof pletely successful in preventing Medina the hostile army, three times as large as that of the defenders, from undertaking any serious operations, and the approach of winter finally rendered it necessary for Abu Sufiyan to withdraw his The Qurais had no sooner disappeared than Mahomet marched forth and fell upon the Jewish Quraidhah; the men to the number of 700 were beheaded.

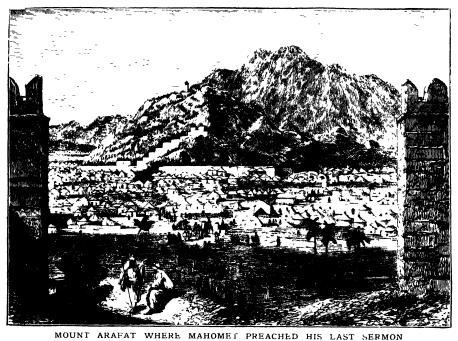
and the women and children were sold to the Bedouins.

All the while Mahomet was, and remained at heart, a Meccan. While he was resolved to win the victory for monotheism, he saw that it would be better for his cause not to destroy the beginnings of a common Arabian cult, such as existed in the sanctuary at Mecca, but rather to adapt the latter to the requirements of his own faith His attachment to Mecca sufficiently explains the fact that he had always retained in view the object, first, of becoming master of the sacred city without any unnecessary bloodshed, and secondly of obtaining the right to take part in the general pilgrimage of Arab tribes to the Kaaba at the head of his Moslem followers. Early in the year 628, during one of the sacred months, the Prophet appeared with a small force before his hostile bithplace; but it was in vain that he demanded entrance to the sanc-Nevertheless the expedition was a decided success. The Meccans, weary of the constant injury suffered by their trade concluded a ten years' truce with the Prophet, and on his promising Peaceful to withdraw this time, granted Conquest him permission to visit the of Mecca

of Mecca burn permission to visit the Kaaba with his followers the next year. Thus was the first step taken toward the peaceful conquest of Mecca, the Qurais yielded the very point they had been most anxious to defend.

During the truce Mahomet was not idle in extending his power. The oasis of Kheyber about sixty miles north of Medina, into which a portion of the expelled Jews had refired, was conquered. The land was divided among his tollowers, who now united with the Islamites who had previously emigrated to Abyssima. The number of believers constantly increased, the Prophet's growing sense of importance found expression in his sending letters to the sovereigns of neighbouring regions, in which he demanded that they should submit to his rule and embrace his doctrines. These messages were not, as a rule, received in a way likely to arouse any sanguine hopes of success.

More important was the pilgrimage to Mecca that took place in 620. The Qurais retired from the city for several days in order that there might be no cause for trouble with the Moslems while the latter were fulfilling their mission. It became more and more apparent that there was no



In 632 Mahomet took his last pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies then employed became a model for all time. Afterwards he delivered an address from Mount Arafat summarising and establishing in their final form the moral laws of Islam.

one in Arabia capable of withstanding for any length of time the steadily increasing power of the Mohammedans. One after another the Bedouin tribes suitendered, and soon the Prophet turned his eyes toward. Syria, where the Arabs, having received a smattering of higher culture owing to the proximity of the Byzanime empire, had here and there united into small states. An army sent out against one of the minor Arabian rulers of the region to the south of the Dead Sea was severely defeated at Muta. The time for conquests beyond the borders of Arabia had not yet come.

On the other hand, Mecca fell into the hands of the Prophet without a struggle. A trifling dispute furnished him with a pretext for suddenly putting an end to the truce with the Qurais, he immediately summoned his adherents in full force, and appeared before the astonished city in January, 630. Resistance was not to be thought of, soon the most distinguished Meccans stood before the victor imploring grace and repeating the customary Mohammedan contession of faith.

Reason and love for his home led the Prophet to impose mild conditions of peace upon his humbled foes. He anguly took away the banner of a Mediman sherkh who had announced in triumph that the day of reckoning had come, and that no

one would be spared and he commanded that pardon should Idols Destroyed be granted to all Qurais, with the exception of a few opponents for whom he cherished especial hatred. The Kaaba now stood open to the conqueror who knocked the idols to pieces with his staff and permitted the black stone alone to remain in its place as a symbol of the One God. The Meccans came forward in crowds to repeat their confessions of belief, and thus to take their places among the ranks of the Prophet's adherents. It was now recognised by all that Mahomet had no intention of destroying the holy city, but was striving rather to exalt at.

The work of Mahomet as a prophet was crowned by the act of taking possession of and purifying the Kaaba. The permanence of his doctrines was now assured, at least in Arabia, masmuch as

he had succeeded in transforming the centre of the old religious life into a sanctuary of the new belief. It was also evident that sooner or later all the tribes of his race would be compelled to recognise his teaching, and that even his death could not check the progress of Islam. Immediately after the fall of Mecca, the Prophet, assisted Permanence by a levy of Meccans, set about reducing the neighbour-Assured ing regions to subjection. During a fight with the Bedouin tribe of Havayins, the result of which hung in the balance for many hours, the Qurais acted in a decidedly suspicious manner, indeed, a true conversion could not yet be looked for from the greater portion of the Meccans, but Mahomet once more put his old tribesmen to shame by his magnanimity, allotting to them a larger share of the plunder than was received by his own Medinan followers

The inhabitants of Tayet, who had more than once insulted the Prophet during his earlier years, again bravely withstood the Moslems, and refused all proposals for capitulation Not until many months had passed were they forced to come to terms, owing to the complete isolation of their city after the conversion of the tribes that dwelt in their neigh-

Then bourhood ambassadors naturally sought to obtain the most -tayourable from conditions Mahomet, and ex pressed, moreover the remarkable desire that they might be permitted to worship their favourite goddess Allat, for another vear. The Prophet would have agreed to these conditions had it not been for the influence of Omar, the most From a Persian MS. representing the Prophet's ascent to energetic and fiery heaven, his face being covered with a veil to hide his glory. of his adherents.

The Tayefites were ordered to surrender unconditionally, and Allat was destroyed amid the woeful howls and lamentations of the women and children. During his long career, Mahomet had to contend against the

saturical rhymes of the poets of his enemies. How greatly embittered he was by these attacks was shown unmistakably at the capture of Mecca, when he went to the length of sentencing to death a woman named Sara, who had delighted the Qurais with her derisive verses on the new prophet. It actually happened that the conversion of a certain tribe came about through a poetical competition - Mahomet, who possessed neither voice for song nor the gift of making verses, choosing the best poet among his adherents to be his representative. This extraordinary event took place in the year 630. The envoys of the Beni-Tamina assembled before the house of the Prophet and sent in a formal challenge, the singers of Mahomet capped the climax of their opponents' blustering with a still greater Conversion display of bombast, and fauly shouted them down. The chal-

by Poetic Contest

lengers thereupon owned, with great mortification, that the

Moslem public speakers and poets were better than theirs and that their voices too, were much louder, and forthwith made then confession of faith. Gradually all the poets of Arabia united their voices in praise of Mahomet and it was only from the tents of distant Bedouin tribes that now and then a poisoned dart of

song was launched against him

The increasing feebleness of the Prophet, who had again taken up his residence ın Medma, allowed him to participate only in one more warlike expedition against Southern Syria, the region by which the Arabian Peninsula is connected with the rest of Western Asia. The campaign began in the year 630, and was attended with no



MAHOMET'S TRANSLATION TO HEAVEN

decided success, apart from the subjection of a few frontier tribes. The pilgrimage to Mecca in 631, although not led by Mahomet, but by Abu Bekr, nevertheless signified a further step in the conversion of Arabia to Islam The Prophet commanded it to be incommanded the announced ın Kaaba that from this time forth unbelievers would no longer be perinitted to take part in the pilgrimages, and that all men who desired to approach the sanctuary must first make a confession of faith. This showed how certain Mahomet was of the final success of his cause. In fact, at that time the whole of Arabia, with the exception of some of the most distant regions, formally acknowledged the supremacy of the Prophet. The minor princes of Arabia Felix and the Persian governors, who, after the expulsion of the Abyssmians by a Persian army, ruled a portion of Yemen, also gave notice of their submission, and so did numerous chieftains of the Synan frontier.

Mahomet's last pilgrimage to Mecca, the ceremonies of which became a model for all time, took place in the year 6.32. The Prophet yeak mally walked round

the Kaaba at the head of countless believers, performed the rites with scrupulous care, and delivered an address to the assembled multitude from Mount Arafat, in which he summarised and established in their final form the moral laws of Islam. The words with which he recommended to his followers his cousin and favourite, Alt, against whom various complaints had arisen, played an important part in the later lustory of Islam . "He who loves me will choose Ali for a friend (maula). May God be with them who protect him, and desert those who are his enemies." Since the word "maula" may signify either friend or ruler, the claims of the sectarian Shiites, who recognised Ali as the lawful successor of the Prophet, rested above all on this statement.



time, took place in the veat 632. The Prophet solemnly walked round BLINDED AFTER SEEING THE SACRED PROPHET'S TOMB After praying at Mecca it was not unusual for pilgrims to destroy their sight by solemnly walked round

Three months after his return from Mecca, Mahomet fell ill with a fever damp, malarial climate of Medina, which had caused the death of many a Meccan fugitive, also proved injurious to the health of the Prophet, already enfeebled by the constant exertions and excitement of the last twenty-four years of his life The sick man was able to withstand the disease but a short time: on July 8th 632, the twelfth day of the third month in the year II of the Hegira, Mahomet who had been looked upon by his followers as immortal, and who himself had not opposed this belief, died in the apartment of his favourite wife, Ayesha.

The faithful were filled with confusion and a great uproar immediately arose, but the work of the Prophet had been

accomplished, and was no longer to be destroyed. The Arabian nation arose in the place of the visionary, and countries in which no man had ever heard of Mahomet during his lifetime soon became subject to the dominion of his heirs.

The new religion derived its firmest support from the sayings of the Prophet, which had been written down The by his most trusted followers, Sacred first circulated merely in Koran fragmentary transcripts. but later collected and arranged by scribes at the command of Abu Beki, the first Caliph. The 114 chapters, or "smas" of the Koran when chronologically arranged fall into two groups, the Meccan and the Medman Owing to the fact that in many cases these chapters were closely connected with the life and adventures of the Prophet—who frequently endeavoured to obviate difficulties among his addictionts by means of well-timed revelation and also by reason of their numerous contradictions and repetitions, they form a remarkable commentary on Mahomet's cbequered career and final triumph

The style and substance of these revelations underwent a striking change as time passed the earlier composed in short thymed lines in the vague, obscure language of the Prophet, occasionally display true poetic power, and bear witness. to the genuine inspiration of their author , the later suras are more probx and tedious. and were obviously intended to produce a shrewdly calculated effect The reason for this is very plain. During his life in Mecca, Mahomet attacked the polytheistic belief of the Arabs with clear and powerful arguments in favour of the unity of the Divine Being-such arguments as ammediately presented themselves to his simple and ill-trained, but aident and ingenious mind. In Medina, the Prophet's time was largely taken up with polemical utterances delivered against the Jews and Christians, moreover, it was Doctrines also necessary for him to exer-Mahomet cise all his powers of intellect in order to govern and control the unruly, warlike community by which he was surrounded. It was entirely owing to the already mentioned necessity of governing his followers that Mahomet's most lasting work --his moral and legislative doctrines, which, together with the ritual, the prayers, ablutions, and fastings form the skeleton or framework

of the Mohammedan religion—arose. The simple, in no wise profound, but nevertheless admirable moral code of I-lam is the most valuable gift which the followers of Mahomet brought with them to less civilised peoples. In the main these doctrines rest upon a foundation of old Arabic custom, refined, however, through the influence of Jewish-Christian pre-Many a fundamental principle cepts. was a result of the personal inclinations of the Prophet, for example, the untayourable position that he assigned to woman was not in reality in harmony with the true Arabian spirit but originated in Mahomet's own sensual, jealous nature. His attitude in regard to the deeply-rooted Bedoum custem of infantiwhich he immediately prohibited, va, more deserving of praise. on grounds of mere national economy he was wise in his action. The position of the Prophet at Medma gave rise to a new religious impulse. Mahomet soon found it necessary to harmonise his doctrines of immortality with the injunction to wage a religious war, as well as with the

doctime of fatalism, which, The under different encumstances, Religious he would scarcely have made War so prominent in his teachings Although the glowing descriptions of the delights of Paradise promised to the champions of the faith did not prevent Islamite armies from taking flight upon occasion, they proved to be an excellent means for awakening fanaticism in simple minds. And this was all the more important, for, owing to their small numbers. the Arabs were soon obliged to draw upon all men capable of bearing arms who dwelt in the conquered regions.

Thus the Koran gradually became the nucleus of Moslem power, and the centre of the spiritual life of all nations that subjected themselves to its law. Its effects were not immediately shown. The more Islamite scholars devoted themselves to the study of the sacred book the greater became the differences of opinion in regard to doubtful passages and obvious contradictions; and a separation of the believers into numerous sects was an inevitable consequence. Indeed, there were other considerations besides these which in very early times contributed to the division of the Mohammedans—above all the question, who was to be the legitimate successor of the Prophet,

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE LIME OF MAHOMET



· II THE EARLY CALIPHATES

THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CONQUEST

MAHOMET'S one surviving child war his daughter Fatima, the wife of Ah. who as cousin and perhaps earliest disciple had always enjoyed the especial affection of the Prophet, and it was to Ali that a more or less obscure declaration of Malipmet in regard to his successor seemed to apply. Had this claimant triumphed, a hereditary monarchy would have been established. The coveted position, however, was obtained by another; with the result that the Mohammedan government became an elective sovereignty, which was more in harmony with the democratic spirit of the Arabian The affairs of the time were layourable to Ali, but unfortunately he was not the man to take advantage on During the course of his life Ali had constantly shown that, for all his courage in battle, he possessed a weak character and interior intelligence

Ali the Others, even when he believed himself to have been the determining factor. This time also he neglected to make the best of his opportunites wasting his time in useless occupations, and entirely losing sight of his political goal—the attainment of which he believed to be absolutely certain

Since the choice of a caliph was intimately connected with the general condition of affairs that had arisen in Arabia on the death of the Prophet, a certain insight into these conditions is indispens able to a correct understanding of the lustory of the period. Although Mecca had once more come into favour, its temple being recognised as a sanctuary, and although the majority of the Arabs had at least externally adopted the new taith, it was nevertheless certain that Medina was the centre of Mohammedan power, and consequently the place where the election of a successor should be held. The class differences that had caused the people of Arabia to be divided into sects and parties on this occasion had but small influence on the decision in regard to the caliph, for the choice lay in the hands of the original and most taithful adherents of the Prophet. These "Defenders" nevertheless proved themselves to be true Arabs, masmuch as it was not long before they gave the elements of discord that existed between the separate groups, and had been but superficially effaced by Mahomet's personal influence, an opportunity for reasserting themselves

with renewed power

The eyes of the Prophet had scarcely closed when the party of Meccans who had left their native city and the in habitants of Medina independently made up their minds each to choose a successor, in order thus to obtain political ascendency. Ali, on whom both parties might have agreed, was not present at The Meccans chose Abu either election Beki, the old friend of Mahomet and father of Avesha, his favourite wife, to be their candidate, while the Medinany selected for the position their influentia leader Zaid.

The prudence and foresight of Abu Bekr who knew well how to turn the old enmity that existed between the two-chief tribes of Medina to his own advantage, obviated the risk of any serious rivalry between himself and Zaid, and this in the very nick of time, for the news of the illness of the Prophet alone had been sufficient to cause rebellions to break out in various parts of the pennisula, and as soon as Mahomet's death became known, the whole of Arabia re-whole of volted, threatening utterly to

Whole of Arabia in Revolt destroy the life-work of the Prophet. The faithful who had been installed as commanders of troops and governors of provinces fled to Medina from all sides; and to make matters worse, there was no army at the disposal of the Moslems; for, in fulfilment of one of Mahomet's last commands, and perhaps to rid himseli

of the presence of the discontented Medinan tribes. Abu Bekr had, immediately after his election, despatched all the available fighting men to the Syrian border

The insurrections in Arabia were a demonstration of the profound impression which the appearance of Mahomet had made upon his countrymen It was no longer a land of New Prophets pagans that arose against the caliph. The most dangerous of the rebels were under the leadership of new prophets who sought to imitate or to excel then prototype Even before the death of the founder of Islam, tidings were brought to Medina that in Yemen Abhala the Black had assembled a powerful army and brought almost the entire region under his dominion Soon afterward Musailima another prophet, raised alort the banner of insurrection Yemama, and in Neid the discontented tribes collected about a leader of their own race, called Tuleiha In the neighbourhood of Medina such serious disturbances had taken place that an attack on the city itself was feared, for here also, although no "prophet" had made his appearance the dissatisfaction with the new political conditions, and, above all with the taxes that at Mahomet's command, had been imposed on all believers, was sufficient to occasion a revolt

He was a man who had never once lost faith in the Prophet, and for this very reason during these times of trouble, when even the boldest of his adherents despaired, he was the one leader most fitted for the situation Fortune also aided him. The most dangerous of his enemies, the prophet in Yemen, was murdered by his followers, who then acknowledged the sovereignty of the caliph; and a small campaign against the revolted tribes of the Wars of neighbourhood of Medina met decided success The the First army returned from the Syrian frontier; the caliph was in a position once more to begin the subjugation Khalid, a man of vast energy of Arabia but of doubtful character, to whom Mahomet himself had given the name "the sword of God" (Saifallah), was appointed commander-in-chief of the Moslem forces, and directed his first campaign against Tuletha, the prophet of Nejd. After a severe

Abu Bekr's most striking characteristic

was an unshakeable belief in the future of

struggle Khalid routed the army of his opponent, and killed the pusoners and wounded with the utmost brutality.

Khalid then turned to the district of Yemama, in the southern part of Nejd, where a still greater army of rebels had collected about the standard of Musailima, after having deteated two bodies of Mohammedan troops. Their resistance was stubborn in the extreme, and the position of Khahd would indeed have been desperate had be not succeeded in separating Musailima from the main body of his troops, compelling him to retreat to a walled estate; there, after the gate had been burst open, he caused the entire garrison to be murdered in cold blood before had so many Arabs fallen in battle The Moslems also lost such a great number of men that Abu Bekr is said to have immediately resolved upon the collection of the scattered fragments of the Koran before any more of the old companions of the Prophet, who had stored up his sayings in their memories, had lost their lives.

While Khalid was engaged in subjugating the interior plateau of the peninsula, Terror other divisions of the caliph's army succeeded in enforcing the obedience from districts bordering on the Persian Gulf Bahrein, and Oman, and in once more establishing the supremacy of the Mohammedans in Yemen and Hadramaut, Neither the wounded nor the defenceless were spared, entire tribes were anni-Inlated, until finally the whole of Arabia fell into a palsy of terror. The victory of Islam was complete But no sooner had Abu Bekr the entire peninsula once more under his control than he again took up the plan that Mahomet had already sought to follow during the last years of his life—namely, the dissemination of the Mohammedan religion, and the establishment of Moslem rule over all countries bordering on the peninsula of Arabia.

During the following period of expansion forces and influences that had apparently been hidden or conciliated during the lifetime of Mahomet again asserted themselves. Mahomet had indeed temporarily succeeded in stifling the ancient feuds and disagreements between the Arabian tribes; but he had not been able entirely to destroy them. The single clans still preserved their prejudices and mutual hatred. The great chasm separating agriculturists from shepherds and Yemenites

THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

from Mahadites, which appeared to have been bridged over by the affiliation of the fugitives from Mecca with the agricultural people of Medina, soon showed itself again with effects even more far reaching than before. Mahomet himself had with difficulty suppressed his inborn dislike for cultivators of the soil, and while still in Medina he once permitted himself to be so far overcome by his feelings on seeing a plough as to utter the words. "Never does such an implement come into a house without bringing disgrace."

To these old prejudices new ones were soon added. The ancient tribal nobles of the Arabian race were suddenly confronted with a new aristocracy set above them, which laid claim to political supremacy, and had now succeeded in overcoming all opposition. This aristocracy was composed of the faithful friends of the Prophet, the "Detenders" and the "Emigrants," the flower of the devoit, who we may be sure were not wanting in intellectual pride and ambition, though by no means united among themselves

Naturally, the warlike devotees were looked upon with but little favour by the treedom-loving Bedouins. But the m-Danger habitants of Mecca, the Qurais, who, as guardians of the Kaaba, exercised an immense influence Mecca over the whole of Arabia, soon showed themselves to be the most dangerous enemies of the new régime as soon as they had begun to recover from the effects of the humiliation that had been inflicted upon them by Mahomet. Ever since they had ceased to oppose Islam they had been endeavouring to place themselves once more at the head of the religious movement. The importance of the sacred city and the old influence of the Meccan nobles, now under the leadership of the Omayyad family, proved irresistible, however much the first Caliph strove to suppress their aspirations and to exclude them from participation in the government of the empire. It was not long before men who during Mahomet's lifetime had overwhelmed the Prophet with hatred and scorn stood at the head of Moslem armies and provinces. The nobles of Mecca, who were not too scrupulous as to the fulfilment of the precepts of their religion, and who ever held aloft the ideals of old Arabian life, were far more sympathetic to the common people than were the gloomy fanatics of Medina; and all the while that

the faithful were stretching forth their hands toward world dominion a storm was gathering over their heads, and the blessings of the Prophet proved to them finally a curse. But, at the outset, an endless vista of victory and plunder opened itself to the comrades of Mahomet. The armies of Abu Bekr departed from Arabia—finally subdued after unspeak-

Against the able horrors had taken place— in order to throw themselves West upon the rich possessions of the Persians and Byzantines. The exhaustion of the Eastern Romans and the Persians did not of itself occasion the triumph of the disciples of Mahomet Had it rested, indeed, only with tribes of Arabia proper, small in numbers and recently weakened by the losses sustained m the conflicts following the death of the Prophet, to achieve the aggressive expansion of the new faith, the victory of Islam would have been a matter of great doubt. But the area occupied by Arabs had long ceased to be limited to the peninsula of

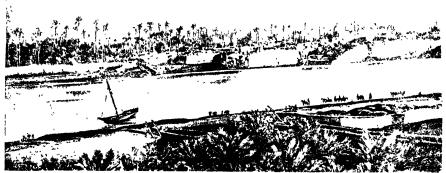
Arabia Although the Bedouin tribes had never combined into a united people, they had extended their habitat from Smar to the Tigris; had fought, as pleased their fancy tor Rome or for Parthia, had occasionally established a kingdom such as that of the Nabatæans or of Palmyra: and had learned the practices of organised warfare It was on this expanded Arabia that I-lam was to rest its power moment the champions of Islam succeeded in awakening enthusiasin for the new religion among their compatriots ın Syrıa, İrak (ancient Babyloma), and Mesopotamia, they had at their disposal a numerous and in part well-trained armed body of fighting men whose onset the inhabitants of the towns and cultivated districts were totally unable to withstand. Mahomet himself had been well aware of all this, as was shown by the remarkable per-Mahomet's sistency with which he sent Last army after army into the Dead Project Sea region, the central province of the Nabatæan kingdom, even planning a new expedition during the very last

After Abu Bekr had quelled the disturbances in Arabia, he immediately made preparations for continuing Mahomet's policy of conquest. That he resolved to direct the first blow, not against Syria

days of his life.

but against Persia, was natural enough. Mahomet's range of political vision had in the main been limited to Western Syria was the only foreign country with the affairs of which he was: to some degree familiar. On the other hand, Abu Bekr was at this Liam time well acquainted with the Against political situation, not only in Persia Arabia, but also in the surrounding nations. There was no possibility of his failing to recognise that the unusually dense Arabian population in Irak, who had naturally followed the course of events in Arabia with great interest, would be far more favourable subjects for the propaganda than the inhabitants of the Syrian frontier. In spite of the fact that, by reason of their maccessible position the Arabs of Irak

himself at the head of a hastily assembled army. On receiving the command of Khalid to accept the Mohammedan faith, Hormuz forthwith replied with a challenge to a duel; and when Khalid succeeded in overcoming his opponent in sight of both armies, the Persians, true to their ancient Oriental custom, immediately dispersed m all directions. Other armies were subsequently sent out under various Persian commanders, without either order or method, only to meet with a fate similar to that of the forces of Hormuz fortified towns also offered but little opposition. Hira in the neighbourhood of the Hillah of to-day, and other cities were captured, and the region west of the Euphrates cleared of Persians - Khalid had not yet ventured to cross that river, when in the next year he was recalled ano



SEAT OF AN EARLY MOHAMMEDAN STATE NEAR ANCIENT BABYLON Hira, on the Euphrates, now Hillah, near the site of Babylon, was one of the earliest states formed by the Arab-

had suffered much less than other peoples during the Persian-Roman wars they had, nevertheless, long been thoroughly weary of Persian oppression. Their land, still tertile, and constantly enriched through commerce with India, had been for many years a favourite source of revenue to Persia, and the demands of the Persian rulers had become more and more exorbitant ever since the king of Hira had been superseded by a Persian satrap. Only a slight impetus was necessary in order to destroy completely the sovereignty of Persia in these regions.

In March, 633, the Mohammedan general Khalid advanced with lus army of veterans from the interior of Arabia against Persia. The Arabians, whose number soon increased to 18,000, at first encountered Hormuz, the military commander of Obollah, in Irak, who had placed

transferred to the command of the Syrian army.

Khalid arrived in Syria at the very time he was most needed. As soon as he had been able to form a new army out of the soldiers who were returning from the various scenes of civil war in Arabia, Abu Beki had immediately commanded an attack on the frontiers of Palestine, and by sending out several reinforcing divisions he increased the number of Syrian troops Conquest to 30,000. But the opposi-tion everywhere encountered Palestine by the Arabs was unexpectedly great : and the spirit discord that had arisen between the commanders, who had already divided the conquered districts among themselves, and were no longer to be moved to common action, proved a complete bar to the success of the campaign. Khalid, however,

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succeeded in putting an end to all discord, and also in defeating a Byzantine army greatly superior in numbers after an exceptionally severe struggle on the Yarmuk. not far from the Lake of Gennesareth

The messengers despatched from the field of battle with trophics and tidings of victory were received by a new caliph

on arriving in Mecca The old friend and most faithful disciple of the Prophet, to whom the dominion of Arabia had fallen as a result of the meapacity and dissensions of the followers of Ali and the Medinan party, had lived to fill his difficult office only for the short space of two vears (632 - 634)During this time Abu Bekr had remained

THE MOSQUE OF OMAR AT JERUSALEM what he had always been a simple. kindly man of exemplary piety, a model of what a true Islamite should be according to the opinion of Mahomet and a blind everer of all the savings and commands of the Prophet. His whole course of action during his short period of rule was nothing more than a continuation of what Mahomet had begun—Through him the spirit of the Prophet still cast its hadow upon the

world of the living. Much more important than any of Abu Bekr's personal deeds was the fact that through his election the adherents of Ah, who had striven for a hereditary monarchy, received a blow from which they never recovered. Under Abu's immediate successors the caliphate remained an elective inonarchy, with all

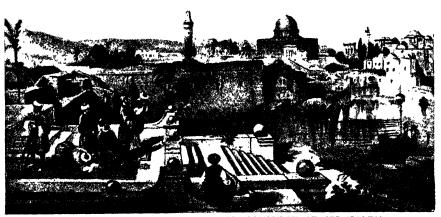
> the merits and detects of the system.

> For some years the merits preponderated Before nis death Abu Beki succeeded in bringing about an agreement to effect that ()mar the most energetic of the old disciples of Mahomet, al pecuharly adapted for the leadership of a people conquering should be his suc-

> Opposition CC5501

was at first encountered, but as soon as Omai had laid firm hand on the government, resistance was out of the question Even Ali who was indeed quite conscious of his own incapacity, accepted the new sovereign with good grace as soon as his own party had ceased to goad him to further resistance.

In truth, Omar now did little more than openly assume the leadership, which he had



THE MONUMENT OF THE ARABIAN CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM After the conquest of Persia the victorious troops of Omar bloke the power of the Byzantines in Syria, all the strong-holds of Palestine, including Jerusalem, where the mosque named after the caliph was erected, falling before them.

already held during the days of Mahomet and Abu Bekr. The warlike policy of the Prophet had been in the main his work, and a large number of the laws and "sayings" could be traced back to his influence. Nothing could be characteristic than the words with which he addressed the assembled people on Omar entering into his new duties. "By Allah, the weakest among you shall the Great be in my sight as the strongest, until I have obtained for him his rights. But him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he submits unto the law?

Omai proved that his inaugural address had been spoken in earnest; for, in spite of all the authority he possessed as sole ruler, he never denied the tendency towards equality which, received by the first followers of Mahomet as a heritage from the Bedouins, had also been one of the prime secrets of Moslem success. his love of justice Omar added great abilities in organising the military power of Arabia. A fifth part of all the spoils that fell to the share of the caliph was set aside as a nucleus for a public treasury. It was not mere fanaticism that caused Omar to order all Christians and Jews dwelling in Arabia either to become converts to Islam or leave the country. The command sprang rather from a desire to transform the peninsula of Arabia into an absolutely secure base of operations.

The next step was to reinforce as largely as possible the Arabian troops in Persia, who were now encountering stubborn opposition. Recruiting was by no means an easy task; the older provinces of Arabia neither would nor could place an unlimited number of warriors in the field. During the first year of his reign, for three days Omar had stood in the pulpit at Medina exhorting men to enroll themselves as volunteers for the Persian war, and not until the fourth day did his efforts

Omar
Recruits
His Army
had been subdued by Abu Bekr, and all the former adherents of false prophets, whom Abu Bekr had sternly excluded, were now embodied in the army.

Omar, however, took good care that, in spite of the accession of troops less firm in faith, his army should not deteriorate in religious fervour; for he added to the

ranks of each command a large number of priests, whose office was to recite the sayings of the Prophet aimd the tunnilt of battle, and thus arouse the enthusiasm of the warriors. Omar also allowed the army to retain the form of organisation which had long existed in conformity with the quotas supplied by the various tribes, each tribe having its own leader; the caliph appointed only the commanders of the larger divisions. An alteration of this earlier form of organisation, proved by experience to be thoroughly adapted to the Arabian national character, would have been neither desirable nor possible.

For a long time the war with the Persians occupied the whole of Omar's attention. After the withdrawal of Khahd, his successor, Motanna, was obliged to act solely on the defensive, for in the meanwhile the disturbances which had been taking place in the interior of Persia, to the great benefit of the invading Arabs had come to an end, moreover, Rustum, an able field-marshal of the empire, had been placed at the head of the Persian forces. It is true that after the arrival of Abu

Persian
Victory over
Arabia
Obaid with reinforcement the Arabs succeeded in defeating two armines of Persians

But when, intoxicated with their victory they crossed the Euphrates and offered battle with the river at their backs, they were completely defeated, Abu Obaid together with a large portion of the army losing their lives. However the struggle for the Persian succession in Ctesiphon prevented the Iranians from following up their victory Motanna maintained his position on the Euphrates, annihilated a Persian army in 634, and even undertook minor campaigns in the region that lay between the two rivers. But when Yesdigerd III. ascended the throne and with the help of Rustum assembled all the forces of his kingdom, the Arabs were compelled to retreat to the borders of the desert. Messenger after messenger appeared in Medina imploring aid; it appeared as if all the advantages won by the previous victories had now been lost.

But Omar, in the meanwhile, had exerted every effort to collect new troops of believers, and to arouse them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He had at first taken the supreme command himself, but finally decided to appoint Zaid, an old companion of the Prophet, commanderin-chief. This time, in 636, the struggle

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took place at Kadesia, on the right bank of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Bagdad of to-day. For three days the battle continued; it was a confusion of hand-to-hand conflicts, accompanied by an incessant advancing and retreating of the engaged forces; even during the tourth night Arab and Persian troops were still here and there engaged in desultory combat. A single incident—the death of Rustum, the Persian general—decided the day in tayour of the Moslems, who had also been greatly assisted by the wind, that drove stinging sand into the faces of the Persian soldiers, unused to desert warfare. This victory brought the region west of the Tigus into the hands of the Mohammedans, who immediately proceeded to build the city of Basra, on the Shatt-el-Arab, and thereby shut off the Persians from all traffic on the River Euphrates and trade with India.

The next year Yesdigerd III evacuated (tesiphon, which was already surrounded

take refuge in Shuster, and in taking him prisoner, after a siege of six months.

The Persian army arrived too late to derive any benefit from the resistance that had been offered in Chusistan; for two months it remained encamped in the mountain country to the south of Hamadan, near Nehavend, facing the End of Arabian forces, until finally a the Sassanidæ strategic blunder on the part of Firuz, the Iranian commander led to an engagement followed by a total defeat. Thus, in the year 641, the dominion of the Sassanidæ came to an end Never theless, a struggle of several years' duration had yet to be fought before the single provinces were completely subjugated Yesdigerd, "the Hapless," escaped to Khorassan, where he hoped to form a new army out of Turkish mercenaries. But fortune had deserted the cause of the Sassanidae, and in the year 651 the last of the Persian emperors met his



Tarakhun, said to have been founded about 1000 B C., and deserted since 1060 A D, was the birthplace of Rustim, the Hercules of Persia, and almost the only Persian general who succeeded in combating the Arabian advance

by Arabian cavalry, and withdrew to his second line of defence, the mountain region of Medo-Persia, not, however, without suffering severe losses during his retreat. Unfortunately, he had no army capable of defending the passes, and the Arabs at once succeeded in taking possession of the most important of the mountain roads, as well as of a portion of Chusistan At Yesdigerd's call for aid, once The Final more the Iranian forces assembled in Media, ready to engage Iranian in a final struggle for their ancient Struggle religion and nationality. Chusistan and Faisistan, the two southern provinces that had been cut off from the rest of Persia by the advancing Arabian army, likewise continued their opposition. Hormuz, the governor of Chusistan, threatened the new city of Basra; and not until many difficulties had been overcome did

the Arabs succeed in compelling him to

death at the hands of an assassin In the meanwhile the power of the Byzantines in Syria and Mesopotamia had also been broken. After the flight of the Syrian militia, at the battle of Yarmuk, resistance was offered by the larger towns alone, and they, too, were soon forced to capitulate. The fact that immediately after his accession Omar, the Mohainmedan puritan, recalled the victorious Khalid, who was, to be sure, the "sword of Islam," but at the same time an accomplished rake, had practically no influence on the course of the Synan war. Damascus capitulated in the year 635. The withdrawal of some Arabian troops to reinforce the army in Persia gave Herachus, who had hastened to Jerusalem, a short respite. during which, however, he only became convinced that it would be impossible to check the advance of the enemy with the means at the disposal of his exhausted

province; for a new Syrian army was not to be thought of. When, in the year 636, the emperor left the country, he took with him from Jerusalem the most sacred relic of the Christians the true cross—a plain indication of the desperate straits into which his land and his creed had fallen. Still, some years passed before the respective of the strains o

sistance of the Syrian cities Abandoned was finally overcome. Several of the centres of Christian By Rome Hellenism defended themselves to the uttermost but the Aramaic inhabitants of the land looked upon the struggle with stolid indifference cities of the north, Emesa, Haleb, and Antioch were the first to fall, then followed the strongholds of Palestine conquest of Jerusalem was no easy task for the Moslems; but the city finally opened its gates to the caliph, who had been by no means loth to arrive in time for a trumphant entry. The scaport Cæsarea was defended with still greater bravery, but it too, finally fell in 640. In the meantime Northern Mesopotamia had been conquered, and Edessa captured. Not until the Arabian forces had penetrated as far as the mountains of Armenia and the Taurus did their victorious advance come to an end

To these extraordinarily rapid successes a newer and still greater conquest was added Egypt's feeble powers of detence had already been exhibited when the country was plundered by a Persian army in 616 The native population, who had never been friendly to the customs of the Greeks, and who had also become completely estranged from their political masters owing to the formation of numerous Christian sects, had then been of no assistance whatever to the Byzantine generals in resisting the enemies of the empire. The danger of an Arabian invasion had long been appreciated, and the Egyptian governors were the only rulers who had Sectarian vith even a semblance of Curse courtesy. Nowhere had secin Egypt tarianism, the curse of Eastern Roman people, struck such firm root and become so intimately united with national antipathies as in the Nile valley. In vain had Herachus endeavoured to reconcile the "monophysitical" Egyptians with the "monotheletic" Greeks through the introduction of a conciliatory formula of belief: the burning national hatred. which merely hid itself beneath a cloak of religion, rendered all his well-meant efforts abortive.

The kings of Persia had already intentionally shown favour to both Monophysites and Nestorians, and during their wars with the Byzantines had obtained great benefit from this policy; Omar adopted the same course, and brought the conquest of Egypt to a successful issue, even before the last battle had been fought in Persia and Syria. Amr ibn As, the caliph's field-marshal, invaded the valley of the Nile with a force of but 4,000 men. After several engagements had been fought the Arabs obtained possession of the right bank of the river, and the arrival of remtorcements made it possible for them to cross the stream, still, the Christians in reality lost but little ground until their army was weakened by the wholesale desertion of the native Monophysites. The result was a bulliant victory for Ami and for the policy of Arabia

All the troops that the Greek generals were able to collect from the various Egyptian fortresses were placed in the field against the Arabs but the Conquest Byzantines soon found themselves driven to take shelter of Egypt behind the walls of Alexandria, the centre of Helleme influence—The dying Herachus had done all that he could to strengthen the last bulwark of Byzantine power from the sea, and at first it seemed as if the Arabian army would bleed to death before the walls of the strongly In the meanwhile, howfortified city. ever, a wretched dynastic quariel broke out on the death of Herachus imperial court of Byzantium was filled with confusion, and the longed-for ships bearing provisions and reinforcements to Alexandria did not arrive until the siege had lasted fourteen months, and the defenders were completely exhausted. The wealthiest of the inhabitants left the unfortunate city by sea; the remainder of the population surrendered to the Arabian general in December, 641

As usual, the conquered were treated with comparative lemency: it is true there were scenes of disorder, but the alleged systematic crusade of the Arabs against the treasures of science and art has been proved to have been purely mythical. Alexandria was not chosen to be the capital of the country by the Arabs as it had been by the Greeks; but a new city,

THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

Fostat, the Cairo of later times, was built on the right bank of the Nile, not far from the Delta, in the neighbourhood of ancient Memphis. From this it became quite evident that the new rulers of Egypt intended to make use of the land in an entirely different manner from that of either the Greeks or the Romans, who had looked upon the country merely as a source of wealth.

The conquest of the Nile valley was not enough for the Arabs, who, as true children of the descrit, were but little impeded in their advance by the sterile regions of North Airica. Ami swiftly marched

upon and captured the Pentapolis, and even Tripolis was surrendered by its surprised garrison

During thes many wars Omar had remained at home in Medina Such an energetic man as he must have chafed greatly under his selfimposed restraint but he could have adopted no policy better suited to the state of affairs of the time Its results were of the greatest value to the future of Islam, for during the storm and stress period of Mohammedanism nothing was more necessary 10 the success of the Viabian cause than a

the field himself, Omar was content to take upon his shoulders the more modest task of making preparations for war, collecting remiorcements and replenishing the national treasury with money that had been captured in battle, and with the tribute of the conquered lands. Furthermore, he organised the newly acquired dependencies, especially Irak where he commanded the city of Kula to be built on the borders of the desert in the neighbourhood of the right bank of the Euphrates, as a centre for the Arabian population, while the already semi-Arabian Damascu-

was made the capital of Syria. Omar did not favour the settlement of the conquered territories by Arabian troops; for he looked upon a ceaseless continuation of the religious war until both Pagans and Christians were completely overthrown as the labour of his life and held the camp to be the true home of his companions in faith

During the last years of his life Omai adopted extraordinary measures for the benefit of the State treasury, as we have learned from his remarkable correspondence with Amr, whose consignments of money from Egypt did not come up to

the caliph's expectations. Omar neither lust courteous. general, who deserved all praise, and in his treatment of the conquered his avarice showed itself in a most unpleasant light. In fact, this smallness 111 nature was the indirect cause of his death by the hand of an assassin. Christian artisan of Kufa who had journeyed in vain to Medma in order to beg that his relatively mordinate taxes might be decreased struck down caliph in the mosque in November, 644. just as the latter was about to begin his morning praver. Omai still possessed



secure and powerful case of operations of operations and of going into

strength enough to name a successor, but as Abd ur-Rahman, whom he had chosen absolutely declined to accept the difficult office, he called upon the six oldest companions of Mahomet to choose a new callph from among themselves—a method of escaping the difficulty which led to evil results

Once more Ali, who, together with Othman, Abd ur-Rahman, Zuberr, Talkha, and Zaid ibn Wakaz, had been called upon by Omar to elect a new caliph, stood at the head of the list of candidates, and again he experienced a bitter disappointment

Zubeir, Talkha, and Ali contested the position, the other aspirants stepped into the background. Mutual jealousy prevented all reasonable agreement, and the upshot of the affair was that the choice finally tell on Othman, who of all the candidates was least fitted for the position. He was a good-natured old man of seventy years, and had A Caliph been one of the very earliest of companions of the Prophet; Seventy but personally he was a complete nonentity. On his first attempt to address the assembled people after his election he made a pitiable exhibition of himself, since after a painful pause he could only murmur the words, "The beginning of all things is difficult," and then descend from the pulpit with a sigh Othman was not the man to curb the violent efforts which the various parties were making in order to increase their power, the strong hand of Omar had long held them in check, but now they burst forth again, threatening to bring confusion to the entire Mohammedan He was also totally unable to effect a reconciliation between the quarrelling and deeply embittered tribal groups During his of the Arabian people reign the personal influence of a sovereign was replaced by the ineradicable antagonisms of tribes and provinces, which were only increased by new enmittes and rivalries that had developed during the period of conquest, and all Mohammedan leaders who lived in the time of Othman were compelled either to make allowance for these elements of disturbance, oroften without being conscious of it themselves to be moved and guided by them The old comrades of Mahomet still

remained the most powerful of the political parties Generals and governors of provinces were selected from their ranks and a large amount of the treasure that had been won in war found The Old its way into their strong-boxes. Comrades They knew well that they of Mahomet were not popular; but so long as they were able successfully to claim the election of the caliph as their right, it was a difficult matter to thrust them down from their position of supremacy. Now, however, the lack of unity in their leaders, which had enabled the feeble Othman to come to the head of the state, had opened up the way to their destruction.

Othman was, indeed, one of the companions of the Prophet, an "emigrant" from Mecca; but he had been far too weak and good-natured to break completely with the past, and to join himself without reserve to the new community of fanatical believers that had formed itself about Mahomet. He was much too favourably inclined toward his old Meccan relatives; already during the Prophet's lifetime he had come forward in their defence, and at the capture of Mecca several of the most deeply compromised of Mahomet's enemies owed their lives to his intercession. Now that he had become caliph, he was soon surrounded by the neglected aristocracy of Mecca as by a swarm of hungry locusts, first one and then another managed to persuade him to hand over a post as governor, a position as commander, or this or that well-paid office. With increasing anger the earlier believers beheld the success of these intruders, whose fathers had not only fought against the Prophet with weapons in their hands, but had also wounded him with the poisoned darts of satire—these Meccans whose religious faith

The manner of life were more than suspicious. Their angry looks were soon directed even against the caliph , they cluing all the closer to Ali, whose time seemed at last to have come. But even now he was unable to bring the members of his party into harmony with one another.

The rivalry between Medinans and Meccans was not the only rift that extended across the Arabian world. The ancient enmity between nomads and agriculturists, Mahadites and Yemenites, still smouldered beneath the ashes only again to burst forth into flame in later times; but at the present moment the antagonisms that had been called forth by differences of geographical situation a result of Omar's conquests were of greater importance. To Omar Arabia had still been the heart of the Mohammedan empire; all his measures had for their object the strengthening of the peninsula and the development of the Arabian military forces. But as soon as the great neighbouring lands of Syria and Irak had been subdued by Islam this policy could not be continued. The new territories were far more populous than desert Arabia, and the greater culture of their inhabitants gained for them, slowly

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but surely, a preponderance of power. In fact, it may be remarked in anticipation that Arabia had already fallen from its supreme position at an early period in the history of Islam, and had now become little more than an insignificant appendage of Western Asia.

Hence, Irak and Syria, the two chief centres of Mohammedanism, soon entered the lists in hostile competition for the leadership. Their inhabitants were not on friendly terms with one another. The serious, determined Bedouins of Syria looked upon the effeminate, testless inhabitants of Irak with hatred and contempt. They particularly despised the people of Kufa in whom all the evil characteristics of an over-refined race seemed to have been united—true dwellers of great cities were they hons at home, lambs in the field. Whoever gained the friendship of one of these tivals made sure of the hostility of

to the safety of Byzantium. The wars were successfully continued in Northern Africa, the Greeks losing Carthage, in the east, the Omayyad Muaviya, to whom Othman had entrusted the command of an army, spread desolation in Asia Minor Thus, so far as the Arabian Carthage policy of conquest was concerned, Othman was a by no to Islam means unworthy successor of the victorious Omar. As a matter of course, these successes in arms were insufficient to reconcile the angry early adherents of the Prophet, who beheld with increasing bitterness Muaviya, whose mother had been a deadly enemy of Mahomet, winning victory after victory To his and rich spoils in Asia Minor great misfortune, Othman finally placed just such a weapon in the hands of the "companions" as was required by those models of piety the undertook a revision



TOMES OF THE CALIPHS AT CAIRO, THE ARABIAN CAPITAL OF EGYPT
To extraordinary successes in Syria the armies of the great caliph Omai added the conquest of Egypt, a new city, Fostat, which afterwards became Cairo, being built on the Nile in the neighbourhood of the ancient Memphis

the other. Owing to the fact that the Omayyads looked to the Syrians for aid during the civil wars, they won the victory over Ali and his companions, who turned to the fickle inhabitants of Irak for involved.

support.

In the meanwhile, however, under Othman's government the new Mohammedan empire became more powerful and increased in area. An attempt of the Greeks, who had managed to recapture Alexandria, to extend their power once Extension more over completely, Egypt failed Alexandria of the severely punished, and in like Empire various insurrections mannet were crushed in Persia. It was also during Othman's reign that a Mohammedan fleet of warships was constructed with astonishing rapidity on the Phœnician coast with the object of conquering Cyprus; this same fleet also became a serious menace

of the Koran on his own authority and endeavoured to entorce its acceptance by the old believers. But instead of calling torth a melancholy wail of lost influence from the "emigrants and defenders," he was assailed on all sides by the emaged cries of men who insisted that he had falsified the words of the Prophet All resolved this time to act in earnest, and despatched his emissaries into the various provinces—The gold pieces which the nephew of the Prophet had managed to heap up in abundance as a consoling indemnity for his political failures were scattered in all directions, and everywhere, as a result of the extraordinary expenditure, Ah was extolled as the single true champion of the traditions of Islam. But, in spite of all, the idol of the hated devotionalist party was not popular, and the revolts that broke out here and there did not lead to the wished-for results

Then bands of suspicious characters appeared in the narrow streets of Medina, Bedouins, whose services were to be had for a trifling payment; these assembled about the house of Othman, and with savage threats demanded his retirement. This time the feeble old man offered a determined resistance, but they finally Ali Gains stormed his house and assassinated him in the year 656. The Meccan nobility, who had Caliphate endeavoured to defend Othman. fled from the city, and the Medmans, not one of whom had litted his hand in the defence of the caliph, readily accepted Ali as his successor—Thus at last Ali was able to throw the imperial mantle about his shoulders, but the garment was soiled and blood-stained. A spirit of revolt and abhorience spread over the entire Mohammedan world. There was an immediate clearage among the conspirators at whose instigation the muider of Othman had been accomplished; for Zuben and Talkha soon came forward with their claims, assisted by the powerful support of Avesha, the favourite wife of the Prophet an ambitious and intriguing woman, who had long been one of Ali's most deadly enemies

It soon became obvious that an appeal to the sword alone could decide between these two hostile groups of old believers At first neither party could look to the provinces for assistance, Syria especially was hostile to both. Nothing was left to All but to fall back once more upon the assistance of the people of Irak, whom he won over to his cause. The rebels. who had no more to hope for from Syria than had Ali, turned to Irak and occupied Basia. Later, when Ali advanced on them from Kufa with a superior force, they entered into negotiations with him; but, owing to a misunderstanding, a battle was fought that ended with the deaths of Zubeir and Talkha and the capture of The Battle Ayesha. Ali was now master of the of all Irak. Arabia was also Camels on his side, and he was at least formally recognised in Egypt; but the "Battle of the Camels" had cost him the lives of many of his ablest adherents. In Syria, Muaviya, the Meccan, who now openly laid claim to the caliphate, made preparations for a final conflict.

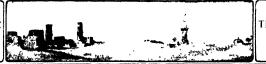
Muaviya was the typical champion of the nobility of Mecca, courteous, of knightly bravery, and a born leader of the people, whom he guided with both courage and wisdom; he was also ambitious, and inspired with an undying hatred for the bigoted followers of the Prophet, who returned his hatred in full measure.

All was now assured of the aid of the people of Irak also, since his quarrel was with the Syrians. For many years only a pretext had been wanting to bring the two races into open conflict with one another. But, in spite of all this, the morale of the army that Muaviya raised in Syria was vastly superior to that of the regiments of effeminate Irakans, and Ali was not a man likely to fill his adherents with any great amount of enthusiasm. Accustomed always to be led by others, and almost completely lacking in self-dependence, Ali became the chosen victim of various ambitious spirits who had resolved to sell then services to him as dearly as possible, and were already prepared eagerly to stretch out their hands for the gold of Muaviya

Thus the battle that after long negotiations and many skirmishes finally took place at Siffm in 657 The on the right bank End of Euphrates, had an end rather Ali While his amusing than tragic cavalry were in the very act of pursuing the retreating Syrians with loud shouts of victory, open rebellion broke out in Ali's tent The party which was in secret understanding with Muaviya compelled the hapless caliph first to recall his troops, and then to appear before a court of arbiters, the members of which were obviously enough entirely opposed to his claims. The nucleus of his forces, the old believers, renounced their allegiance and elected a new caliph: and on January 21st, 661, Ali met his death from 🙉 daggerthrust by one of these same fanatics.

On the death of Ali, the cause of the old believers broke down completely. Since Ali had been one of the champions of the hereditary caliphate, his claims naturally descended to his son Hassan. But Hassan, a cowardly voluptuary, was unable to accomplish anything with the army that had been placed at his disposal; and, in order to rid himself of all responsibility, he finally sent his most ardent adherents, under the leadership of Kais, against the Syrians. On their return after a severe defeat he made peace with Muaviya.

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMLT



' III THE CALIPHATE UNDER THE OMAYYADS

THE RULE OF THE MECCA CALIPHS

THE power and influence of the old adherents of the Prophet had completely come to an end when the proudest of the noble families of Mecca, the Omayyads, took possession of the caliphate as a hereditary dignity. At the time that the new dynasty made its appearance the Syrians also were rejoicing in their victories. The hated Irakans had been completely defeated, and, to the great chagrin of the ambitious inhabitants of Kufa, Damascus had now become the capital of the Mohammedan world-empire

But still the empire continued in a state of war and rebellion. While the old antagonisms had been temporarily forced into the background by the decisive victory of the one party, a new political sectuators. Its adherents were filled with the wildest spirit of fanaticism, and had already displayed their activity in the assassination of Ah as well as

Democratic
Party
of Islam

a confemporaneous attack
on Muaviya. The party was
one that in view of the general
state of affairs of the time arose almost
of necessity, in it was incorporated the
democracy of Islam, which under the
cloak of religious zeal, came forward to

oppose the aristociacy.

The true Bedoum of the desert in reality recognised neither the government of nobles not the rule of a sovereign. He was indeed a slave to his own tribal traditions, but he was not accustomed to bow before any individual who laid claim to unconditional obedience developments of the Mohammedan movement had been a mockery of the Bedouin spirit of liberty. With arbitrary despotism the oligarchy of Medina had chosen a caliph from their midst, without even going through the form of submitting their choice to the approval of the great mass of benevers, and when, on the appearance of Muaviya, the unpopular government of the old believers fell, it was only that a new nobility might come forward in its place. From the standpoint of religion.

too, the more democratic of the Moslems had grounds for complaint when they compared the increasing luxury and love of splendour of their present leaders with the simple manner of life and definite precepts of the Prophet.

Thus the sect that was formed during the struggle between Ah and Muaviya, which elected a new caliph in

Demands opposition to Ali, and was at of the least, the indirect cause of the Democrats attacks on both Alrand Muaviva may be called the democratic-puritanical party, and the most serious demand which it made upon those in power was that every Arab should not only have a voice in the election of the caliph but should also lumself be eligible as a candidate Basia wa the headquarters of this new puritan party; and its most powerful members were the Bedoun veterans--perhaps the most correct and virtuous of These fanatics, ever eager all Moslems tor self-sacrifice, were **yet** to be a source of great trouble to the Omayyad caliphs

But Muaviva had also to keep a sharp look-out in another direction. Ali, who had always been too late during his life, proved after death a dangerous enemy. As long as he had stood at the head of the party of old believers, his obstinate and weak character had only led his followers to their runn; now, however, that he lived only in their remembrance, his name became the war-cry of the older party as well as of the people of Irak, and his tragic end an unlimited source of fanaticism. The

Ali Becomes
A Hero soon caused the hones but mentally inferior Ali to appear as a most illustrious personage, upon whose purity, uprightness, and nobility of character no doubts were to be cast. And although the hero himself was dead, a son who appeared to be a worthy successor was still living. This was Husain, brother of the cowardly Hassan, to him, as their last hope, the old behevers and

person of his half-brother, Ziyad, who was capable of putting an end to all trouble with Irak and with the inhabitants of Kufa. Ziyad had not long occupied the position of governor of the dissatisfied province before the boldest of his enemies scarcely ventured Irak even to grumble, and all ironies and Subdued and satires against the domi-Chastened nion of the Omayyads were stifled on their very first appearance. And after the death of Ziyad, whom Muaviya had apparently chosen as his successor, the Irakans were still in such a state of terror that the appearance of Husain failed to awaken any genuine enthusiasm among Nevertheless the hereditary caliphate of the Omayyads was as yet by no means on a secure footing Muaviya experienced extraordmary difficulty obtaining recognition for his son Yezid as his legitimate successor, and the easily led, thoughtless character of the latter was a cause of many complications and masgivings. It was only owing to the fact

the Irakans furned. In the meanwhile

Muaviva had found a lieutenant in the

his position. In spite of all domestic disturbances, the religious war of conquests, although now possessed of less significance than formerly, was carried on vigorously during the reign of Muaviya Great progress was made in the east, where the Arabian forces crossed the Oxus, advanced into the valley of the Indus, and for the first time came into contact with the Turkish races that were in later times to play such an important part in the history of Islam. In Africa, also, the policy of conquest was continued, and the city of Kairuan was tounded on the site of ancient Carthage as a centre of Mohammedan influence. After the death of Ali the Byzantines were assailed both by sea and by land; a portion of Asia Minor was devas-

that the Syrians had the utmost enthusiasm

for him that Yezid was enabled to retain

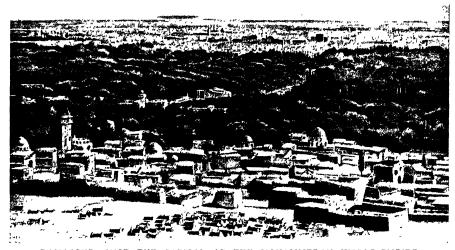
tion of Asia Minor was devastated, and Arabian war vessels sailed as far as Constantinople, without, however, engaging in any decisive combat. Still, these struggles were of great advantage to the Omayyads, since they increased the popularity of Yezid, who had taken part in them at the desire of his father.

When Muaviya died in 680, the Omayyads were in a position easily to crush opposition. The chief rebellious spirits were the old

comrades of Mahomet, now for the most part of great age, but surrounded by numerous ambitious descendants who held fast to the claim that a new caliph must be chosen from their ranks. The old believers could not look upon Yezid, who was not of a particularly serious disposition and troubled himself little about the precepts of the Koran, as other than an impudent pretender. In Mecca, another band of dissatisfied Arabs, rich in dis tinguished names but poor in followings, assembled about the banner of Husain. The latter joyfully received a long petition from the people of Kufa, in which they invited him to their city and offered him the dignity of caliph

Once more, then, the old alliance between the companions of the Prophet and Itak threatened to become dangerous to the Omayyads, but before Husain arrived in Kufa, Yezid had already sent out a new governor, Obaidallah a son of the terror-inspiring Ziyad, who, with his father's example before him, well understood how to deal with the rebellious Kufites. As a result, when Husain approached the gates of the city, Fall not a hand was raised in his of a Pretender favour. The troops of Obaidallah advanced to meet him, and since he was unwilling to submit without a struggle, a battle followed, in which his weak forces were routed and he himself, together with most of his companions, put to death on October 10th, 680 A.D

The fall of Husain revealed that ancient Arabia, although externally faithful to Islam, was in arms against the orthodox. The sacred cities alone appeared to offer a secure place of refuge to the faithful. Before their gates the storm of opposition abated, and it was thought that the original religious empire might perhaps once more be established from them as centres. In Mecca, Abdallah, eldest son of Zubeir, formerly candidate for the caliphate, laid claim to the supreme office and defied the ambassador of Yezid from behind the sacred walls of the Kaaba. at Mecca; on the return from Yezid's court of envoys who had beheld with horror the frivolity of the caliph and his comrades, and reported with passionate emphasis what they had seen, a terrific uproar arose in the city. But the Medinans refused to admit the claims of Abdallah ibn Zubeir, and established a



DAMASCUS, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD-EMPIRE When the Omayyad dynasty of Mecca succeeded the companions of the Prophet in the caliphate, the Mohammedan capital was removed from Kufa to Damascus, and Syria became the heart of the empire in place of Arabia.

provisional government in order to avoid an immediate outbreak of dissension Further progress was to follow as time passed, but that Yezid would take hostile measures against the old comrades of the Prophet and advance against the sacred cities no one would believe, in spite of the general abhorience that had been called forth by his god-lessness. Nevertheless, the old Believers

Attacked

A Syrian army appointment. marched into Western Arabia under the command of a man who could not have been better chosen as avenger of the various sanguinary campaigns by means of which the Prophet and his followers had compelled the sons of the desert to accept the new faith Moslim, Yezid's general, was a superstitious pagan, uneducated, rude, furiously energetic, a true Bedoum of the old school, without a glimmer of reverence for the sacred memories of the Prophet. As a relative of the murdered Caliph Othman, he was fully bent on vengeance What was to be expected from the barbarous Syrian nomads under his command, who had accepted the Mohammedan faith superficially only, who were in the eyes of the pious Medinans little better than heathens, and who returned the contempt

of the old believers with a most cordial hatted ϵ

The comrades of the Prophet anticipated the fate that was in store for them when the Syrian army appeared before the walls of their city. Scarcely ever before in the history of Arabia had a battle been fought in which such blind, fanatical fury was displayed as at this time before the gates of Medina and is known as "the day of Harra" standard bearer of the Syrians had already fallen, and the army began to waver, when, on August 26th, 683 a troop of Syrians were admitted to the city by traitors, and thus enabled to fall upon the unprotected rear of the old believers. The fate of the defeated was terrible; all men capable of bearing arms were ruthlessly slaughtered, the women were violated, the Holy

City Sacked the comrades of Mahomet flowed down the steps of the mosque trom which the Prophet had so often addressed his tollowers, and its sacred courts served the barbaric Syrians as a stable for their horses.

From Medina where Moslim died of a severe illness, the Syrian army turned toward Mecca. Catapults were already engaged in hurling great masses of stene

into the city, and firebrands had already been thrown upon the roof of the Kaaba, setting the sacred edifice in flames, when, for the time being, the defenders of the city were rescued, owing to the confusion that broke out in Syria on the death of Yezid. But, for Medina, the temporary change in affairs had come too late. The Prophet's Companions Survivors sought refuge in Africa, the greater part of in Spain them joining the army that conquered Spain under the command of Musa, and in later times Spain became the last asylum of the companions of the Prophet and then descendants, for whom there was no longer a home in their

Matters had come to a serious pass for the Mohammedan religion. Even yet it was not firmly rooted in the hearts of the Arabians, the bulk of the Bedouins so far understood little more than the rudiments of Mahomet's doctrines, and it must already have appeared problematical whether or not the work of the Prophet would disappear and the conflicts of parties and sects. The venerable men who had once assembled about the Prophet were now either dead or wanderers without a home; the sacred Kaaba, and the mosque at Medina, were shattered and polluted, the people were split up into hostile groups. And finally there was a caliph at the head of affairs who did not even preserve the appearance of obeying the laws of Mahomet, but seemed rather to pride himself on his profligacy. Everywhere it seemed that Islamism was falling into decay. But never in the history of the world has the power of spirit and of thought shown itself to be more irresistible than during the first century of the Mohammedan religion. Like a moonbeam upon the sea a ray of idealism and religious sentiment rested upon the dark waves of war and politics However The Secret meagre in comparison with the greater religions of the world, of Islam's

Power

Islam yet represented an idea, and therewith a power that no earthly weapon could destroy. The sudden death of Yezid, in November, 683, rescued Mecca and Abdallah, but at the same time it plunged the empire into the utmost confusion. Muaviya, son of Yezid, died a few months later, and cannot be said to have in reality succeeded to the supreme office; but at

h s death the Omayyad party was for the monient without a leader. This was sufficient to cause the old tribal antagonisms to come to the surface once more among the Syrian Arabs. They had been suppressed during the period of conquest, and Muaviya I, had understood how to render them harmless, even to cause them to be of service to the empire. however, Yemenites and Mahadites stood face to face, armed to the teeth, and candidates for the caliphate must have known that the office was to be procured only through the assistance of one or the other party. Instead of seeking to take advantage of the quarrel of the rival parties in Syria, the people of Irak were content to limit their activities to their own province.

In Irak, the place of tribal feuds was taken by the dissensions of sects, among which the puritan democrats, or Kharijtes, were no less distinguished than the followers of Ali. Owing to the influence of Iranian elements the various parties gradually became less and less Arabian in character. Nowhere, however, were

Abdallah the Pretender
the companions of the Prophet of earlier days, conducted themselves as high and mighty lords and masters, arousing a spirit of hostility wherever they appeared.

The inhabitants of Irak finally chose for their leader Abdallah ibn Zubeir, the pretender of Mecca and last representative of the party of old believers, who, although he had shown himself to be both a hypocrite and babbler, must at least have been more acceptable to the members of the various quarrelling parties than a man selected from among their inveterate enemies, the Syrians. Had Abdallah been an able man and of strong will and character, it is probable that this time he would have succeeded in making good his claims to the caliphate. The tidings of the death of Yezid had scarcely reached the camp of the Syrian army before Mecca, when Husain, the Syrian commander. sought to make peace with Abdallah. The Mahadite tribes of Syria in their hatred of the Yemenites also placed themselves on his side. Egypt declared for him; and he was certain of the support of a powerful party in Irak. But his very first political action proved

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that he was incapable of taking advantage of the favourable situation, masmuch as he refused to grant Husam and his army amnesty for the destruction of Medina. Thus, to ingratiate himself with the feeble party of the old behavers, he threw away the opportunity of advancing into Syria at the head of a powerful force and of

winning an important victory.

Husain thereupon returned to Syria without Abdallah, and found there an Omayyad chieftain, Mervan, who was ready to defend the seriously endangered rights of his family with decision and courage, and also to assume the position of caliph. Since the Mahadites, or Kaisites. as they were generally called after then most important Syrian branch, had first decided in favour of Abdallah, and had afterward chosen Dhakhak, the governor of Damascus to be their leader. Mervan was obliged to turn to the Yemenites or Kelbites, who after long hesitation decided to give him their support provided he would promise to fulfil the various conditions which they imposed. Mervan and his Kelbite allies defeated the Kaisites on the meadow -Rahit near Kaisites

Damascus in 684 - Dhakhak fled Against to Abdallah whom he now Kelbites recognised as caliph, and the Kaisites retreated to the north-east of Syria One of the conditions imposed upon Mervan by the Kelbites was that he should marry the mother of Khalid, another Omayyad who had first been chosen by them to be then candidate for the caliphate and should name her son as his successor; but he broke his word after the battle, and appointed his own son Abdelmelik to be his hen, with the result that he met his death at the hand of the revengeful woman in April 685

The murder of Mervan was followed by sporadic revolts, of which the most serious was that of the democratic Kharn-Goaded on by persecution they rose during the period of confusion that tollowed the death of Muaviva, and then former torturers soon learned that they, too, understood how to wage war and to devastate no less than they had formerly known how to die. In their extremity the orthodox inhabitants of Irak declared for the cause of Abdallah, but the governor whom he sent out was soon killed in a battle with the infuriated sectarians. The terror inspired by the Kharijites was so great that at one time two thousand Irakans took to flight before a troop or torty of these redoubtable sectaines, in fact, it seemed as if the ardent enthusiasm and contempt of death that Mahomet had once fafused into his comrades had revived in these dauntless zealots. The struggle was chiefly confined to the city of Basra, which was constantly

Forty Fanatics threatened by the revolutionaries and preserved from Rout Two destruction only by the Thousand heroic detence of Mohallab, the Irakan general At the same time that the Basians were trembling before the Kharijites, the Kufans were in a state of no less terror because of the adherents of Ali- the Shiites or sectarians, from the Arabic $\sin a$, a sectary. The appearance of this sect was remarkable in many ways, here the reviving spirit of the Iranian people made its appearance for the first time. The Persians had at first shown then inclination to shake off the Arabian voke, together with the new religion that had been imposed upon them, only through occasional minor revolts. Now, however as adherents of Ali and of Hu-am and as champions of a schismatic tendency in Islam, they sought to adapt the new do trines to their national charecter and to establish an Iraman form of the Mchammedan faith.

True to their old preferences, the Shutes, in contrast to the Khariptes, with whom they have often been confused. were partisans of unlimited despotism. And just as they had once set the highest value on the descent of their Aisacid and Sassanid sovereigns from a mythical derited paternal ancestor, demanding pure blood in a sovereign as a condition of their loyalty, so at this time they claimed that the hereditary callph should be a descendant of Mahomet, declaring that Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet, had been the first legitimate caliph, and that the Omayyads, together with the Meccan caliphs were Persian nothing more or less than Form But these religious usui pers of Islam and political claims were merely a cloak to the true national spirit of the Shutic movement, which found its most ardent adherents in Persian freedmen and slaves and struck deep root in the land of Iran.

Under the leadership of a crafty and ambitious Arab, Mokhtar, the Shutes took possession of Kufa, and began a rule of

terror. Owing to their desperate resistance and to the treachery of the imperial auxiliaries, Abdelmelik's first attempt to recapture Kufa was a failure. However, Mozab, brother of the caliph Abdallah, succeeded in putting the leader of the Shutes to death and in occupying. Kufa in the name of Abdallah in 687. But in truth Mozab had only opened Contest up the way for the Syrian of the caliph Abdelmelik, who in the Caliphs meanwhile had made peace with the Kaisites, led a new army into the province, and in a surprisingly short time defeated the Irakans in spite of constant treachery on the part of the Kaisite leaders. Mozab fell in the battle, and Kufa opened its gates without resistance as did also Basia, where Mohallab, the Irakan general, in spite of his great courage, demonstrated that he was as inconstant as the rest of his countrymen. Thus the most important province of the empire was lost by the Meccan caliph, who on his part was scoundrel enough secretly to rejoice at the death of his heroic brother, and instead of taking decisive measures for the recovery of Irak, contented himself with delivering a well-turned funeral oration over the fallen in battle

Although the importance of Arabia had greatly decreased so far as the temporal power of the caliphate was concerned, the moral influence which Abdallah as master of the sacred cities was still able to exert upon the numerous pilgrims who journeyed thither must not be underrated. For this reason alone Abdelinclik resolved to destroy his rival. the general whom he sent out against Mecca, was a worthy successor to the dreaded Moslim, whose troops had sacked Medma. In November, 691, Hadjaj arrived before the city, and began a bambardment with his catapults Meccans held out for months, but finally fled, seeing that there was no help to be expected from without. Siege caliph Abdallah ended his life of m a nobler manner than he had Mecca hved, for with his most faithful companions he made a sortic upon the besiegers, meeting death bravely at the head of his troops

The death of the last callph of the old believers was an event of but small importance to the Mohammedan world. In the furthest north-east only, in Khorassan, was resistance offered by one of the

governors who had been appointed by Abdallah. In the year 693 the entire empire of the caliphs was subject to the Omayyad dynasty; nevertheless, as yet there were no signs of peace and quiet. Unrest boiled and bubbled as in a geyser tube throughout Irak and Persia, and turious outbursts of the hidden resentment that flamed in the hearts of the people were visible from time to time. Even the rule of brute force instituted by Hadjaj, to whom the caliph had entrusted the governorship of the eternally restless province of Irak, failed to put an end to the rebellions that broke out again and again amid the confusion of races in that country of an old and fallen civilisation Kelbites and Kaisites troubled Syria with their fends and petty wars.

At the death of Abdelmehk in October 705, the influence of the Kaisites preponderated and Vehil the new caliphtound in them his firmest support. Although Abdelmehk had been occupied almost constantly with domestic affairs and had even been obliged to conclude a humiliating treaty with the Byzantines during the early part of his region. Vehild was now able to reassume the policy of conquest, which was far more in harmony with the original nature of the

harmony with the original nature of the caliphate. There was no lack of soldiers, especially in Trak and Persia and from these provinces men flocked to the banner of the caliph that they might win fame and plunder in the foreign wars.

For these reasons the reign of Vehid was more brilliant than that of any other Omayyad caliph -Under his rule the Mohammedan empire attained to its greatest extent and magnificence. Kuteiba commanded the Aiabian forces in the war fought on the north-eastern frontier of Persia, which had for its object the conquest of Transoxania and the subjection of its Iranian and Turkish races. After a severe struggle the city of Bokhara was captured in 700 Three years later Samarkand was taken, but in the year 715 the Mohammedan army was suddenly recalled while on the road to Kashgar, owing to the death of Vehd. Contemporaneously with the Transoxanian campaign an attack was made on India Under the command of Mohammed ibn Kasım, a Syrian army advanced into the valley of the Indus, and took possession of the city of Multan, after a long siege. However,

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the Moslems were unable to follow up their The Arabian general was even 511CC C55 compelled to admit to the Hindus that their religion, like those of the Christians and the Jews, was entitled to be looked upon with tolerance by Mohammedans.

All the while that victories were being won in the east, the Byzantines were hard pushed by the armies of the caliph. A quarrel about the succession had agam broken out in Constantinople, paralysing the powers of the state, which was already in an exhausted condition owing to the wars with the Bulgarians Thus it is not surprising that Arabian troops marched unopposed through Asia Minor, and finally appeared before Constantmople, while at the same time the fleets of the caliph sailed into the Sea of Marmora. But it for this reason Vehil was led to believe that the end of the Eastern Roman Empire was at hand, he deceived himself as to the tenacity of the Byzantmes, who even in later days proved themselves to be possessed of an almost mexhaustible vital power – Decisive victories were won in Northern Africa.

where Musa was engaged in a

An Exciting hard struggle with the Berber of History

tribes who had at first supported the Arabians in their war with the Byzantines, but were now fighting for their own freedom Musa occupied the whole of the northern coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and from the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar cast longing looks toward the peninsula of Spain. How Tarik defeated the king of the Goths, how Musa himself followed on with fresh troops, and how in a surprisingly short time all Spain was made subject to the caliphs, the Arabian forces crossing the Pyrenees and penetrating far into France, is one of history's most exciting chapters Δt that time all Europe trembled before the apparently irresistible advance of the enemies of Christendom, who were knocking at the gates of Constantinople and watering their horses in the Lone at the same moment that their fleets were threatening the islands of the Mediterranean. it was also apparent that the Moslem bow had been bent to the point of breaking. The movement of expansion soon came to a halt, and the fall of the gigantic empire became only a question of time.

The character of Vehid was such as is raiely to be found in a despotic ruler.

The callph distinguished himself rather through a wise employment of talented subordinates than through his own personal abilities. He also possessed the capacity of securing the respect as well as the loyalty of all men with whom he came mto touch. His son and successor, Suleiman (715–717), a weak, mistrustful creature, did not posses, this gift, Suleiman and however pitrable a spectacle the he made of himself in his gross Ungrateful ingratitude to the great soldiers and statesmen of his father's reign, it must at least be admitted in his favour that he could not do otherwise than cast aside tools which he was incapable of using. Hadjaj, the ablest of Velid's councillors, had long forseeen what the future would bring to pass, and it had been his one desire to die before his master That he was granted this piece of good fortune saved him from an ignominious end. The generals, some of whom were still at the head of their armies on the death of Velid, found a still more evil fate awaiting them. Musa was accused of misappropriating public money, compelled to pay an exorbitant fine by way of restitution, and ended his life as a pauper Mohammed, the conquetor of the Punjab, was dragged to Damascus in chains, and

tortured to death m prison Kutersa,

who was well aware that a similar lot

awaifed him sought in vain to arouse his

troops to rebellion, and was soon put to

death by the adherents of the new caliph,

who sent his head to Damascus In spite of the wretchedness of his character, the deeds of horror perpetrated by Suleiman would scarcely be comprehensible were it not that at the time of his accession a complete change had taken place in the relations of the Arabian tribal groups The Kaisites, who had enjoyed a golden age during the days of Velid, ruined themselves through an unsuccessful attempt to place a prince A War of their own choice upon the throne Since Suleiman was of in consequence compelled to Revenge look to the Kelbites or Yemenites for support, he was likewise obliged to yield to their desire for revenge upon their old rivals. Yezid, a son of the Irakan general Mohallab, the deadly enemy of Hadjaj, stood at the head of the Yemenite party; he attained almost unlimited power, and waged a successful war against the last defenders of Iranian independence,

who dwelt in the mountainous southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea, but had brought themselves into disrepute owing to their excessive ostentation and greed

The foreign undertakings of Suleiman were attended by no great success. The Byzantines, who had provided themselves with a most effective means of defence in the shape of their celebrated Defeated Greek fire, were now, in 717, by the under a very capable leader, Byzantines Emperor Leo the Isaurian. An Arabian army which laid siege to Constantinople met with total defeat. The caliph's fleet of some four hundred vessels was also destroyed, and for a time Asia Minor remained in the possession of the Byzantines Suleiman did not survive these reverses—But his successor, Omar II a simple, upright Arab of the old school. was in turn unable to retrieve the fortunes of the empire, he reigned for too short a time - 717-720—to be able to accomplish anything of importance, or even to put his favourite scheme of increasing the number of Mohammedans through a systematic conversion of the inhabitants of the various lands subject to the caliphate, into execution. It was greatly to the credit of Omar II that he espoused the cause neither of Kaisites nor of Kelbites, but endeavoured to keep away from all tactions and parties

During the reign of his successor, Yezid II, who belonged body and soul to the Kelbites, the domestic feuds once more came into prominence A namesake of Yezid, the son of Mohallab, entrenched himself in Basra, and called upon the Irakans, who had not forgotten their old hatred for the Syrians, in spite of the various tribal feuds, to revolt against the caliph He was, however, defeated. At the same time a rebellion broke out in Africa, and it also became evident that the Moors intended to establish an independent kingdom in The short reign Spain Decline Yezid II - 720 to 724 - was Caliphate marked by a decided falling off in the imperial power and supremacy of the caliphate Nor did this retrograde movement cease completely during the reign of the next caliph, Hishim, although he was an abler ruler, and thoroughly aware of the cause events were taking. Hisham displayed great wisdom in assuming a position of neutrality between Kelbites and

Since Kaisite and Yemenite leaders and statesmen alternately obtained leadership, a certain amount of political sagacity developed, so that men soon were able to foretell with a reasonable degree of correctness the principles according to which the one or the other party would administer its offices Kaisites were of the school of Hadjaj, the conqueror of Irak; a tight hold on the rems of government, an overwhelming burden of taxation, exclusive favour shown to Arabs, and disregard for the newly converted of other races, were the fundamental principles of their policy. It became almost proverbial that no man could equal a Kaisite governor in obtaining vast sums in taxes from a province. In contrast to the Kaisites the Kelbites, Yemenites, were of more liberal opinions, placing more value in diplomatic methods and in a policy of leniency towards the conquered. Moreover, they did not endeavour, as did the Kaisites, to extort the poll-tax exclusively from the newly converted in short, their policy was one of conciliation, in contrast to the Kaisite policy of brute force **Politics** The two political systems were Caliphate not yet founded on firm and it was consistent principles usually quite sufficient for a true Kelbite to see a Kaisite perform an action in order himself immediately to endeavour to effect the contrary

Hisham, who was filled with an insatiable greed for wealth, soon discovered that the Kaisites were the party best adapted for executing his wishes, therefore the Kelbite governors, who had at first been in favour, were now everywhere replaced by the tyrannical Kaisites. The Spanish Arabs, who were almost exclusively composed of Yementes were now for the first time placed under the rule of a Kaisite; and in Africa, Obeida, and after him Obeidallah, extorted tremendous sums in taxes from the province.

The result was a vast upheaval of the population of Northern Africa, in whom the Kharijite missionaries of the period had at last found a people after their own hearts; so that here also those who arose in revolt against the insufferable burden of taxation became imbued with religious-democratic ideas and displayed the highest degree of fanaticism. The Berbers have never accomplished much under leaders of their own race; but under the



THE DEFERY OF THE MOHAMMEDAN FLEET BLOCKADING CONSTANTINOPLE In the glorious right of Caliph V ld an Arabian a my appeared before C instant nople the fleets of the Caliph scale limit of 1 Sea of Ma mora and all Fur potrent led before the Mojam norm advance. Lut the tenacity of the byze the anith refleck for sav d the city anith the nxt r bn the Caliphs army and fleet were destroyed

int flectual surface of their parits they have exhibited or markable eason's far elf renfice in lanet countries In th yen 74) the district of Lingui revolted Ishahid the general sent at by Ober 1 illah wa killel and with in exel Successful in ly lug number of Arab chieft uns. The calit h was now in Tangier of hacd to throw his beloved trea ure chests wide open and to form in time of ticked Syrran without for service in Africa. The troops were s nt out un let the comman lot Koltum in I Bildsh in I were join I in I syrt by a levy of Ards. Nevertheless the battle with the Berbeis in led in in that defeat for the cally har his infantry was for the most put unuhilited and Koltum fell. Buldsh managed to escape with the civality to Lingier and thence after many idventures he arrived in Spain where he was still to play a great role in history accorded in mother part of this Hisham did not live to see the end of the rebellion in Africa

In Itak also after many months of peace under a Yemenite governor an insurrection broke out on the appointment of a Kaisite to the office. The government was in a still worse plight in Khor sam where Kelbites and Kaisites openly declared war on one mother a well as in

the neighboring province of Iransox incr where the native population was decidedly unwilling to accept the usual fate of the conquered. Since the Kaisite rulers were in the halit of legiming their terms of office with the imprisonment and exploitation of their Yemenite predecessor the urivil of a Kaisite governor in Khorassan was sufficient to drive the Kelbites into open revolt and to cause them to form an alliance with the Lucks and it was not until a Kellate governor unived and general amnesty was granted that quiet wis ignin restored in this important frontici province. Khor iss in included it that time the whole of North castern It in is well is It insoxania and was of great importance from a military point of view is a barrier against the nomadic tribes of Central Asia. In like manner the mount un countries to the south of the Cauca us which commanded the entrance to the passes became military pro-Fighting

Fighting in the Caucasus vinces in which incess int fight ing took place with Armenians Scythians and Iberrans and sometims with the Furtue hordes that strove to make their way into the plain of Mesopotamia.

The war with the By antines was continued with varying success. The Arabians still hoped to win a final victory ly striking a blow at the heart of the empire; Asia Minor was repeatedly laid waste, until a brilliant victory of the emperor Leo finally set a limit to the incursions of the Moslem forces.

Hisham died in 743, leaving to his nephew and successor, Velid II., an empire that, in spite of the unsuppressed revolt in Northern Africa, was Persians still possessed of abundant the Front vital power, thanks to the frugal financial policy of the caliph and to his skilful management of the two great political groups. Nevertheless, the antagonisms of sects and parties were by no means reconciled. There were, indeed, men who looked upon loyalty to the caliph alone as their chief virtue, and who thus formed the nucleus of a purely dynastic party. The tribe Rabia, which for many years had assumed a position of neutrality in the quarrels between Mahadites and Yemenites, and of which the members had for that reason frequently been chosen to fill difficult diplomatic offices, served as a point of departure for further development. But the jealousy between the Arabs of Syria and the Irakans, who were under the influence of Persia, was too deeply rooted to disappear easily. Indeed, the more influence the Persians obtained, the more decided was the tendency of the Irakans to turn away from the Syrians Finally, it became evident that the Mohammedan Iranians would eventually gain the upper hand by force of numbers alone.

In this lay the greatest danger to which the Omayyad dynasty was exposed Lifted to the throne by the Syrians, the Omayyads prospered, and finally tell with their most faithful adherents. As soon as the centre of the empire was removed to Irak, the days of the Damascus caliphate came to an The position of the Omayyads was undermined by the natural course of the stagnation of Syria, the events: Arabian inhabitants of which Beginning had fought the battles of the of caliph, and had therefore fallen the End off rather than increased in numbers, and the growing multitude and wealth of the Irakans, were the chief causes of the decline of the Omayyad dynasty. Already during the reign of Hisham, the continuation of Omayyad rule had become dependent on whether or not his family could win the favour of the Irakans and the other inhabitants

It is hardly of the eastern provinces. necessary to say that in this case also movements which were national were a cloak of religion. However much men continued to disagree as to whether the first of the caliphs had been justly entitled to the dignity, whether Abu Bekr or Alr had been the legitimate successor of the Prophet, one thing at least was certain—all the sectarians were united in the belief that the Omayyads were usurpers. But the question who should succeed them was not to be decided so easily descendants of Ali, who turned up from time to time and always found supporters in Irak, seemed without exception to have inherited the incapacity and misfortunes of their paternal ancestor; the few who remained of the old comrades of the Prophet had retired to the farthest west, to Africa, and Spain—Thus it came about that a noble family of Mecca, the Abbassides, who had long been known as the hereditary custodians of the spring Zemzem, and who were more nearly related to the Prophet than the Omayyads, succeeded in becoming the leaders of the dissatisfied sects. Already during the reign Rise of of Hisham their secret designs the had assumed a serious aspect; Abbassides under his teeble successors they arose in open revolt - Velid II did his best to scatter the treasures of his predecessor, leading a life of careless debauchery; but in spite of his lavisliness he succeeded in winning few true friends, and aroused the hostility of the other Omavyad princes by appointing his younger son to be his successor. In the year after his accession he was dethroned and put to death by Yezid III., the champion of the Yemenite party. Disturbances immediately followed in Trak and Khorassan. Mei van, the Omayyad governoi of Armenia and Azerbijan, advanced on Damascus, defeated the Yemenites, and compelled the Syrian Arabs to accept him as regent during the minority of the sen of Velid II. But the power of the Omayyads was rapidly declining, and Mervan, although a man of great ability, was unable to ward off the impending destruction. Embittered by their losses, the Yemenites had become his enemies, and thus the Syrian Arabs were once more divided at the very moment when unity was most needed. Already the descendants of Ali had raised the banner of rebellion in Persia, and in Irak the Kharijites were once more in revolt. No

help was to be expected from the western provinces. In Africa the Berber troubles were not yet ended, and in Spain a civil war was raging between Kaisites and Kelbites, who even in this distant land had not been able to forget their ancient tribal hatred.

The first blow was dealt in Khorassan. Here, in the year 747, Abu Muslim unfurled the black flag of the Abbassides, and drove out Nasir, the Omayyad governor. Nasır vamly endeavoured to make a stand in Western Persia, and this province also was lost by the Omavyads. In the summer of 750, on the Abbassid troops appearing before Kufa, the gates were immediately opened to the revolutionists. It had been of no advantage to Mervan that he had seized and put to death Ibrahim, the intriguing head of the Abbassid family, for the place of the latter was taken by his sons, and the movement itself, which was not in reality founded on the ambition of the Abbassides, but on the excessive hatred of Irakans and Iranians for the Syrians, pursued its course without inter-Mervan assembled a powerful ruption. army on the southern frontier Last of of his old province, not far the from Mossul; and here on the Omayyads Great Zab the Abbassides encountered the superior forces of the caliph, on January 25th, 750. Even at this decisive moment the tribal hatred of the Bedouins did not lessen in intensity just as the battle had practically been won by the Syrians Mervan's entire Yemenite following deserted him. The result was a complete rout After vainly seeking retuge in Damascus, the caliph escaped to Egypt, where he lost his life in a fruitless attempt to organise resistance. The banner of the Abbassides now waved triumphantly over the walls of Damascus—and thus the people of Irak finally gamed the victory over their hated Syrian neighbours, the East over the West.

With the victory of the Abbassides a period of short splendour, followed by gradual decay, began for the empire of the caliphs. Many changes which had for years been developing in comparative seclusion now made their way to the light, and many features that had formerly been all-important to the welfare of the Omayyad dynasty were lost. Thus the moment has come for us to cast a backward glance over the domestic affairs of the Mohammedan empire, which arose out of nothing

with such marvellous rapidity, and finally extended from the Pyrenees and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus and the Jaxartes

The Bedouins, who marched forth from the interior of Arabia brought to the peoples of Western Asia a simplicity of life and a homely greatness of spurt and

deed bither to unknown to those Greatness more refined and effemmate of the races. In the Bedouns, the Bedouin Juximous Symans and Persians once more beheld men who looked upon mere sensual enjoyments with contempt, and were capable of fighting to the death. for a principle—For the first time for many years a manly, often a heroic, spirit was intused into the history of Western Asia. The love of freedom of the Bedouis dissipated for the time being the suffocatmg atmosphere of gloomy, indolent despotism that arose like a poisonous mist from the rich plains of Mesopotamia and It was no lasting inheritance that Arabia presented to its neighbour countries. Never in history has a victorious race been able permanently to alter the character of the conquered termtories and the spirit of their inhabitants. the conquerers themselves must finally succumb to this same character and spirit None the less, the intusion of foreign blood is often sufficient to arouse the exhausted soil to new fruitfulness, to awaken a fresh development of national life

Still it would be incorrect to look upon the Arabians of the time of the Prophet as merely rude uncultured Bedouins however large a proportion of the population was composed of that class, the industrious agriculturists of Medina and the far-travelled merchants of Mecca stood upon a vastly higher plane of civilisation than the simple (ribes of the desert. In Yemon remains were still preserved of a former period of flourishing commerce and advanced moral development, and the Arabs who led a semi-stationary existence of the Ho frentiers of the Roman and Towns Person empires had not mained uninfluenced by the civilisation of then neighbours. From these various elements were recruited the populations of the towns that shortly became the centres of Mohammedan civilisation in the various provinces. The true Bedouin took but a small part in the intellectual life of these central groups; his passionate love for an unfettered life on the steppes was unconquerable. No one has expressed this sentiment more convincingly than the mother of Yezid I., who prevailed upon her husband to allow her to return to her tribe in the desert. "A tent swayed by the wind is dearer to me than a lofty castle . . A piece of bread in the corner of my desert home tastes better than the daintiest sweetof the I long for my home; Desert no palace may take its place." It is obvious that the immediate effect of the wars of conquest waged by the caliphs could not have been favourable to civilisation, but the destruction and loss of life inflicted in the countries that were first attacked and quickly subdued were comparatively insignificant despite the fact that these were religious wars, which, as experience has shown, are the most merciless of all struggles. - Mahomet's humane treatment of both Christians and lews, the ease with which conversion to Islam could take place—through the mere repetition of a formula—as well as regard to the finances of the state, were the chief preventives of general massacres

Commerce very soon became one of the chief sources of the power and splendour of the Mohammedan empire most important trade routes from east to west fell at one blow into the hands of the followers of the Prophet, not a grain of Indian spice could reach the western world without first passing the customs depôts of the Arabians, and the amounts of the tolls assessed lay entirely at the discretion of the caliph In earlier times trade had favoured sometimes one, sometimes another route according to circumstances, an exorbitant duty in Egypt driving commerce from the Red Sea, the route through the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates to Syria became popular merchant was enabled to avoid the risk of transportation of goods by sea by sending his caravans overland through Persia and Mesopo-

Control of Commerce tamia. It was not long before wares from the Farthest East. Chinese silk in particular, were sent through Iran, sometimes through Transoxania and across the Caspian Sea to South Russia, often by ship from China to Ceylon, there to connect with the trade routes from India to the West. The gates of commerce were in the hands of a single people; and the profits of all the customs depôts, from

Basra and Alexandria to Bokhara and Multan, flowed into the imperial treasury.

With the growth of material prosperity there was a corresponding increase of intellectual activity, which, however, did not teach its zenith until the times of the Abbassides. So long as the Syrian Arabia governed the empire, the ancient Arabian spirit reigned triumphant; and, as a result, poetry and romance were more popular than science

The army organisation had remained under the Omayyads just what it had been during the first days of the caliphate. There was practically no standing army, and the caliph's bodyguaid was of no special importance until the Abbassid dynasty-came into power. The conquered countries were rendered secure by means of military colonies, for, as a rule, the armies that won provinces for Islam immediately settled down in the new territories and continued in the service of the governor. The natural result of this wholesale emigration was a surprisingly rapid increase in the political significance of

The Arabia during the days of the first caliphs. The imilitary organisation adapted to the simple conditions of life of the Arabs, was incapable of development, and the Abbassides were compelled to form their bodyguards and standing armies out of foreign mercenaries, who finally became the rules of the empire.

The celebrity of the Arabians as breeders of horses might easily lead to the incorrect idea that the troops of the first caliplis consisted exclusively of cavalry, in truth, however, the number of serviceable horses in Arabia was never very large, and the Arabian armies were chiefly made up of infantry, and camel rides who usually fought dismounted. The backbone of the army was indeed composed of horsemen, well armed with steel helmet and chain mail, bearing lance and sabre, but the bulk of the soldiers were, at least during the early days of the caliphate, very badly off for arms,

The surprisingly rapid development of Mohammedan sea-power—the navy was constructed with the assistance of impressed inhabitants of the Syrian coast—has already been mentioned. It was fortunate for the Christian Occident that the dreaded "Greek fire" was discovered in time. It perhaps saved Constantinople from a premature fall.

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET



IV—THE MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE

THE GREAT DAYS OF BAGDAD

T was not love for a brave general or for the followers of the Prophet, whose claims to the caliphate were much more valid than those of the rulers in Damascus, but hatred that caused Irakans and Persians to unite against the Syrians. There was no lack of candidates for the empty throne; once more the numerous descendants of Ali stood in the front rank. They had never ceased to labour for the downfall of the Omayyad dynasty, and in all probability the bulk of the soldiers who fought for Irak and defeated Mervan at the Great Zab believed that they were also fighting for the house of Ali—But the curse that seemed to accompany this family of pretenders continued with undiminished mto the place of the descendants of Ah, the diplomatic, crafty grandchildren of Abbas thrust themselves, and as soon as they dated to lay aside the Usurpers mask, held fast with iron grasp of the to the longed-for office. Abbas Caliphate

was an uncle of the Prophet, a distinguished man, but of doubtful character, who had opposed his nephew until finally the scales turned in favour of the latter—He then enthusiastically welcomed Mahomet as the messenger of God Through this ancestor whose spirit had descended upon his children -the Abbassides based their claims to the caliphate. not without foundation according to Arabian law, for among the Omayyads also, not the son but the brother of a prince was looked upon as the legitimate successor. Besides, Mahomet had left behind him no male descendants, but only a daughter, the maternal ancestor of the Alı branch. The success of the one family or the other depended entirely upon the personalities of their leaders, and so far as this was concerned the Λ bbassides were greatly superior to the descendants of Ali, who never yet had succeeded in pursuing a definite policy.

Abdallah Abul-Abbas, with the honourable nickname of Al-Saffah (the man of blood), perhaps invented by himself, was of all the family the man most capable of assisting the cause of the Abbassides to victory both

by trickery and force. By him the new period of Mohammedan history was ushered in in a manner characteristic of the whole age. When the Hashmids, the name given to the opponents of the Omayyads and supporters of the true descendants of Mahomet, had taken possession of Kuta, Abdallah was at hand immediately and succeeded in winning over

Reign of then general to his cause. The the "Man commander of the Khorassan of Blood" rebels, Abu Muslim, had always been inclined to favour the Abbassides, and others, whose loyalty seemed doubtful, were put out of the way either by open force or secret assassination. Arriving in Syria, Abdallah hastened to massacre all members of the Omay yad family upon whom he could lay hands, and caused the graves of the Omayyad caliphs to be opened and their bodies mutilated. It was in vain that the tollowers of Ah rebelled in Irak, and the adherents of the Omayyads in Syria When, after a reign of four years, the "man of blood" died, the entire empire, with the exception of Spain, which then broke off for all time from the rulers of the East, was in the hands of the Abbassides

The true founder of the Abbassid dynasty was Abu Muslim, who had first caused Khorassan to revolt, and now governed this important province with its military colonies and warlike inhabitants—a man who, owing to the intolerance and bigotry in which he had been educated, had become a bloodthirsty fanatic. Not until shortly before his death did he appreciate and regiet the evil

A Fanatic
Who
Repented

A Fanatic
Who
Repented

Repented It was inevitable that such a powerful, independent personage as he should have awakened the suspicions of the caliph, who made several attempts to cause him to be assassinated. When, after the death of Abdallah, a struggle for the succession broke out between his brothers, Abu Muslim hastened up, and with the aid of his army decided the victory

in favour of Abu Jafar Mansur. But it was fated that Muslim should never return to his province. As soon as he felt his position to be secure enough, the new caliph lost no time in putting into practice the political tendencies which he had inherited from his father. Abu Muslim was entitled to court, and there cut down before the caliph's eyes. After his death a rebellion in favour of the descendants of Ah broke out in

Khorassan, and at the same time the contemporary head of the family, Mohammed, morted the Medmans to revolt, but Arabia was no longer the land from which a new dynasty could arise. Mohammed fell in battle, and the rebellion in Khorassan

was easily crushed.

During Mansur's reign the effects of the fall of the Omay yads and the termin ition of Syrian supremacy came fully into Abdallah had already chosen the light Irak for his residence—Mansur, however, did not choose the frontier town of Kufa to be the capital of his great empire, but built the city of Bagdad in the heart of Persia, on the banks of the Tigris, at a point where it is separated from the Euphrates by less than thirty miles. At first it had not been his intention to establish the capital here. He had desired to found a military town or, more correctly, a fortified camp as a headquarters for the mercenaires, with whose aid he expected to hold the restless Irakans in subjection. But Mansur could not shake himself free from the latter among whom he enjoyed great popularity – Kufa, fallen mto disfayour, was deserted, and after a few years had passed the walls of Bagdad became too narrow for the inhabitants who came streaming in from all directions. On the left bank of the Tigris a new and splendid quarter of the town sprang up, in short, whether he would or not, the caliph beheld a metropolis arising about his residence, a city Bagdad which seemed to be a reflec-Grew by tion of the Nineveh and Babylon Chance of ancient days. The attempt to found a military camp in the land which was now elevated by the Abbassid caliphs into the centre of the Mohammedan empire, was of itself sufficient to prove that a change had begun to take place in the relations between the rulers and their subjects. The Omayyads had dwelt in Damascus, in the midst of

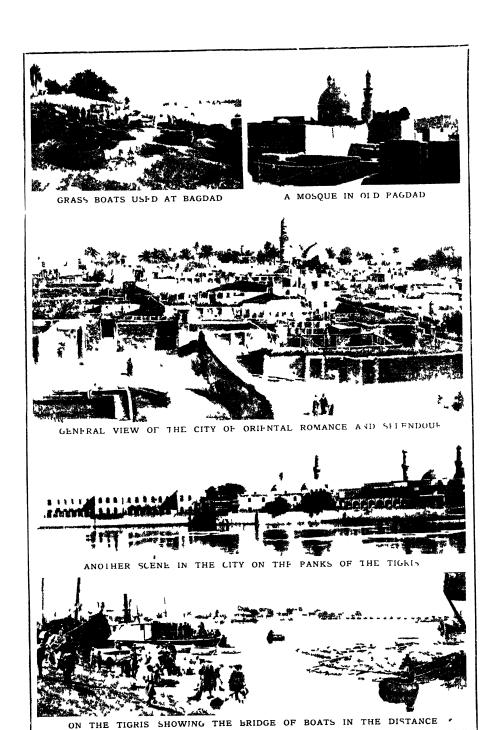
a population of pure-blooded Arabs, who were loyal to the dynasty and dangerous to the caliph only when they became divided among themselves on account of tribal prejudice and hatred. Equal loyalty was not to be expected from the inhabitants of Irak, a mixed population of which the various elements were constantly in a state of war with one another, and the Arabs of Irak were no longer to be depended upon, for they had long before become enfeebled and degenerate

Thus it became necessary for Mansin to substitute for the small bodyguard that had proved sufficient for the Omayvads a larger force, of which the nucleus was composed neither of Syrians nor of Irakans but of border troops from Khorassan and Turkish mercenaries. For the first time in the history of Western Asia the barbarous sons of the north-east strutted about the streets of Bagdad in the brilhant uniform of the life-guard, and cast longing looks on the vast treasures of the "capital of the world". Tidings of the fabulous splendour of Bagdad soon

Turks
Covet
Bagdad

reached the Turkestan steppes, and the wallke nomads, seated about their camp-files eagerly listened to stories of the luxury of the metropolis and the cowardice and lack of unity of its inhabitants told by their returned companions. There was no longer any need for the caliph to impress or to entice Turkish mercenaries into his service, already more than enough had volunteered.

The removal of the centre of the empire to the east was a result chiefly of the growing power of the Persians, who were now completely reconciled to the Mohammedan religion. During the days of the Omayyads it had been almost impossible for a Persian to attain a position of influence in the state, but under the Abbassides the number of Iranians occupying high offices constantly increased. With them a new spirit, foreign and hostile to the old Arabian character, became supreme at the caliph's court. The mixture of aristocracy and democracy, peculiar to the Arabs as a natural result of their nomadic manner of life, with clans and chiefs was entirely unknown to the Persians, who had always shown that a despotic form of government was better adapted to their national character. The Arabs of the old school



BAGDAD THE GREATEST CAPITAL OF THE MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE

had not the least comprehension for that blind idolisation of a ruler which the Persians had exhibited from the earliest times. Far from endeavouring to oppose this tendency, the Abbassides became less and less accessible to the people, and entucly gave up the immediate, almost comrade-like relation of ruler to subject in which the Omayyads had Creation stood to their faithful Syrians of the It soon became necessary for Vizirate Mansur to create a new official, a vizir, who occupied the position of intermediary between the more or less derfied caliph and the common people obvious that the vizirate cannot well be compared with the chancellorship of a European state, masmuch as the vizir was not the adviser of the caliph, but his agent in matters pertaining to external affairs. His duty was merely to execute the commands of his master, whose profound wisdom and infallible judgment decided upon all questions of administration, but who was far too august to take a personal share in the actual details of Thus the vizirate was administration one of those positions of which the significance depended entirely upon the character of the incumbent, or of the prince whom he served. Some vizits were mere lay figures, others were friends and advisers of the sovereign, in some cases, indeed, they were the true rulers of the nation, and in their hands the caliphs were little more than puppets

Although the Abbassides were willing to accede to the demands of the Iranian spirit in the matter of the vizirate, it was necessary for them to exercise the utmost caution in regard to another trait of Persian character somewhat similar to that which has already been described. movement which enabled the Abbassides to place themselves at the head of the Mohammedan empire was in the main a result of Persian activity, and had for its immediate object nothing further than the destruction of of Ali's the Omayyad dynasty in order Descendants that the true heirs and descendants of Mahomet might occupy the It is obvious, however, that the Abbassides attained their position of supremacy owing rather to their superior diplomacy and cunning than to a general recognition of their rights. Inflamed with anger, but not in the least discouraged. the descendants of Alı still awaited an

opportunity for putting forth their claims. The Abbassides themselves knew only too well that the grandchildren of the derfied son-in-law and nephew of the Prophet possessed in reality far more adherents among the inhabitants of the empire than did the house of Abbas, and even had they not realised it, the revolts that were constantly breaking out in tayour of the Alı branch would soon have taught them the obvious truth. However much the Abbassides were indebted to the various sectarians who assisted them to the caliphate, and however enthusiastic they may have been as Shutes during the years preceding their elevation to the throne, upon attaining the position of supremacy they were obliged to renounce their sect and to ingratiate themselves with the orthodox party to which the bulk of the Arabian population belonged. The first step taken in this direction by the caliph Mansur may not have been easy. in fact its immediate effect was to endanger his throne. But the permanent result of an understanding between the despotic monarchy and the State Church could not have been otherwise Caliphs than beneficial to the future Heads of Their posiof the dynasty the Church tion in regard to the orthodox party was of the highest importance to the Abbassides As caliplis they were not only the rulers of a vast empire, but also the spiritual guides of all Mohammedans, defenders of the faith as well as of the realm During the time of the Omayyads the two offices had united into one, in all regions through which the new doctrines were disseminated the temporal supremacy of the caliph was also recognised. Although the Abbassides soon perceived that they would not be able to retain their double. position in all-parts of their exceptionally extensive empire, they recognised at the same time that the religious influence which they possessed was also a means for preserving the state from dissolution, and that at least their spiritual authority could be maintained in regions where the power of their arms was no longer feared. On the other hand, dissenters had the choice either of entirely severing their connection with Bagdad through the election of a new callph, or of taking a middle course by refusing to recognise the temporal supremacy of the caliphate while subjecting themselves to its spiritual authority. Thus, under these conditions, it must have been

THE GREAT DAYS OF BAGDAD

a matter of great importance for the Abbassides to win the friendship of the orthodox party as well as of the Arabian tribes, which, notwithstanding all removals of the centre of power, still retained the political leadership of the Mohammedan world.

Nevertheless, in spite of Mansur's wise policy, the unity of the empire was not preserved entire during his reign. At the same time that the centre of the empire was transferred to the east, Spain, the farthest western province, was lost to the caliphs, not only the temporal but the

spiritual bonds of connection were completely severed. was in vain that Abdallah, "the man of blood," had endeavoured to annihilate the Omayyad family. Λ member of the tallen house Abd ur Rahman escaped to Africa after manifold adventures, and finally reached Spainwhere after long between struggles Kaisites and Kelbites, the Kaisite leader, Yusut, had obtained control of the government and driven out the Abbassid emissaries Shortly after landing, Abd ur Rahman succeeded in deposing Yusuf with the assistance of the He then established an inde-

pendent government, and, as a descendant of the unjustly deposed Omayyad dynasty, took upon himself the title of caliph, in 756.

All Mansur's attempts to destroy his rival were without effect. In general, his reign was so disturbed at home by revolts of the followers of Ah and other parties that foreign undertakings were out of the question. The caliph was forced to content himself with maintaining the frontiers of the empire, here and there perhaps succeeding in advancing them a trifle 'At all events, Mansur was successful in rendering secure the throne of the Abbassides.

It may have been that a cold, calculating, faithless character such as his was needed at this time with the assistance of the Irakans to maintain the supremacy of the Abbassides

The golden age of the Abbasside dynasty did not begin until after the death of Mansur, in 775, when his son Mahdi succeeded to the caliphate—much against the will of his uncle, who, as brother of the late caliph, had first claim to the throne according to Arabian custom. But the constantly recurring inclination of reigning caliphs to abrogate the usual form of

succession in favour of their own descendants in this case led to no serious conflict. Mahdi was the very opposite of his father both in character and disposition, but none the less just such a ruler as the Irakans most valued Under his government Bagdad began to develop into the city with which we have become acquainted through legend and tale as the most brilliant and joyful capital of the world, and at the same time the centre of Eastern literature and science

That in spite of Mahdr's mild rule there was no peace in Irak and that the old straggles of sects and parties

broke out anew, now here, now there, is self-evident from the character of the people. In like manner the warlike inhabitants of Khorassan, although they had assisted the Abbassides to the throne, nevertheless looked upon the departure of the latter from the Shitte doctunes with great displeasure. The tremendous revolt headed by the prophet Al Mukanna (the Veiled One) in Transoxama was not completely quelled until the year 780. Just as if there were not enough seets and parties already in existence. Arabian revolutionaries arose in Irak and preached a republican form of Mohammedanism



HARUN AL RASHID THE GREAT CALIPH Harun al Rashid, "the Just," came to the throne in 70.1 v p. in the golden days of the Mohammedan civilsation, and before the decay of Bagdad and the caliphate

Their principles may perhaps be considered to be the sharpest protest put torth by the Arabian national spirit against the Iranian despotism of the Abbassides. Among the Persians the old communism of the followers of Mazdak, who had embittered the life of the last of the Sassanida, appeared once more in a Mohammedan garb. The Iraman adherents of Ali finally arrived at the summit of absurdity in the deffication of their idol. They had ever been ready to recognise the Abbassid caliphs also as divine beings on account of their connection with the Prophet, until the departure of the Abbassides from the orthodox faith transformed this overwhelming veneration into hatred There is no doubt that the majority of the sects emanated from the Persians, and that they were, in a way, the outward

evidences of the severe spiritual conflict occasioned by the conversion of the Iranians to Mohammedanism and the blending of the Persian and Arabian conceptions of Acquaintance with the religions of India especially with the doctime of the transmigration of souls which found many converts in Kho- 🖥 rassan, contributed not a l little to the general \$ confusion.

In spite of the domestic A striking monument on the plans, near name is connected the disturbances Mahch was Bagdad, to Zobiede, queen of Harun at Rashid more closely with Bagdad able to undertake several successful expeditions against the Byzantines, without, however, firmly establishing his position m Asia Minor. An army to invade Spain was annihilated by the Omayyad caliph. The latter had already formed a plan of attacking Syria in order to arouse the old followers of his house to battle with the Abbassides, when, fortunately tor Mahdi, Charlemagne began his wars against the Moois in Spain. During the last years of his life Rule of the Caliph's the policy of Mahdi was guided almost entirely by his ambitious Wife wife Khizuran, who had also managed to cause her sons Musa and Harun to be named his successors. But when, in the year 785, Musa ascended the throne, taking the title of Hadi, her ambition encountered a sudden check, since he advised her with great emphasis

to busy herself with the duties of a woman and to spend more of her time reading the Koran. However, Hadr's attempt to exclude her favourite. Harun from the succession in favour of his own children led to his assassination in the next year. Harun al Rashid came to the Harun al throne without opposition, reign-Rashid. ing from 780-800. He had always the Just enjoyed great popularity, his generosity and kindliness contributing no less to the affection in which he was held by his subjects than the warlike deeds he had performed during his father's lifetime against the Byzantines Still, he had inherited the evil characteristics of his Abbassid ancestors in full measure. showing himself on more than one occasion to be both treacherous and cruel. The

high praise which tradition has accorded to his celebrated justness, perpetuated in his surname Al Rashid, "the Upright" must be accepted with restrictions However, he has now become a favourite hero of legend and Bagdad, his residence which attained its greatest prosperity during his days, now stands for that epitome of tabulous splendour which the traveller in the Orient often seeks but never finds Harun's

for the reason that its decay set in almost immediately after his death, and with the magnificence of the city the glory of the caliphate itself became less and less, antil finally it 'too vanished. On the whole, however, it may be said that the period of Harun's reign was one of domestic prosperity and of successful foreign wars. The rumous effects of the Abbassid system of government were not felt to any great extent during his lifetime. But complete domestic tranquility was not to be thought of. It was impossble for the Irakan and Persian sects to renounce their favourite pastime of quacrelling; again and again they sought to take up arms, and in Syria, Kelbites and Kaisites fell upon one another with undiminished tury. The ever-restless inhabitants of Khorassan were no less

inclined to revolt now than they had



TOMB OF HARUN'S QUEEN

THE GREAT DAYS OF BAGDAD

always been. In Africa things came to such a pass that the authority of the caliph was no longer recognised in the western provinces, and a dynasty of the house of Ali arose, refusing to be subject either to the temporal or to the spiritual influence of the Abbassides.

The campaigns of Harun against the Byzantines, although temporarily successful, were attended by no Destruction permanent results. Constantinople was harassed to the uttermost by the Bulgarians, and repulsed the armies of the caliph with the greatest difficulty, more than once the city was compelled to pay tubute to Harun. The expeditions often led by Harun himself into Asia Minor were little more than predatory raids, for the empire of the caliph was already too decayed and tattered to permit of the permanent acquisition and Mohammedanising of new provinces, in fact, soon after Harun's death the Byzantines themselves took The most noteworthy the offensive.

event of Harun's life was the destruction of the Barmecides Had it been only the murder of over-ambitious generals or governors, or merely one of the scenes of carnage that occur in endless succession throughout the history Oriental empires, the incident would scarcely be worthy of notice. But in reality the deed itself, together with the events that led up to it, may be taken as a characteristic prelude to later conditions; through it the authority of the office of mayor of the palace, which was in later times called into existdespotism as an execu-

tive and support, was for the time being abolished. Already, under the predecessors of Harun, the Barmecide family had attained to great authority; and its influence became almost unlimited when one of its members, Yahya, by timely interference succeeded in securing the throne for Harun on the death of Hadi. And when

Jafar, a son of Yahya, obtained as a result of his wisdom and charm of personality the highest favour of the caliph, and held the office of vizir with almost boundless power it seemed indeed as if a new ruling house had arisen with the Abbassides. Already the whims of Jafar were looked upon as of greater importance than those of the caliph, already measureless wealth had fallen to the share of the favoured family. when, in 803, a sudden catastrophe destroyed its hopes of further distinction and influence, and at the same time led to the annihilation of the all-powerful favourite. Had it been insight into the threatening danger that led Harun to take extreme measures much might be said in his defence, but it was in reality nothing more than an ordinary harem affair through which Jafai and his family came to their ruin. The affair was certainly not greatly to the credit of the caliph, and the deed awakened extreme dissatisfaction among the people of Bagdad. Grumbling and embittered, the ageing

Harun left the city, and resided during the last years of his life in Rakka in Mesopotamia, assiduously but vainly engaged in an attempt to obviate later quarrels as to the succession.

During the reign of Harun the Abbassid empire reached zenith of its external power and domestic culture. The foundations of prosperity during the Omayyad period, but conditions had changed. The removal of the centre of the empire from Damascus Bagdad exerted a tremendous influence on the life and morals of

were, on the whole, the same as they had been ınternal Underwood & Underwood

the Mohammedan races. Transported from the dry, strong desert air of Damascus and placed in the hot, damp plain of Irak, the civilisation of the caliphate developed more rapidly, but also more artificially, under the new conditions.

Inasmuch as the residence of the caliph was removed to the richest and most



HARUN AL RASHID'S PALACE ence by the weakening All that remains of the splendid palace of the Great and Just Caliph at his ancient capital of Bagdad.

densely-populated province of the empire, it followed that the caliphate itself gained new lustre, and at the same time became further estranged from its old Arabian simplicity. In order that the caliph night maintain the splendour and dignity of his supreme position among the countless rich merchants of Bagdad, in the midst of a population given over to pre-

of Bagdad's tension and display, it became necessary for him to arrange Court his court in a manner entirely different from that which had previously been the custom under the majority of the Omayyad rulers Magnificent palaces, bridges, mosques, artistically laid out gardens, water conduits, and public fountams aroused the wonder of his subjects no less than did the splendom of the arms and uniforms displayed by caliph and court on holidays or the plenitude of treasures accumulated in the palace of the ruler, and the lavish way in which money was freely distributed to beggars and the unemployed -- A luxurious spirit of good cheer pervaded the entire city, and, as once in the Rome of the emperors, not only the gold of the provinces, but also the native products of the various quarters of the globe were brought by commerce to the markets of Bagdad, where the silks of Clima and the furs of Siberia were heaped together with the spices of India and Arabia and the coloured leather wares of Cordova. At that time Bagdad was the centre of the world's commercial routes. which led from China to the West, from India to Byzantium and toWestern Europe.

Although there were still dangers and difficulties to be overcome, it was a golden age of commerce, the majority of the roads were in excellent condition, provided with inflestones and caravanseries, and protected by garrisons in the less-frequented regions. The great annual pilgrimages to Mecca, which united devotion and trade in a most profitable manner,

The Golden Age of Commerce

Age of Commerce

Arab merchant, as a rule, was quick enough to follow in the track of the warlike Mohammedan propaganda, sometimes indeed preceding it and appearing in the rôle both of missionary and trader. The onset of the religious wars had thrown down all the barriers which had previously encircled the lands of Western Asia like Chinese walls; the Mohammedan merchant now found in all

regions countiymen and tribal relatives who were ready to give him shelter and protection and all the assistance in their power.

Nor was the sea closed to him. Commerce on the Indian Ocean had long been in the hands of the Arabians, who penetrated as far as the Southern Chinese ports, and through their superior industry had practically ruined the once flourishing shipping trade of China. In the Eastern Mediterranean the warships of the caliph had forced back the Byzantines; in the year 826 the conquest of Crete provided Mohamm dan commerce and piracy with a base that for more than a hundred years defied every attack of the Eastern Roman emperors

The desert was as little an obstacle as the sea to the Mohammedan merchant, who was well acquainted with its dangers, and knew by what means they could be overcome. Northern Africa had scarcely been conquered before commerce with the Sudan, hitherto merely a small, unprofitable trade, began to flourish, vast caravans traversed the desert of Sahara and

Trade in the Desert to the blacks, returning home with gold-dust, ostrich feathers, and negro slaves. In all regions into which the Arab merchant penetrated arose those small settlements and colonies which even to-day exist on the Eastern African coast as precursors of Arabian civilisation and Mohammedanism.

The intellectual movement that was brought about through the extension of trade, and the consequent furtherance of the unity of the empire, were of still greater importance, still more wide-reaching in their results. Already under the Omayyads this process had begun, but not until the caliphate had been removed to Irak, where there was so great an intermingling of races, did it attain to its tull extent.

Even before the invasion of the Arabs the population of Irak had been a remarkable mixture. The ancient Babyloman race still formed the nucleus of the stationary inhabitants and the peasant class; in the cities there was a large amount of Greek blood, and finally Semites had immigrated in such numbers that during the period of the Sassanidæ bands of Jews had succeeded in keeping the land in a state of terror for months at a time. The long-



A MOHAMMEDAN TRADING CARAVAN AND PILGRIMAGE FROM CAIRO TO MECCA The desert was as little an obstacle as the sea to the Mohammedan merchant, and vast caravans traversed the deserts, while the great annual pilgrimages to Mecca united devotion and trade in a most profitable manner.

continued supremacy of the Parthians and the Sassanida had very naturally led to an extensive immigration of Iranians, who had now -also in an ethnographic sense—become the leading race, as was abundantly proved by the close connection in which Irakans and Persians appeared in later times, especially in the various revolts and rebellions.

It has already been described how the Arabians, who had dwelt in the steppe regions since the earliest times, destroyed the Iranian power at the beginning of the Mohammedan movement, increased in numbers, and founded a new state. With the establishment of the Islamite worldempire the way was opened for an unlimited blending of races; and when Bagdad became the centre of the empire as well as of commerce there was not a raceelement of the Arabian empire and its bordering lands unrepresented, no civilisation that had not exerted its influence on the medley of peoples in the world-city. Here, on a soil that had known culture from the earliest ages, arts and sciences could not fail to flourish; and for a time Bagdad was the centre of learning of the world of its day. Scholars and poets needed but the invitation of such a sovereign as Harun to flock to his court from all quarters of the empire.

In view of the present condition of Islam and the intellectual paralysis into which its followers have fallen, it is difficult to believe that such a broad and free scientific and literary life really existed during the first period of the Abbassides. But convention had not yet imposed the practically exclusive and consequently sterilising study of the Koran on all scholars. During the age of the Abbassides the Koran had not yet become the absolute guide of life; its laws were not yet so intallible, its believers not yet so fanatically credulous as they are to-day. Without scruple the caliph and his confidants gave themselves over to the full enjoyment of wine, that was so hateful to the Prophet, scarcely even troubling

to veil their scandalous conduct from the With the same freedom public eve. Harun patronised scholars and philosophers whose views would have made the hair of every orthodox Moslem stand on end. Nor could he very well have done otherwise. Irak had ever been the classic ground of sects. The caliph would have been compelled to annihilate at least two-thirds of his most intellectual subjects had he desired the orthodox belief to obtain full play. Moreover, the fact that the Abbassides had originally been adherents of the Shute heresy, and were always suspected of a relapse, was as well known in Bagdad as elsewhere. It would not have been advisable to provoke the sectarians too much, for, as it was, they were constantly on the verge of revolt

Only against the communists—the Zendikists—were laws enacted, and a formal court of inquisition established for the destruction of these stragglers of the old Mazdakite persuasion. Through this the caliph ensured himself the appliance of

the wealthy classes, who at this time, as always, were far more apprehensive of the evil effects of a raid on their purses than of any number of heretical attacks on the sacred paragraphs of the Koran.

However much economic development was impeded by the constant tumult and rebellions caused by the various sects, their existence was nevertheless of the greatest advantage to intellectual progress, owing to the large degree of tolerance which the caliph was obliged to exhibit on their account Every new idea, however daring it might be, could hope to find approbation and adherents, not only among the well-educated higher classes of Bagdad, but even among the people and at court. Doubters and sceptics were permitted publicly to expound their views by the side of the unvielding orthodox; and the numerous Christians and Jews took an active part in the labour of civilisation—according to their methods

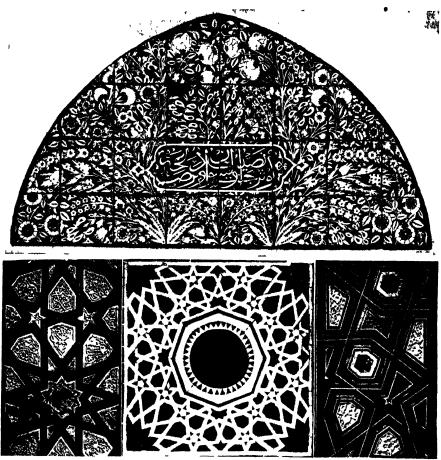
In most cases, however, the various sects and religions were nothing more than the intellectual expression of the differences of race, which indeed were the true foundation of the development of rapid - Irakan civilisation. The characteristics of the different peoples who came together in Bagdad supplemented each other in a marvellous way the sharp, somewhat matter-offact intellect of the Arabs became united at a most favourable moment with the unbridled creative imagination of the Iranian, and conceptions of the harmony of early Greek life, as well as of the mystic depths of Hindu thought, were awakened by the representatives of these two

opposite poles of Aryan culture. Hellenism, represented by the immortal works of its greatest age, was the basis of all scientific activity; and the writings of Aristotle, at a time when they were forgotten in Western Europe, became the oracle of the Mohammedan Nevertheless the products of Greek intellectual life did not achieve popularity as rapidly as one might have expected. Direct translations of Greek texts were not made until the reign of the caliph Mamun (813-833); until this time Persian translations as old as the



THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARABS

A beautiful Arabian fountain in Jerusalem.



THE DECORATIVE BEAUTY OF MOHAMMEDAN ART

The preference for a superfluity of detailed ornament shown in Mohammedan ait of which some fine examples are given here is a result of Mahomets injunction against pictures and images which forced the artists to express themselves in decoration. The panel of tiles at the top is from a Damascus mosque. Below in the middle is shown an Arabian marble mosaic while on each side is a carved arabesque from a Cairo pulpit door

days of the Sassanida*had been found sufficient for all purposes Thus in this respect, at least, the period of Harun al Rashid was not the highest point of

development.

The chief branches of learning patronised by the caliph were naturally such as were especially congenial to the Arabian spirit—that is to say, those requiring intellectual penetration rather than powers of invention, for example, philology and grammar, logic and thetoric, religious dogmatics and jurisprudence. It is scarcely necessary to mention that mathematics also were extremely popular among the Arabs. Another peculiarity of the Arabs, their delight in tribal traditions and in endless genealogies of families, required

only the influence of Greek models in order to become transformed into history. knowledse of geography allo developed as a result of historical investigation as well as of the great commercial activity of the period. It is characteristic that of these two branches of science, the latter developed more freely and in greater tranquillity, history was never able to emancipate itself from the bonds of partiality for particular princes and sects. Chemistry was rarely pursued independently for its own sake, being looked upon for the most part as a means for the artificial production of gold, nevertheless, some of the best work of the period was done by the Arabians in this branch of natural science. Finally, medicine, furthered by the translation of Greek handbooks, attained perhaps not to a completely free development, but at least to a very advanced state of progress.

The idea that attention should not be devoted exclusively to a single branch of knowledge, but that men should endeavour to obtain a more general education Height of through the study of several sciences, was not unknown to Arabian the Mohammedan world Culture the eighth and ninth centuries. Already during the reign of Mansui a school had been established in Bagdad m which the Arabian language, the art of poetry and astronomy were taught. The effort to attain distinction in science on the foundation of an all-round intellectual training was not confined to Bagdad alone Focuses of learning arose at the courts of governors and m the prosperous commercial centres; the activity of trade in material goods aided the exchange of intellectual products A large number of the scholars and writers of the day were in the habit of wandering from city to city, from court to court; the world was open to them, and they were always certain of being received everywhere with enthusiasm. Not until last century did the Western world, as a result of vastly improved methods of communication, acquire a unity analogous to that of the Arabian empire under the Abbassides \cdot nevertheless, the possession of a universally understood written and spoken language rendered the culture of the Abbassid state in many ways superior to that of modern Europe.

Among the arts music was zealously cultivated, although none of the great Mohammedan races have attained to more than mediocrity in a province that seems to be the peculiar property of the Western Arvans. Whatever talent existed for the plastic arts was restricted, in view of

for the plastic arts was restricted, in view of Sculpture and Painting Forbidden that the latter were pursued only the more industriously since the way was closed to the highest endeavours of sculptor or painter. The preference for a superfluity of detailed ornament is one of the results of this command of the Prophet—an injunction that could have been uttered only by a typical representative of

the matter-of-fact, logical, unimaginative Arabian race.

Literature alone was permitted to develop in complete freedom in the empire of the caliphs, and even that was unhampered only in so far as the airly creations of poetic genius could not easily be gagged and checked; satire still continued to be one of the most dreaded weapons employed in the struggle of parties and sects. But the old unconstrained spirit of Arabian poetry had ceased to exist at the time of Harun, although during his reign verse-writing had become a manua and the poet an indispensable court functionary.

In spite of many weaknesses, the civilisation of the Mohammedans during the caliphate—at a period when Europe was first beginning to recover from the general destruction that followed the Teutonic migrations—cannot be looked upon as other than the guardian of the traditions of better days. It was due to Moslem culture alone that the progress of civilisation was not wholly interrupted at a time when the energy of the Southern European

Bagdad a Reflection of Babylon many to restore the institutions which they themselves had destroyed but a few years before. The prosperity of Bagdad was a fleeting but by no means unworthy reflection of those earlier days, when for centuries the only civilisation of the world was that which flourished on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The culture of the Arabians was not without its influence on Europe; the young nations of the Middle Ages did not remain long unacquainted with the splendour and polish of the caliph's empire. It was the conquest of the Pyrenean Peninsula that led to a close relationship between the most powerful rulers of the West, the Frankish kings, and the Abbassides. Inasmuch as the Omayyad caliphs in Spain were the rivals of the Abbassid princes in Bagdad, it was natural that the Christian states of Europe should become the allies of the Embassies were exchanged as latter. early as the time of Pepin. The negotiations of Charlemagne with Harun al Rashid made an especially deep impression on the Occidental world, although followed by no practical results.

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF **MAHOMET**



DECAY OF THE CALIPHATE

PASSING BAGDAD AND PERSIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

HARUN may have foreseen that the loss of Spain was a sure sign of approaching decay; and it was perhaps with a conscious intention of making the best of an unavoidable situation that shortly before his death, in 800 AD he resolved to divide the temporal power of the empire among his three sons, Emin, Mamun, and Kasim, placing the ecclesiastical sovereignty, however, in the hands of the eldest alone, thus to gird the whole with an indivisible spiritual bond. In accordance with this plan, Emin was promised the caliphate, together with the provinces of Irak, Southern Syria, Arabia, and Africa : Mamun, the entire east, and Kasim, Mesopotamia and Northern Syria But almost immediately after Harun's death, at Tus during an expedition to Khorassan, his plans regarding Emm were rendered abortive, for the latter hastened back to Bagdad at the head of the army and laid claim to absolute dominion over the whole empire.

His brother Mamun, at first Struggle m secrecy, later openly, reof the nounced allegiance to him, and Brothers took up a strong position in

Khorassan, In truth, behind this apparently dynastic struggle were concealed the racial antipathies which sooner or later were to destroy the unity of the Mohammedan empire. Emin's vizir, who represented the power behind the throne, was a champion of the orthodox Arabian party; Mamun's vizir was a Persian, and a believer in the mystical doctrines of the

The result of the struggle was apparent from the very beginning. As an Abbasside, Emin could look for no assistance from the Syrians; the latter indeed, revolted on their own account. Thus he tound support only in the untrustworthy Irakans and in the state troops, unfortunately chiefly composed of mercenary Khorassanians and Turks, who already, by reason of their increasing consciousness of independence, were more of a danger to him than to his enemies. Defeated by Tahir, Mamun's general, they returned to Bagdad full of resentment, and it was only by an increase in pay that they could be induced to remain faithful to the cause of Emm; but in the long run these undisciplined guards proved as little able as the cowardly Irakans to withstand the advance of the warlike inhabitants of Khorassan. After a war that lasted Unreliability four years Emin was finally of the besieged in his capital and

Mercenaries

reduced to the utmost straits by Mamun's Persian generals, Tahir and He finally surrendered to the latter but before he could be brought to a place of safety was attacked and killed by the command of Tahir in 813.

In the meantime Mamun had remained quietly in Mery, and even now showed no intention of marching to Bagdad, however much his presence was needed there. Indeed, the general state of confusion seemed to have increased rather than diminished on the death of Emm. The Arabian party still continued to offer a stubborn resistance to the Khorassanians, and the followers of Ali once more endeavoured to make good their claims by taking possession of Kufa and Mecca Finally, the mhabitants of Bagdad revolted, embittered because of the losses sustained by trade owing to the absence of the court.

At length, on the advice of Fazl, Mamun made a tardy attempt to restore order through an alliance of the Abbassides with the descendants of Ah, and married his daughter to one of the latter, whom he

named as his successor. But Revolt their mutual hatred remained bas deeply rooted in both parties; Rebellion the Abbassid family, greatly offended at the elevation of one of their most deadly enemies, chose another of their race to be callph in place of Mamun. The latter finally hastened to Bagdad and experienced little difficulty in conquering the rebels, but was compelled to give up

his attempt to reconcile the two families; the green banner of the Alı family, which had already waved triumphantly at the head of his army, was once more replaced by the black flag of the Abbassides. Thus Mamun freed himself from his Persian advisers, and at the same time won back the confidence of the Irakans, only again to give free Caliph's preference his Double-Persians. But the national dealing differences and antagonisms had already become too acute to be smothered by any double-dealing on the part of the caliph. The inhabitants of Khorassan were loyal to Mamun so long as he remained in their midst and adhered to the principles of the Shutes; but after his return to Bagdad they lost all interest in Tahir, to whom was given the control of Khorassan, his native province, succeeded without difficulty in establishing an almost independent government. Duiing the same period an insurrection led by Babek, the sectarian, broke out in Northern Persia; it was fundamentally a reaction of the Iranians against the Arabians and the orthodox, and doubly dangerous for the reason that Babek succeeded in forming an alliance with Byzantium.

All the while that the eastern provinces were breaking away from the empire, the state of affairs in the west had gone from bad to worse Harun al Rashid himself had been able to retain only a nominal supremacy over the northern coast of Africa, and had been powerless to prevent the governor of Tunis, Ibrahim ibn al Aglab, from becoming practically independent and establishing the hereditary monarchy of the Aglabites in 800. Even earlier, in the year 700, a dynasty of the descendants of Ali, the Edusites, had ansen in Morocco. A revolt now followed in Egypt; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Mamun succeeded, by personal interference, in tem-Revolts in porarily restoring order. Africa incipient decay of the empire and Egypt of the caliphs had no immeeffects on the diffusion of diate ill Mohammedanism, for the Aglabites conquered Strily during the reign of Mamun, and at about the same time Crete fell into the hands of Andalusian corsairs. After the separation from the caliphate, Spain may be said to have arrived at the summit of her prosperity under the Omayyads

The reign of Mamun was, on the whole, favourable to the development of Mohammedan civilisation. An admirer of the progressive doctrines of the Shutes, he was also interested in the serious discussion of scientific questions; and owing to his influence a large number of Greek works were translated into Arabic. He seems especially to have valued the earlier literature of Persia

Although Mamun was not lacking in the evil traits of character peculiar to his family, he was nevertheless beyond doubt intellectually the ablest of the Abbassides, and in religion as well as in science the champion of a movement that sought to open up the road to free development. His endeavours were frustrated, owing to the opposition of the old believers, whose views could not be brought into haimony with the Persian-Shute conception of life, as well as to the profound antagonism that ever exists between despotism and independent investiga-From the time of Manium the spiritual power as well as the temporal power of the caliphate steadily decreased.

After Mamun's death in 833, Decav Mutassim, his successor, made of the a despairing attempt to keep Empire his unruly subjects in check by means of an army of mercenaries of foreign extraction, in spite of the fact that on his accession he had only with the greatest difficulty succeeded in crushing a military revolt. The number of mercenaries was gradually increased to The caliph soon felt his position 70,000 m Bagdad to be no longer secure, and removed his residence to Samarra, a few hours north of Bagdad, the foundations of the empire became weaker and weaker.

The further lustory of the decline of the Mohammedan empire was little more than a barren, monotonous succession of sectarian revolts, military rebellions, and ecclesiastical quarrels, interspersed with vain attempts to restore order on the part of the caliphs.

The latter became more and more the creatures of their vizirs; province after province awakened to independent life, and one governor after another founded a new hereditary dynasty; though an occasional caliph succeeded in turning the tide of temporal and spritual power in his own favour, winning back something that had been lost, or in temporarily checking the course of decay.

In regard to this struggle of the caliphs against fate it was significant Mutavakkil (847-861) forsook the doctrines of the Shutes, turned from the followers of A'ı, and joined forces with the orthodox party, the Sunnites, as they were then called. The Sunna, or supplement to the Koran, composed of authentic traditions, was compiled during the first half of the ninth century, and soon became the palladium of the orthodox believers; it was entirely discredited by the Shutes, whose allegorical mystic interpretation of the sacred book was naturally not to be brought into harmony with the belief of the orthodox. In favouring the orthodox party, Mutavakkil returned to the original policy of the Abassides; indeed, he went further, masmuch as he revived the severe measures of

Omar against the Jews and Christians. With this change of religious front was naturally combined an attempt once more to reign with the assistance of the Arabs and to dispense with the services of the mercenaries.

But the unfortunate division of the Arabian people into two parties again led to disastrous results; the Yemenites preferred to join forces with the Persians, and the Kaisthen work together for the Who ruled during the last years of Bag-dad, forsook the intellectual party and aan, iorsook in medical and increase of the lost became orthodox, attempting without the assistance of influence of their race.

Thus the power of the mercenaries constantly mereased; and the Turks became only the more dangerous as the empire diminished in area and in wealth

Nevertheless, a few years of prosperity were still left to the empire. During the reign of Mutamid (870-892), whose office was in reality administered by his more capable brother Muvaffak, the caliphate Last Years once more returned to power and regained several of the lost of the provinces. This advance in Empire general welfare continued until

the death of the caliph Muktafi, in 908, when a new period of confusion set in. Already at that time events of greater importance took place in the various independent or semi-independent provinces than in the capital of the empire. It

finally became apparent that the strength of the central government could be increased only through an alliance with, or, indeed, through subjection to, a foreign power. The desire for independence developed earliest in Persia. Gradually the east became wholly inde-The East pendent, or, at the most, nomi-Becomes Independent nally recognised the spiritual supremacy of the caliph. In the year 876 affairs had already come to such a pass that the Siffaride Yakub ibn Laith made war on the caliph and advanced to within a few miles of Bagdad. The bravery, however, of the more loyal of the Samanides ensured at least for

the time being, the safety of the capital. At the same time that the Saffarides were menacing Bagdad the whole of Here the governor Egypt was in uproar

Ahmed ibn Tulun had declared his independence; and to all appearance it seemed that the dynasty of the Tulunid's would become a permanent institution Tulun whom we must credit with a thorough knowledge of the political situation, took possession of Syria and the line of the Euphrates. m fact, he even made an attempt to extend his influence over the caliph himself, in order to procure tor his followers the most important positions at court, and thus indirectly to become the head of

tle Tirks the empire. But his plans were defeated by the interference of Muyaffak, After Ahmed's death Syria was regained, and in the year 904 the Abbassides managed once more to take possession of Egypt, which they retained until the appearance of the Fatemides

The authority of the caliph was badly shaken, even in the provinces which were situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. The democratic-religious party of the Kharijites, who displayed an almost indestructible vitality, established an independent state in Northern Mesopotamia, where the Arabian element preponderated, and where the Abbassides had never been popular, with Mossul as its centre. When, in the year 804, the callph succeeded in becoming to a certain degree master of these rebels, it was only



to be confronted by a new danger—the family of the Haindanides were given the governorship of Mesopotamia, and managed not only to secure the dignity as a hereditary right, but took possession of a portion of Northern Syria in addition. It was fortunate for the caliphs that the Hamdanides did not immediately strive for absolute independence, but sought to avoid a complete break with the central power, to which in time of necessity there is no solve to the control of

they were obliged to turn for assistance, masmuch as their province was situated on the frontier, and constantly exposed to the attacks of the Byzantines. In spite of all, however, hostilities twice—in 913 and again in 935—arose between the

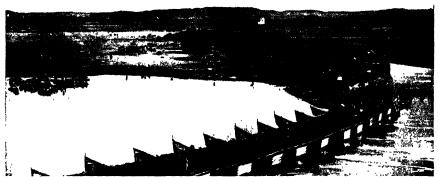
Hamdanides and the caliphs.

The Hamdanides arrived at their period of greatest prosperity during the second half of the tenth century, when Saif ed-Dauleh (Sword of the Empire) occupied Haleb and made war on the Byzantines, while his brother Hasan, or Nasii ed-Dauleh, resided in Mossul Soit was an ideal Arab - or Saracen, as the Christians now began to call the Moslems-a man of great courage and munificence, possessed of considerable poetic gifts, an enthusiastic patron of the arts and sciences, but also inspired by the aident desire for power, and capable of ruthless barbarity Arabians of Syria, who looked upon the Irakans and their caliph with the utmost contempt, found in him a new champion and guide. But the Hamdanides were unable permanently to maintain their precarious position between Byzantines, Irakans, and the Fatemides, who were now steadily advancing from the south.

The Fatemide conquest of Egypt, which took place during the course of the tenth century, was only a part, although perhaps the most important part, of a great religious-political sectarian movement that spread rapidly during these times of confusion, in opposition to the A New caliphs, who had once more World Religion joined the orthodox party. The Ismailians, a sect named after a great-grandson of Ali, were in reality nothing more than a branch of the Shiftie group, and, like the Shutes, arose among the Persian Mohammedans. The Ismailians consciously endeavoured, through the blending of Islamite, Zoroastrian, and Christian doctrines to create a new worldreligion, and in a certain measure strove

to revive the great work of Manes; thus they were ensured a prominent position and countless adherents during a time when the orthodox form of Mohammedanism seemed to have lost all its powers of obtaining new converts, as well as to have torfeited the confidence of the masses, owing to its alliance with the unpopular The allegorical inter-Abbassid caliphs pretation of the Koran, already received with great enthusiasm by the Shiites, the promotion of mystic aits, and the assertion that the true spiritual head of the faithful dwelt concealed from the eyes of men and communicated with the people only through his messengers, led the most varied elements of the Mohammedan population to embrace new doctrines of which the political tendency was naturally directed against the Abbassides The great danger to which the caliphate was exposed by this movement lay in the fact that owing to the wide diffusion of its doctrines the dissatisfied of all sects and parties assembled under the Ismailian banner, nor was its propaganda confined to the Iranians alone, as was that of the true Shutes Serious rebellions of the Ismailians occurred first of the Ismailians in Irak and in Arabia, where the rebels were usually called Karmates, after their earliest leader. Several times the sacred cities of Arabia were in their pessession; Bahrein and Yemama were conquered, and from the lastnamed province emissaries were sent to Africa in order to spread the new doctrines among the Berbers In the year 906 the Karmatic disturbances were at least temporarily quelled; but the spark of insurrection had blown over to Africa, and, although it appeared at first to have been extinguished, it soon enkindled there the flame of destruction—In the year 900 the Aglabites had found it necessary to oppose the Ismailians by force of aims, for after many failures the sectarians had finally succeeded in gaining over enthusiastic adherents among the Berbers, led by the Karmatic emissary Abu Abdallah. Not long afterwards the rule of the Aglabites, weakened by internal dissensions, came to an end, and in the year 908 the capital, Kairuan, surrendered.

Obeid Allah, a descendant of Ali, now arose as prophet or Mahdi, and was placed at the head of the newly established empire. Abu Abdallah may have hoped that the spiritual and temporal ruler



THE MOUND OF ANCIENT NINEVEH AS SEEN FROM THE MODERN CITY OF MOSSUL

appointed by him would be contented with the rôle of puppet; but in this he was disappointed. Obeid Allah seized the rems of government with powerful hand, deseated all who opposed him, and enlarged his kingdom by the conquest of Morocco On his death, in the year 934, the new dynasty of the Fatemides was firmly established. His successor took possession of Egypt in 968, where already, in 933, the family of the Ikshidites had become almost entirely independent of the caliph. Subsequently a prince of the orthodox party, who recognised neither the Abbassides in Bagdad nor the Omayyads m Cordova, resided as spiritual head at Cano, or Fostat. In the meanwhile new rebellions had been aroused by the Kaimates in Arabia, Itak, and Syria, through which the caliphate became greatly weakened; and although the rebels were constantly defeated, they held themselves

 at least in Bahrein and Yemama—in constant readmess to take up arms agam. Not one of the various provinces of the Mohammedan empire was now in the immediate possession of the callph; the loyalty even of the portions of Irak adjacent to the capital was questionable; and the former executive and administrative powers of the supreme ruler were now in the hands of the vizirs and Turkish generals. Thus it came about that the Abbassides were finally compelled to throw themselves upon the protection of a newly-established Persian dynasty, being thereby enabled to prolong their existence, although at the cost of the remainder of then independence. This dynasty was that of the Buides, who originally came from Tabaristan, and claimed descent from the Sassanid emperors. The Buides had taken advantage of the confusion in Persia, and had occupied Farsistan,



MOSSUL, THE MOHAMMEDAN CITY, FROM NINEVEH, THE ASSYRIAN CAPITAL During the days of Bagdad's decline the Kharijites, a democratic-puritanical sect, who had always been a menace to the caliphate, established an independent state in Mesopotamia with Mossul, where Nineveh stood, as its centre.

the centre of ancient Iran; soon afterward, in 934, they took possession of Chusistan, thus approaching dangerously near to Bagdad. However, during the years immediately following, Bagdad was left to its own troubles, the chief question seemed to be, whether the leaders of the mercenaries, the Hamdandes, or the

Ikshidites, should finally succeed Persians in becoming the "protectors" of the caliph, and thereby ob-Rule in Bagdad tain for themselves the position of supreme authority over the empire. The Buides, then under the command of Mo'ızz ed-Daulat, made the most of their opportunities for conquest; for while the Ikshidites and Hamdanides were quarrelling with one another, and Bagdad was the scene of insurrections which even the Turkish guards were unable to overcome, a Buidian army advanced on The vizir of the caliph the capital Mustakfi fled, and Mo'ızz installed himself as temporal ruler at the side of the caliph, to whom only his spiritual supremacy now remained.

The most prosperous period of Buidian rule was the reign of 'Adhud ed-Daulat, who took possession of the greater part of Persia and the lands of the Hamdanides in Mesopotamia and Syria. But on his death, in 982, decay set in and was hastened by family disputes. The unfortunate custom of dividing the property of the reigning house led to constant struggles for the throne. It thus came about that Mahmud of Ghazni (998–1050) managed to rob the Buides of their possessions in Iran, that the Fatemides occupied Syria, that independent rulers arose in Northern Mesopotamia, even in the midst of Irak, and that finally Buides and Abbassides descended together to the same low estate into which the caliphate had already fallen when first assailed by Mo'ızz ed-Daulat. In Bagdad the Shutic adherents of the Buides and the Sunnitic-Turkish

Persia in the Later Middle Ages mercenaries fought with one another continually in the Streets, causing the utmost confusion and tumult. Finally the Seljuks destroyed the last remains of Buidian authority, and took into their own hands the government of the empire. Here we must turn to the developments which had been taking place beyond the Tigris, since Persia was never fully assimilated by the Arab conquerors. It ha? been a severe blow to the Persian

people when their state, and at the same time their ancient religion, fell before the lances of the Arabians and the doctrines of a visionary Bedouin. The blow was only the more severe because entirely unexpected, inflicted by a race that had before scarcely been deemed worthy of consideration -- that had even been despised because of its lack of political unity and its poverty. "We have always looked upon you as of no account," said the unlucky Yesdigerd III, to the ambassadors of Omar, "until to-day Arabs were known in Persia only as merchants and beggars. Soon afterward these merchants and beggars were the masters of Iran, the bulk of the Persian people were forced to accept the new religion, and a small minority, who for many years still continued here and there to offer a desperate resistance, succeeded only in causing many regions to become almost desolate, and in still further reducing the vitality of the Iranian Farsistan, the ancient land of the Achamenida and Sassanida, suffered most during the struggle, nor did the Mohammedans succeed in establishing The most their religion there Guarding stubborn opposition, however the Asian was that of the rude moun-Frontier tain folk who dwelt along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea in the districts known as Deilem and Tabaristan. One of the most difficult tasks of the Persians had been that of guarding the mountain passes which led into Central Asia, in order to dam back the flood of nomads that constantly threatened to mundate the plains of the south-west. The empire of the caliphs had now to take this labour upon its own shoulders, and, in truth, the Arabian rulers were conscious of their duty from the very first. They found the frontier country of Khorassan already in a highly developed state of military organisation, and sought, by substituting military service for tribute among the dwellers of the borders, to render the frontier troops still more efficient. In addition, entire Arabian tribes were transplanted to Khorassan, where they have in part maintained themselves to the present time, free from all admixture of foreign blood. Moreover, there was always the possibility of forming new divisions of troops out of nomadic mercenaries, with the help of whom other nomadic races could be kept in check and even pursued into their desert strongholds. The military



THE DESERT RANGERS OF ARABIA

forces at the disposal of the governor of Khorassan corresponded to the area of his province, which, although it did not always remain the same, included the greater part of Eastern Iran, together with Transoxania. In no other province of the empire were so many attempts made by ambitious governors to establish an independent dynasty as in Khotassan. It was due chiefly to the Iranian Spirit.

long time the many movements which began here were not, as a rule, directed against the caliphate and the Arabian nation. But this influence became less and less the more the Iraman national spirit arose, and the framan people prospered under the beneficent effects of Arabian legislation and domestic policy. Although the Iranians were defeated in the political field, and for a long time rendered powerless as foes in arms, they nevertheless engaged in a spiritual conflict with the Mohammedan doctrines which had been forced upon them, no longer openly, it is true, but by adjusting Islam to then cwn requirements they sought to transform it into a new belief, corresponding more nearly to the Persian national character. The abstinence and simplicity taught by Islam and its Prophet found no more favour among the imaginative Persians, who had long been acquainted with the philosophies of Greece and India, as well as with the lofty thoughts of Manes and Mazdak, than it had previously gained among the true Arabs, to whose semidemocratic tribal form of society and independent spirit it was little adapted. Nevertheless, we find that at a very early period the Persians were the adherents of all parties that sought to place the true descendants of the Prophet on the throne, at first as enthusiastic followers of Ali, later as the true victors in the struggle that ended in the supremacy of the Abbassides

The Koran At the same time, however, the religious differences became more and more apparent. While the Arabs were engaged in compiling the Sunna, the Koran itself became, in the hands of the Persian theologians, more and more a book of mysteries, of which the clucidation was possible only to especially favoured persons, and in the secret depths of which evidence was sought for the strangest of doctrines. Complete harmony between the various Iranian

sects that thus arose was naturally out of the question; and many of them developed a remarkable power for winning converts. The Ismailians, the far-reaching effects of whose doctrines were felt even in Egypt, where a dynasty was placed on the throne through their influence, shook the caliphate at Bagdad to its very foundations, and their last branch developed into the terrible Assassins (1100-1250), whose name was derived from hashishin, "eater of hashish."

The rise of religious differences was followed by an increase of political disumon—not a sudden rupture, but a gradual modification of existing conditions—leading in time to a complete change of tendency. When after the death of Harun al Rashid, Mamun dethroned his brother Emin with the help of Khorassanian and Persian generals, and after long hesitation decided to remove his residence from Mery to Bagdad, it was well known that only the presence of the caliph could preserve Khorassan to the empire, and that chiefly for this reason he had remained for so long a time on the eastern frontier. By hand-

How Ing over the province, together with Pushang, the
capital, to his most deserving
general Tahir, and by permitting the latter to establish a semi-independent dynasty Mamun chose the best way
open to him for escape from a difficult
position the Tahirides continued to acknowledge at least the spiritual supremacy
of the caliph and for a long time prevented
the rise of disloyal houses

Division of possessions and family quarrels gradually undermined the power of the Tahmides; finally, when Yakub ben Laith arose in Seistan, first as a robber chieftain, later as a vuler of the province. and at last as a conqueror, the descendants of Tahir were compelled to submit to their tate, and were succeeded by this upstart son of a tinman, who had raised himself to the position of an independent sovereign, founding the Saffarid dynasty in 872. The new ruler was a serious menace to the caliphate, and apparently resolved to put an end to the Abbassid government. The caliph Mutamid endeavoured in vain to avert the threatening danger. That he freely offered Yakub the governorship of Khorassan was of as little avail as was the solemn cursing of the rebels from all the pulpits of the empire, which made no impression upon them at all; and when the

army entrusted with the defence of Bagdad met with a complete defeat, it seemed that the fate of Mutamid was scaled. However, the Abbassid ruler was saved by the sudden death of Yakub in 878. Yakub's successor, Amru, acknowledged the supremacy of the caliph and led his army back into Khorassan, thereby missing an opportunity most favourable to the fortunes of his family

In the meantime the Samanides, a new ruling house of Turkish descent, arose in Transoxama, and it was necessary for Mutamid only to ally himself with them in order to bring about the fall of the Saffarides in Khorassan. In the year 900 Ami u lost a battle and at the same time his province to the Samanide leader Ismail, who succeeded him as governor, without coming into conflict with the caliphate. On the death of Ismail, in 907—the caliph acknowledged his son Ahmed H. as legitimate successor to the governorship managed to drive the rest of the Saffarides out of Seistan, as well as to take possession of the lands of a dynasty of the house. of Ah, which had settled down in Tabaristan. At about this time the already

The Buide mentioned house of the Buides, Regents of or Dailemites, arose to power. the Caliph Samanides and Dailemites together ruled the greater part of Persia for the space of a century, although there was obviously no lack of minor independent states in the neighbourhood. loyalty at first shown to the caliph by the Samanides did not prevent them from making war upon him subsequently; the Buides, however, remained faithful, and finally succeeded in insimuating themselves into the court at Bagdad as temporal regents at the side of the caliph. The fall of the house of the Samanides soon gave them control of Khorassan also.

The whole of Eastern Iran did not fall immediately into the hands of the Buides. During the days of the Samanide dynasty a small state arose at Ghazni in Afghanistan under the rule of a Turkish house which at once made preparations for enforcing its claims on the heritage of the Samanides. The warlike Sultan Mahmud, who ascended the throne at Ghazni in 908, experienced small difficulty in overthrowing the Buidian government in Khorassan and Rai, so that finally nothing remained to the Buides but Irak, Farsistan, and Kerman. Mahmud did not follow up his campaign against the west, but found it

more advantageous to maugurate a series of invasions of India, and there to extend the power of Islam at the sword's point. For this reason Mahmud of Ghazni occupies a very important position in the history of the diffusion of the Moslem faith, while his reign also marks a period of reawakening of the Iraman national spirit. With his acces ion a new phase Mahmud of Ghazni of culture began. Persian During the reigns of the first in India Abbassid emperors the Mohammedan possessions in India, none of which extended very fair beyond the eastern banks of the Indus, were tolerably closely united to the empire—The influence of the caliph was supreme in both Multan and Mansurah, the two chief commercial towns, while the remainder of the region belonging to the Mohammedans was governed by princes who paid tribute to the caliphate.

Even before the days of Mahmud, his father, Nasu ed-din Sabuktegin, defeated the most powerful of the Punjab princes, who at that time also occupied the Iranian passes and the valley of Kabul-descended into the valley of the Indus, and laid waste the whole region in his march. Immediately after his accession, in 998, Mahmud began to extend these conquests. His victorious campaigns extended as far east as the Jumna and southward to Somnath and Surat, and were of the utmost importance to the later history of India, masmuch as the sultan looked upon the conversion to Islam of all subjected provinces as his chief duty.

From another point of view, Mahmud's attitude in regard to religion and politics laid the foundations for many a later historical development. His was a great and simple nature, such as is not untrequently found among the dwellers of the steppes. Clearly he was no friend to that fantastic, mystical, allegoric faith into which the doctrines of Mahomet had been transformed by the Iranian priesthood, and he was nothing less than a declared enemy to Orthodoxy οf the remains of the ancient Mahmud Zoroastrian religion, of which there were still many champions in his state. Mahmud showed himself throughout to be an enthusiastic adherent of the orthodox faith, a Sunnite of the purest water. Hence he was a friend of the caliphate, the spiritual supremacy of which he willingly acknowledged, without, however, feeling dependent upon it in

regard to temporal affairs. He prevented the Shites from establishing a separate Iranian Church, brought the Eastern Iranians back to the banner of orthodoxy for all time, and laid the foundations for that division of the Persian people into two religious sects which still exists to the present day. Neither the glory

accorded to Mahmud by the A Great Mohammedan world for his Patron of zealous adherence to the Literature orthodox faith. the celebrity of his sangumary wars can be compared to the services which, in spite of his love of conflict and his Turkish-Sunnitic inclinations, he rendered civilisation through his furtherance of the intellectual life of Iran Under his protection the first fruits of Persian literature were harvested, and it was he who uttered the call that awakened the ancient Iranian epic from its slumber

When the power of the Arabian conquerors began to fail in the East, then language, too, fell more and more into disuse, and the speech of the subjected Persians once more made its appearance and even won friends at the courts of governors and princes. The more the East developed in independence, the prouder the folk of Iran became of their ancient celebrity, the louder and freer resounded the Aryan tongue. Inasmuch as the rulers began to seek for popular support, and to adapt themselves to the peculianties of the Iranian people, they soon became aware of the magnificent store of legend which had been faithfully transmitted from father to son by the simple dwellers of the mountains and steppes.

But although the poets of Iran now undertook with reawakened powers the renovation of their ancient but shapeless literature, they were compelled to admit that the school of the Arabians had not been without value to them, that the union of harmony and force which caused their work to be celebrated throughout the Eastern world resulted from the combination of

Iranian inagination with Arabian clearness and insight. Mahmud of Ghazni, however, who had taken possession of the lands of his predecessors by force of arms, also inherited from them a desire to foster and protect the germs of native literature; he rewarded the poets with a generous hand, and invited the best authors and scholars

of the country to his court. No sovereign has ever surpassed or even equalled him as a patron of literature. The number of poets by whom he was surrounded at Ghazni did not fall short of 400; and masmuch as Mahmud selected one from their midst to be laureate, appointing him judge of the poems submitted in competitions for prizes, he succeeded in creating a centre of artistic life.

Many great works were produced at the court of Mahmud; but the greatest of all was certainly the reconstruction of the ancient Iranian hero epics. The Saffarides and Samanides had already laid the foundations for such a work; and by means of large rewards, as well as by dint of his own unsparing effort, Mahmud was able to add largely to the store already in existence.

Finally the thought occurred to Mahmud that it would be well to collect all the fragments of epics, the myths, and semi-historical traditions, and recast them into one huge work. The language chosen was necessarily the Persian, which had already supplanted Arabic even in the law-courts and government offices. None of the numerous attempts made at first were satisfactory to the

National Brit Were Satisfactory to the sultan; finally, good fortune led him to an author under whose hand the fragmentary raw material developed into an imperishable memorial of the ancient heroic spirit of Itan. This was Abul Kasim Mansur, generally known as Firdusi

Firdusi was the first as well as the most brilliant representative of the reawakened Iranian spirit; he was acquainted with the Arabian language no less thoroughly than with the Persian, and since his earliest youth had been an enthusiastic admirer of the heroic age of Iran and its traditions. After twelve years' labour Firdusi completed the "Shahnameh," the Book of Kings, in the seventy-first year of his life, 1011.

In Firdusi's works the spirit of the Iranian people, which had vanished at Cadesia, once more arose; an intellectual unity of race was again created, and therewith, as it appears, the way was prepared for political unity also. But when Mahmud died, in 1030, the prosperity of his dynasty abruptly ended. The first blow that fate directed against the throne of the Ghaznavides, as the dynasty is entitled, caused the entire Iranian division of the Mohammedan empire to crumble into dust.



WESTERN ASIA UNDER THE SELJUKS THE EMPIRE OF THE NOMAD TURKS

FOR many years fresh swarms of Turks had been following their countrymen mto Persia from the plateaus of Tartary and Turkestan; and soon it was no longer as bands of mercenaries or slaves that they crossed the borders of Khorassan, for entire tribes now joined in the movement, pushed forward by the masses in their rear, ready at a moment's notice to fight for new pasturages, either as the allies of princes or as independent units. With the greatest difficulty the powerful hand of Mahmud had temporarily succeeded in damming back the stream of immigration, but now that Persia was given over to the quarrels of his teeble successors, the flood burst through the barriers that had been erected by the labour of centuries, and the first great wave of Turks burst upon the plams of Iran. Transoxania, a land cultivated and civilised by the Iranian race after years of increasing effort, had long The Turks' been the detensive wall of Kho-

rassan; and as late as the period of the Abbassides its farmers and town-dwellers were still able to keep the Turks in check. But on the decay of the Samanide dynasty troops of nomads from Eastern Turkestan not only found a foothold in Transoxama, but practically completed its conquest; lick Khan of Kashgar occupied Bokhara, the capital, while Mahmud was engaged on his Indian campaigns, and a short time later several minor Turkish states arose in the neighbourhood.

Soon afterwards the Turkish tribes dwelling to the north on the steppes surrounding the Aral Sea were set in motion. A chieftain, called Seljuk, led his clan towards the region of Bokhaia, at the very time when the last of the Samanides were looking about for friends to assist them against the advancing Ilek Khan. As an ally of the Samanides, Seljuk regained a district in Bokhara, and strengthened his forces by the incorporation of other Turkish tribes.

Under the successors of Seljuk the

power and number of the Turkish tribes constantly increased; the Selpuks themselves, however, hard pressed by their countrymen in Bokhara and Khiva, advanced toward the pastures of Khorassan. On the death of Mahmud the vanguard of the nomads appeared at Merv,

and from this city as a centre began their conquest of the of the Persian frontier province. In 1030 the eldest son of Mah-Seljuks mud blinded and imprisoned his brother Mohammed, who had succeeded to the throne, he then marched against the Seljuks, who were already engaged m laying siege to Merv – None of his undertakings, however, were successful; and when he finally set out in 1039, on an expedition to recapture Mery, which had fallen in the meanwhile, he met with a terrible defeat. During the retreat his troops mutinied and restored the throne to the blind Mohammed - It was fortunate for the Ghaznavides, whose power was now completely broken, that the Seljuks did not take immediate advantage of their position in Khorassan, through which the way to the east as well as to the west had been opened up to them, but, instead of invading Eastern Iran and India, turned toward the west. The dynasty, however, ceased to be an effective force, and even its Indian dominions were shortly afterwards wrested from it by the house of Ghori. After the downfall of the Ghaznavides and the conquest of Khorassan, Toghril-Beg (1037-1063) and Jaghri-Beg, who died in 1000, two brothers who ruled the Seljuks during

The Turks
Attack the
Caliphate
the days of Mahmud, turned
ther attention to the empire of
the protection of the Buides, had sunk once
more into the depths of decay. First,
however, the brothers protected their
rear by overthrowing the Khivan princes.
The Turkish troops for the time
being spared Southern Iran and marched
into North-western Persia, from there

setting out on campaigns of devastation against the Christian Armenians and Iberians. The Byzantines came to the assistance of their allies, but were defeated by Toghril-Beg; and the entire Mohammedan world rejoiced at the spectacle of a Roman emperor once more being compelled to pay tribute to a champion of Islam.

Rome Pays
Tribute
to Islam
fluence; nor did the leaders of then
nomads hesitate to make the most of their
exceptionally favourable position.

After the death of the callph Kadir, in 1031, the government fell into the hands of his son Kaim, a man of feeble character, who was unable to restore order even in the capital of the empire. At his side the Buidan sultan Jelal ed-Daulet Abu Tahir, one of whose relatives had taken possession of the Buidan provinces in Persia, led an existence scarcely less miserable than his own. In the streets of Bagdad the Sunnitic Turkish mercenaries of the caliph brawled unpunished with the Shirtic Dailemites, the bodyguard of the Buides, once, indeed, driving Jelal himself out of the city. There was comparative quiet for a few years after the death of Jelal, in 1043; but it was not long before fresh struggles arose between Sunnites and Shutes. The caliph and his Buidan sultan were mere puppets in the hands of their vizirs; the unhappy ruler of the faithful was not secure from attack even in his own palace.

It is scarcely surprising that in these circumstances the caliph should have looked to the Seljuk chieftains for aid; indeed, the orthodox caliphs had always been certain of greater loyalty from the Sunnitic Turks than from the heretical Thus, in 1055, Toghril-Beg, who went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, succeeded in occupying Bagdad almost without resistance as well as in taking pris-The Turks oner the Buidan sultan Malik Rule Rahim. It is true that on the in Bagdad Seljuks being called back to Persia in order to put down rebellions the Buidan vizir recaptured the city, replaced the Abbassid caliph by the contemporary Fatemid governor of Egypt, and compelled Kaim to fly for his life; but on the return of Toghril, in 1050, all opposition came to an end. From

the reinstalled Abbassid caliph, Toghril

received the title "King of the East and West," as well as the hand of the princess Zaidah Khatun, daughter of Kaim; but he died soon after.

Thus the caliphate was once more restored to artificial life; but dominion had passed to the Turks, now at one stroke under a ruler of their own race. The Persians, who had seemed to be in the act of attaining to supremacy in the Mohammedan world, and of whom the Buides may be looked upon as the pioneers, suddenly found themselves once more cast down from high estate, overpowered in their own country by the nomads of the steppes.

At first the influence of the Seljuks, who had once more taken the caliph under their protection, was followed by the best results for the conquered territories, especially for the city of Bagdad. Order—at least, as understood by the Turks—so long desired in vain, was soon restored to all the useful and active provinces of the empire. Arts and manufactures, freed from the oppressive burden of insecurity, arose once more in the towns,

the caravans of merchants again made their way along the pub-Encourage lic roads, and the agriculturist Culture returned to his neglected fields. In the streets of the capital the brawls of Sumnites and Shrites ceased; and after the expulsion of the Buides the scuffles of Turkish soldiers and Dailemites came to an end. Both literature and science flourished during the rule of the Seljuks, who espoused the cause of intellectual pursuits with an enthusiasm scarcely conceivable in the chieftains of a semi-civilised nomad folk. they may have Jacked in culture was replaced by a generosity and nobility of character that, in spite of all original barbarity, caused them to stand on very much the same plane as the Arabs of the deserts and steppes. The period of the Seljuk dynasty was indeed to a certain degree a reflection of that earlier century during which the Arabs first became diffused over the lands of Western Asia.

Toghril's successor as "King of the East and West" was his nephew Alp-Arslan, who reigned from 1063 to 1072, under whose government the Seljuks attained to the zenith of their power. He captured Haleb and all Syria and Palestine from the Fatemides, and was successful in a war with the Byzantines, who, after

WESTERN ASIA UNDER THE SELJUKS

having already lost Syria and their African provinces to the Moslems, now beheld Asia Minor, their last Asiatic dependency, gradually receding from their The emperor Romanus IV. Diogenes vainly endeavoured to retrieve his fallen fortunes by advancing into Syria in 1068, in 1071 he invaded Armenia in order to support the princes there subject to his empire, but met with a crushing defeat and was taken prisoner. Henceforth the Byzantine lands were no longer disturbed by mere incursions of robbers; entire tribes of the Seljuks now penetrated into the interior of Asia Minor, and settled down on the steppes of Iconium. It was in vain that the Eastern Roman Empire made one despairing attempt after another to dislodge the ıntruders.

Hitherto, despite the spread of Islam, Asia Minor had remained an integral portion of the Byzantine empire. The passes of the Taurus proved a secure line of defence, and though the Arabs occasionally forced a passage, permanent conquest had been impossible. When

Aggression in Syria the power of the camputation began to weaken, it was Byzantium that took the offensive recovered territories beyond the and advanced even to Tyre and Damascus. The caliphs and their Buidan protectors and masters were able to offer but small opposition to the Byzantines in Syria and Asia Minor after the

decay of the powerful Hamdanide dynasty.

In Asia Minor the population increased and civilisation flourished. Although the ancient splendour of the Greek cities of the coasts had vanished, the interior of the country became more and more homogeneously organised and settled, and the unity of government was rendered more secure. The careful attention paid to the garrisoning of strong positions, as well as the endeavour of the wealthy families of the towns to invest their riches in extensive estates, led to the creation of a feudalised system of landed property, with its unfailing evil consequences.

The feudal nobility became a danger to the state, while the native-born peasant population sank to the position of serfs; the inhabitants who had been killed or led away captive by the Moslems were replaced by slaves, who, when fortune once more favoured the arms of the Byzantines, were obtained in especially large numbers from Mohammedan Syria and Mesopotamia.

In spite of the attempts to suppress them made by various emperors—but without support from the Church, which looked for a share in the spoils, and from officials whose interests ran counter to those of the feudatories—the power of the

Decay of Byzantine Empire noblity steadily increased; and when the Seljuks finally took possession of the steppe districts of Central Asia Minor the destruction of the already undermined Byzantine empire followed with

surprising rapidity.

It is a fact of great historical significance that the Schuk invaders did not attack the passes of the Taurus, but marched through Armenia, and that as a result of these incursions not only Christian Armenia but even portions of Iberia were laid waste. Both provinces had been, if not entirely trustworthy, at least indispensable supports of the Byzantine frontier, and at the same time lavourite recruiting grounds for the imperial armies. In spite of their fallen fortunes and apparent loss of warlike virtues, the Armenians still maintained their reputation for courage and strength no less than then futhful adherence to the Christian religion. But neither in Armenia nor in Georgia was there any sign of political unity: at the end of the tenth century as many as nine different dynasties were reigning in Armenia, while Georgia was divided into five more or less independent minor states.

Thus the Seljuks succeeded in entering Asia Minor at the Armenian boundary, while the bulwarks of the empire still remained intact in the south; nevertheless the defences of the southern frontier were in a constant state of siege, and had long been in grave danger. The Armenians emigrated from their desolated homes and concentrated in Cilicia, where they energetically set about defending the land from the attacks of Seljuks and Saracens in Armenia discovering that they were cut

discovering that they were cut off from all assistance from the Byzantines they dissolved even their nominal connection with the Eastern Roman Empire, and established the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, of which the first ruler was Rhupen, or Reuben, who ascended the throne in 1080. With the accession of this king the last remnant of the old line of defence to the east of Cilicia was

lost to the Byzantines, despite the fact that Antioch' managed to hold out for a few years longer.

The establishment of an organised government in Asia Minor by the Seljuks did not take place during the Great Days lifetime of Alp-Arslan, who met of the his death in 1072, stabbed to Seliuks the heart by a revolutionist whom he had condemned to death. His son Melekshah assumed the role of protector of the caliph Kaim as well as of Muktadi who succeeded the latter in 1075; and he became, in fact, the ruler of all the Seljuk dominion. Melekshah equalled his father in ability, and succeeded not only in restoring order, but also in furthering the material prosperity of his extensive dominions. Above all, he put an end to the system of local customs, duties, and tolls, the curse of minor states, which had developed to an alarming extent during the times of the Buides. The flourishing financial condition of his sultanate rendered it possible for him to be a patron of science and art, poets and scholars once more enjoyed a golden age.

Nevertheless, signs of decay began to appear Melekshah decided no longer personally to command his troops in Asia Minor, or to employ the main army of the empire in the war of conquest, but entrusted

the task to his cousin Suleiman, granting him permission to establish a semi-independent kingdom in the steppe lands of the peninsula. Thus the new Seljuk kingdom of Rum, or Iconium, that alose in the years following 1073 under Suleiman cannot be looked upon as an integral part of the Seljuk-Abbassid empire. In like manner. without troubling himself very much as to the wishes of the sultan, another Seljuk leader, Ansiz, took possession of Palestine, and pursued the retreating army of the Fatemides as far as Egypt in 1077. Not until Ansız found himself in difficulties, and called upon Melekshah for assistance, did the sultan succeed in removing this all too independent general, by sending out his brother Tutush, who brought Syria and Palestine under the immediate control of the Seljuk government.

The kingdom of Suleiman in Asia Minor was soon firmly established, chiefly through the abolition of the ownership of large estates and the division of the land among the people after the old custom of Islamite conquerors a large, prosperous, and consequently loyal, peasant class being thereby created, while the Selpuks themselves continued their old nomadic methods of life.



THE BEILAN PASS IN THE TAURUS: A DEFENCE AGAINST THE ADVANCE OF ISLAM



THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS A BYZANTINE BARRIER TO ISLAM

The Taurus Mountains were a secure line of defence to the Asia Minor portion of the Byzantine empire against the Arabs, who, though they occasionally forced a passage, found permanent conquest impossible.

may have been to enjoy the advantages of the new régime, and notwithstanding that here and there the cultivation of the soil was pursued with great profit, none the less the presence of the Seljuks in the interior of the A Victory peninsula betokened only a new step toward the desolation of Nomadism Western Asia, a fresh victory of nomadism over agriculture, of the steppe over the ploughed field. The more violent the efforts made by the Byzantines, and soon afterwards by their allies, the Crusaders, to regain possession of the lost territory, and the more wildly war raged in its fury over the elevated plains of Asia Minor, the more rapidly did the stationary population diminish, the sooner were fertile districts abandoned and transformed into the steppe pastures from which they had once been reclaimed with a vast expenditure of labour, and the more free were the nomads and their herds to expand over the desolated fields. Thus the Seljuks may be looked upon as having prepared the way for the work

But, however willing the peasants

The remarkable freedom granted by Melekshah to his vassals in the west was of itself a sufficient proof that the centre of the Seljuk empire lay at that time in

of devastation finally completed by the

Ottomans and Mongols.

In fact, the sultan was the east. anxious to secure as well as to widen his eastern provinces, which after the subjection of the prince of Kashgar extended as far as the Chinese frontier. But the unity of the empire was not long preserved even in Iran. Immediately after the death of Melekshah, 1002, a violent struggle for the succession broke out, which diagged along for years, and paved the way for the final dissolution of Schuk power. Not until the year 1104 was peace restored for a short time under the victorious pretender Mohammed. But agam and agam, just as in former days under the early Abbassides, attacks were made upon the reigning sultan in Bagdad from Khorassan, where the Schuks were most firmly established and could levy efficient troops of auxiliaries among the warlike native population.

During the first decades of the twelfth century one insurrection followed another, in which Dubais, the feudal lord of Hillah in Irak, especially distinguished himself as an implacable enemy of the reigning Seljuk sultan Mahmud (III8–II32). In Dubais the powers of resistance of the Irakan Arabs once more awoke to life; and he might, indeed, have succeeded in restoring the supremacy of his race had he formed an alliance

with Mustarshid, the caliph of the time, who was likewise endeavouring to free himself from the burdensome rule of the Turks. Unfortunately, however, these champions of the Arabian race hated each other bitterly in true Bedouin fashion—But from this time forth the decline of Seljuk power was continuous A transformation was taking place in Syrian Decline affairs the Europeans of Seljuk not only once more seized upon Power Palestine, but had founded a number of feudal states which were not to be overcome and finally annihilated by the champions of Islam until many a desperate battle had been fought. In this war, however, it was neither the Bagdad caliphs nor the Seljuk sultans that represented Islam: the contest was entered and the prize borne away by other Powers. Irak and Persia were torn asunder by the struggles for succession among the Seljuk princes, and consequently Egypt was given an opportunity for assuming the leadership of the Mohammedan world in its wars against the Crusaders, when the powers of the Syrians failed A fundamental change thus took place in the conditions of the western part of the Mohammedan empire: and this necessitates a backward look over the affairs of Syria

When, during the days of the early caliphs, the Arabs of Syria had raised the Omayyads to power the native Syrians were not concerned in the struggle, since most of them were only gradually converted to Islam, while many held fast to the Christian faith with the greatest pertinacity. The caliphs, as a rule, did not care to convert the highly taxed Christians into free Islamites, for the sake of their own incomes; moreover, conversion to Islam was attended by greater difficulties in Syria than in any other province, owing to the trade with the West, which had never

Syria's been entirely suppressed, and to the constant pilgrimages of the constant pilgrimages of Christians to Jerusalem. With the accession of the Abbassid caliphs, the political significance of Syria still continued to diminish, masmuch as the discordant elements of the population showed no signs of developing the idea of political unity. The heterogeneous character of the geographical formation of the country has at all times prevented it from forming a really homogeneous state.

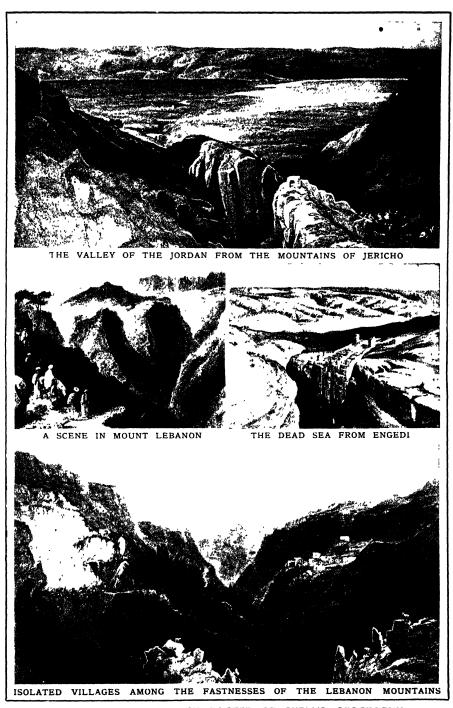
Thus so early as the ninth century the southern portion of Syria had become involved in the various Egyptian struggles. The rebellious governor Ahmed Ibn Tulun advanced as far as the Mesopotamian frontier; under the leadership of his son, Egyptian armies penetrated beyond the Euphrates. Then the Abbassides recovered then supremacy in Egypt, and by consequence in Syria; and then once more the decline of the caliphate awakenel a desire for independence on the part of the Egyptian governors, as a result of which Syria also suffered. Mohammed of Ferghana founded the dynasty of the Ikshidites, seized Southern Syria, and finally, in the year 940, compelled the caliph to recognise his right to the newly conquered territory, while the northern part of the land, as has already been mentioned, after many vicissitudes fell for the greater part into hands of the Hamdanides, the the dynasty whose possessions lay chiefly in Northern Mesopotamia However, this courageous race was unable permanently to withstand the constant attacks of Ikshidites, Byzantines, and

Suffers with

Buildes When the struggle
between the Ikshidites and
Festimales broke out for the

Fatemides broke out for the possession of Egypt, the Hamdanides allied themselves with the former; but of this the only result was, that after the triumph of the Fatemides the Hamdanides found in their victors a still more hostile frontier neighbour.

The ultra-Shutic movement in Iran, and its branches—Karmates on the one side and Fatemides on the other-have already been described. Their tendency was naturally in opposition to the caliphate and its allies; and after the Fatemides had struck firm root in Egypt as a political power, they remained in close union with the Shiites of the east who belonged to the Ismailian sect. The Karmates, who owed their development to the same sources, and who succeeded in taking possession of the greater part of the Arabian peninsula, did not show the slightest inclination to humble themselves before the Fatemides; on the contrary, they disputed with the latter their supremacy in Syria. The Fatemides, however, succeeded later in organising the Persian Ismailians as well as in setting the dreaded sect of the Assassins as Fatemid-Ismailian outposts of the



THE HETEROGENEOUS CHARACTER OF SYRIA'S GEOGRAPHY

movement in the rear of their opponents. From the year 974 onward the struggle for Syria continued; in addition to the Karmates, the Fatemides were opposed by the Byzantines, and by a Turkish general who endeavoured to found an independent state in the north. Hamdanides also took up arms in the defence of the remainder of their possessions The Fatethe Seljuks mides nevertheless maintained their position in Syria, except in the extreme north. Although during the reign of the Fatemid caliph Hakim (000-1021) in Egypt there was no lack of isolated rebellions of governors, the dominion of his house over Syria remained unshaken, and his realm even included Haleb, owing to the voluntary submission of the Hamdanides. Hakım's successor, Mustanzir, tried to drive out his Abbassid colleagues, but he succeeded only in drawing on himself wars and insurjections Syria and Palestine fell bit by bit into the hands of the Seljuks. Acre alone held out. After its governor, Bedr, had betaken himself to Egypt and had restored order with the help of his troops on the call of the caliph, the Fatemides succeeded in recapturing Palestine from the Seljuks, although the latter had already ventured on one campaign into Egypt.

This, then, was the condition of affairs when the first Crusade was preached in Europe, at the end of the eleventh century. Jerusalem was no longer in the possession of the Seljuks, whose unfriendly treatment of the Christian pilgrims, although not the direct cause, had nevertheless furnished a pretext for an expedition of vengeance on the part of the European nations. The defence of the Holy Land fell to the Egyptians, while the Seljuks at Damascus and Bagdad remained mactive, and beheld the developing drama with undisguised satisfaction. It was not the ortho-Crusaders' dox caliph of the Mohammedan First world, but his Shute rival, who Attacks led forth his troops against the Christian armies. The true ruler in Cairo at the time when the army of the Crusaders was marching through Asia Minor against Syria was not the Fatemide, but his vizir Alatchal, the son of Bedr. The Seljuks of Asia Minor were the first to withstand the attack of the mail-clad Europeans, and paid for their resistance

with a severe defeat, from which, however, they soon recovered, for the Christian forces immediately continued their march. The ruler of Lesser Armenia stood on very good terms with his Western co-religionists, and the Christians were also able to count upon the sympathy of the much-contested Northern Syrian boundary provinces, which had been torn from the Byzantines a few decades before, and contained a large Christian population

Thus the principality of Edessa arose in the region of the old Roman military frontier; and on the coast Antioch, followed by Tripolis, also became the centres of small Christian kingdoms. All these were possessions of Seljuks which now fell into the hands of the Christians But the unsettled state of political affairs in the Mohammedan empire prevented the rulers at Bagdad from coming to the rescue of the semiindependent governors in the north-west of Syria, especially after the main body of the Christians had advanced into Palestine proper, the possession of the hated Fatemides. The negotia-Conquest of tions between the Christians and the latter were without Jerusalem result. While the Egyptian vizir Alaidhal was still engaged in fitting out his army, the Europeans besieged and stormed Jerusalem, at that time the chief stronghold of Palestine. Almost all the Mohammedan and Jewish inhabitants were massacred by the victors, and the city opened its gates to a new population of native Christians. When Alafdhal's army finally advanced, it received an annihilating defeat in August, 1000 -The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem now arose amid the runs of the Fatemid power in Palestine

It has already been mentioned that the Fatemides possessed a terrible weapon in their struggle against the caliphate and the nations of Christendom in the Ismailian sect of Assassins—a weapon, however, soon lost to the Egyptian rulers. We have related how the Ismailians developed out of a mixture of Mohammedanism and various other beliefs, of which perhaps the most important were the communistic doctrines of the Mazdakites; and how from the Ismailians grew the Karmates, and finally the caliphate of the Fatemides. The doctrines of the Ismailians themselves were gradually

WESTERN ASIA UNDER THE SELJUKS

transformed into an esoteric system of belief, which, in the hands of the most intellectual of its adherents, approached pure mhilism—the conception that all things are indifferent, and hence all actions are permissible - while the bulk of the believers lived in a state of mystic respect for their still more mystic superiors and leaders. An academy in which the Ismailian doctrines were taught was founded in Cairo, and thence emissaries were sent forth into the lands of the Abassides in order to prepare the way for the supremacy of the Fatemides over the entire Mohammedan world. At the same time the Ismailians of Persia looked to Egypt for their political and religious salvation.

was to be its basis and security. The first lurking-place hosen* by Hassan was the mountainous region south-west of the Caspian Sea, of which the inhabitants had been looked upon by orthodox Mohammedans, even as late as the Abbassid \cdot period as meannations of heathen obduracy, an 1 where Origin the mountain fastnesses and of the castles had for centuries been Assassins the homes of the most desperate revolutionists. In the year 1000 the powerful fortress of Alamut, in the district Rudbar, north-west of Kaswin, fell through treachery into the hands of Hassan and his followers. With this began the political activities of the sect, who were in the



THE SYRIAN CITY OF ACRE, FAMOUS IN THE CRUSADES AND ONCE A CHRISTIAN KINGDOM Acre, one of the most important cities of Syria, has always been a piecy of war. It was stormed by the Saracens and Crusaders at least five times, became, in the twelfth century, a Christian state, and, in the sixteenth, fell to the Turks.

Thus it came to pass that an ambitious sectarian, Hassan-i Sabbah born at Rai, in Northern Peisia- after a vain attempt to acquire influence at the court of Melekshah in Bagdad betook himself to the palace of the Fatemid ruler in Egypt, and there formed the plan of establishing

Planning a Rule an Ismailian rule of terror in the East, quite in accordance with the unscrupulousness of his party. The power of the movement was not to be derived from extensive possessions of territory or great armics, but from the unconditional devotion and fanatical contempt of death of its adherents, who had at their disposal several impregnable fortresses as places of refuge; not open war, but assassination

habit of working themselves up into a high pitch of bloodthirsty excitement by taking hashish and other narcotics, and hence became known as Hashishins or, in the tongue of the Crusaders Assassins.

Two years later, the first victim of importance, Nizam el Mulk, the vizir of the first Seljuk sultan and a friend and companion of Hassan's youth, fell under the dagger-thrusts of the Assassins. He was the first of a long series of unfortunates who paid with their lives for the attempt to suppress the sect. The blind submission of the sectarians to their superiors was almost incredible. The fact that mothers were overcome by despair because their sons returned from successful forays without having lost their lives, thus failing

to die for their faith, and that Assassin sentinels cast themselves down from high towers and cliffs at a signal from their commander merely in order to prove their absolute obedience abundantly explains why the Powers of Western Asia and Egypt trembled before the daggers of the lanatics, and negotiated with the chief of the sect as with the sovereign of a mighty Old Man empire. After the capture of of the Mountain the fortress of Alamut, Hassan-i Sabbah remained within its walls for the rest of his days; indeed, it is said that he left his room only twice. As the "Old Man of the Mountain," he lived in mysterious retirement, directing the activities of his adherents and extending his power, ever faithful to the traditions of the Ismailians About the year 1100 the Assassins succeeded in capturing several additional strongholds in Iran . At the same time as the Crusaders, their first emissaries arrived in Palestine, and, favoured by the Seljuk prince Ridhouan, established themselves in the mountains of Syria—Although on the death of Ridhouan they were exposed to frightful persecutions, they were no longer to be driven away. Their daggers were kept actively employed and brought terror to their opponents.

The death of Hassan, in August, 1124, did not hinder the expansion of the Assassins, for Kia Buzuig-umid, his successor, proceeded with his work with equal craft and energy. Bamas, in Syria, was captured in 1128, and twelve years later Maziat, which from this time forth became the centre of Assassin power in the west. The sectarians had then long been free from the influence of the Fatenides, and not only the Abbassid caliphs, Mustarshid and Rashid, but also one of the Fatemid rulers fell under their daggers. The practices of the sect made a profound impression on the Christians of the Holy Land. The Europeans in general did not look upon them as unconditional enemies; it

seems indubitable that the Power Order of Knights Templars of the was not closed to the influence enieraera of the Assassins, and, in fact, that many of its characteristics were adopted in imitation of the secret Mohammedan association. Thus, curiously enough, the attacks of the Assassins became involved in a strange manner in the desperate struggle fought for the possession of the Holy Land between the Crusaders and the rulers of Egypt.

The Seljuks took a relatively small part in the struggle between the West and the East at the time of the Crusades. At the most, only a few frontier princes interfered in the affairs of Palestine, and were hostile to the small Christian states which had been established in Northern Syria. Not until the year IIII, when disturbances arose in Bagdad itself, did the sultan Mohammed deem it necessary to despatch an army to Syria. In 1113 Baldwin I., king of Jerusalem, was defeated at Tiberias. But shortly afterward the leader of the Seljuk army was murdered by the Assassins, the result was a long series of quarrels between the Seljuk governors and princes, which effectively hindered all further action Not until Zenki was appointed Atabeg of Syria and Mesopotamia in 1127, and was entrusted with the leadership in the war against the Christians, did fortune again follow the Seljuk banners, although Zenki had to contend not only with the Christians but with other Seljuk rulers—Until the day of his death, in 1146, he was the most formidable of all the enemies of the Crusaders His son Nured-din continued the war, and Successes Against the Damascus, which Zenki had Crusaders vainly endeavoured to capture Anaz, a member of his own trom The successes of Zenki and his son race. aroused the entire Mohammedan world to a high pitch of enthusiasm, which was of great significance to the continuation of the struggle, and, as a result, even the most unfavourably disposed of the princes were compelled to support Nur-ed-din with both money and troops. Nevertheless, Nur-eddin did not arrive at the height of his power until he succeeded through a lucky chance in destroying the Fatemid supremacy in Egypt, and was thus enabled to add the rich valley of the Nile to his possessions. At that time two vizirs were quarrelling in Cairo over the position of adviser to the weak caliph Aladhid. One of them, Shawer, fled to Nur-ed-din, and by making many promises contrived that an army should be placed at his disposal under the capable Seljuk general Shirku. But since after attaining his object he did not keep his promises, and called upon the king of Jerusalem to assist him against Shirku, he became involved in a war with Nur-eddin, which, after many vicissitudes, finally ended in his being driven away; with the consent of Nur-ed-din Shirku was installed



MEETING BETWEEN SALADIN, THE CHAMPION OF ISLAM, AND RICHARD CŒUR DE LION Saladin, or Salah ed-din, who combined in himself all the good qualities of the Turkish character, was firmly resolved to put an end to Western rule in the East. He captured Jerusalem and won a series of other brilliant victories over the Crusaders.

m Shawey's place, and after his death, in 1168, his nephew, Salah ed-din Yusut, or Saladin, became vizit of the Fatemid caliphate

The Seljuk Saladın (1137–1193) soon made himself supreme over all Egypt, although he permitted the Fatemid caliph to occupy the throne uatil 1171, probably because the existence of this lay figure guaranteed him greater independence so far as Nur-ed-din was concerned. All the good qualities of the Turkish character, bravery, generosity and decision, were united with a highly-developed mind in Saladın, who felt that he had been chosen by fate to be the champion of Islam against Christendom. Nur-ed-din soon perceived that he would find in him no pliant implement for the furtherance of his own plans, and was already engaged in making preparations for war against his insubordinate vassal when his sudden death turned the danger from Saladin, and, in fact, enabled him to wrest the Syrian provinces of this truly great ruler

from his feeble successors. Disputes between Salih, the son of Nur-ed-din, and his cousin Sait ed-din of Mossul, as well as the quartels of various court officials who laid claim to the vizirate, or, more correctly, the governance of the young Salih, caused Saladin to advance into Syria and occupy Damascus. After a long struggle with Salih, who had allied himself with Saif ed-dm and various Christian princes, not despising even the help of the Assassins, Saladin succeeded in taking possession of his dominions as far east as Haleb, and in the year 1176 assumed the dignity of Sultan. After the death of Salih in 1183, Saladin captured Haleb, and extended his empire as far as Mesopotamia and the Lesser Armenian frontier.

Thus a tremendous power encompassing the Christian possessions in Palestine was now united in the hands of a man who had firmly resolved to put an end to the rule of the Occidental nations in the East. The fate of the kingdom of

Jerusalem was soon settled. In 1187 the Christian army was defeated by Saladin at Hittin, not far from Tiberias. king himself was made captive. A few months later all Palestine, including Jerusalem, was in the possession of the sultan; only a few Syrian coast towns still held out, together with Tripolis and Antioch. The arrival of new Palestine crusading armies, commanded Lost to by Philip the Fair and Richard the West Cœur de Lion, resulted in the recapture of Acre in 1191, in spite of most desperate resistance on the part of Saladm, however, he was at least able to hold Jerusalem. Shortly before his death Saladm, in 1192, concluded a treaty according to which the Christians were permitted to occupy the coast of Tyre as far as Jaffa, and some strips of territory in the interior, but he maintained possession of the interior of Palestine together with Jerusalem.

However bulliant the victories won by Saladin over the Christians, and notwithstanding the inclination of Western historians to judge him in the light of these deeds alone, the fact remains that these wars comprised but a part, and, so far as the history of Western Asia is concerned, perhaps not even the chief The Christian part, of his activities kingdoms in Palestine were and remained an artificial product, kept alive only by the constant importation of fresh settlers. They were at no time a serious menace to Islam, with the Turkish conquest of the old Christian land of Asia Minor, which thenceforth became a Mohammedan possession, and the establishment of a new and yet more powerful Mohammedan empire in the interior of Syria, the fate of the Christian kingdoms was scaled. And this was Saladin's achievement, however much his work may have been furthered by the previous conquests of Zenki and Nur-ed-din. The fall of the Shute caliphs of Egypt is also

Egypt one of the most important Falls to events in the history of Islam. Their place was taken by Saladm's descendants, the Ayubides, as they were usually called after Saladin's father, Nejm ed-din Ayub. With this the victory was won by the Sunnitic orthodoxy in the west. Saladin himself took good care that his empire should not become a menace to the caliphate; for, following the bad custom

of the Seljuks, shortly before his death he divided his kingdom between his three sons, in addition presenting single towns and districts to his numerous relatives. The result was a succession of wars, which finally ended when Saladin's brother Aladil united the bulk of the possessions of the family under his rule in 1200.

The empire soon fell to pieces again after Aladil's death, when confusion once more broke forth, in 1218, on an invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders. Alkamil, who succeeded to the thrones of Egypt and Palestine, concluded a treaty with Frederick II., under which Jerusalem was restored to the Christians in 1228. During the next ten years constant wars took place in Syria, an attempt being made in the north to form an independent state with Damascus as its capital, while the Egyptian Ayubides continued desperate efforts, with the assistance of the Christians and all other allies whom occasion offered, to maintain supremacy over the entire empire of Saladm. In 1250 a change of the occupancy of the throne of Egypt Beginnings took place, with the result that of the the throne of the Ayubides fell Mamelukes into the hands of the leader of the mercenary bodyguards. With this began the period of Mameluke supremacy,

which, in spite of various interruptions, continued until the days of Mchemet Ali in the early nineteenth century.

The affairs in Syria and Egypt developed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in comparative independence of the events which had been taking place in the eastern part of the empire of the caliphs. But here too the power of the Seljuks was in process of decay. In Irak, Mesopotamia, and Iran an entire series of minor Seljukian states — Farsistan, Luristan, Azerbijan—had been formed, not to speak of the feudal provinces already in existence, which now became more independent than ever. The bulk of these states were ruled by princes called Atabegs, who like Nur-ed-din - recognised merely as a matter of form the supremacy of the caliph and the sultan. Moreover, the throne of the sultan at Bagdad was a constant cause of violent disputes. Thus it came about that even the caliphs regained a portion of their old political influence, and here and there ventured to take up arms against their Seljuk "protectors," or the

WESTERN ASIA UNDER THE SELJUKS

minor princes of the neighbourhood of Bagdad. The power of the Seljuk sultans was now concentrated in Persia; but here also they were threatened by new dangers. It had indeed been an easy task to deal with the decaying Ghaznavides; and the Ghori dynasty was more interested in the affairs of India than of Iran; but the frontier provinces of the Central Asian steppes were once more in a state of the utmost tumult and confusion.

Transoxania had been lost to Turkish tribes, while at Khiva a new and powerful state had developed, whose ruler soon set out toward Persia on a campaign of conquest. Sinjar, sultan at Bagdad since 1132, had already engaged in a severe struggle with these opponents. who were threatening the same gates of his empire through which the Schuks had broken many years before, and at his death, in 1157, a portion of Persia fell into the hands of the Khivans A period of confusion followed—the caliphs at Bagdad endeavoured to arouse further dissensions among the Seljuks in order to free themselves from their burdensome guardianship, the Seljuks, on the other hand, fought among themselves for the sultanship, and the Khivan princes battled against each

other for the rich inheritance of their house. When, finally, Caliph Nasir, the last energetic Abbasside, came to the throne in 1180, he was already in a position to extend his dominions, owing to the wars which had been carried on between Schuks and Khivans, nevertheless in the end he was obliged to grant to the victorious Khivan, Tekesh Khan, the rôle of protector, which had so long been enjoyed by the Buides and Schuks. After the death of Tekesh, in 1199, Nasir attempted to assume a position of independence, and opposed Tekesh's successor, Mohammed Mohammed, who shortly after his accession had annihilated the Ghorides in Eastern Iran and had extended his dominion as far as the Indus, resolved not only to restore Khiyan influence, but to do away with the Abbassides entirely, replacing them in Bagdad by a calipli chosen from the descendants of Ali. However, the early approach of winter rescued the Abbassid callph for the time being. Before Mohammed could collect his forces for a new move, the troops of the Mongohan conqueror Genghis Khan, who had been called upon for aid by Nasir, appeared in his rear; and with this a new act began in the tragic history of Western Asia



BALDWIN IV., KING OF JERUSALEM, DEFEATING THE SARACENS AT ASCALON IN 1177

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET



VII ГНЕ MONGOL PERIOD

IN THE GRIP OF THE MONGOLS

LACK of enthusiasm in Iran for the cause of the Khivan princes contributed not a little to the victory of the Mongols - perhaps more even than the original appeal of Nasir to Genghis Khan for assistance against his enemies. Upon the Khivan Mohammed, who reigned from 1199 to 1220, devolved the defence of Western Asia when the Mongol armies advanced on Transoxania, but when he assembled his troops for the rescue of Iranian culture

he had not even the support Advance of the Persians, not to speak of the of the other Western Asian Mongols nations. Besides this, to his great misfortune, he appeared to be

ignorant of the value of his strong defensive position in Transoxania, and boldly marched out to meet the enemy on their own steppes. The result was that he received a crushing defeat in the

year 1210.

All Transoxania was occupied by the Mongols during the next few years, the province was lost not only politically to Persia but to civilisation - Mohammed, whose native country Khiva was also invaded by the Mongols, entirely lost courage. He retreated from his second line of defence in Khorassan without a struggle, and retired to Azerbijan, from which he was soon driven by squadrons of Mongol cavalry, which advanced as far as Georgia, finally he took refuge on a small island in the Caspian Sea, where he soon died in misery and want. His son, Jelal ed-din, who had escaped into Afghanistan, was compelled to retreat to India before the victorious standards of Genghis His cause was ruined by the hatred of the Iranians for the Khivans, which was not forgotten even during this time of extremity. New Mongol forces streaming in through the open gates of Khorassan finally annihilated the last vestiges of his power in August, 1231.

Where resistance was offered Ghenghis Khan he wrought fearful devastation; judicious submission was frequently rewarded by clemency.

Iranian civilisation was not overwhelmed. In fact, the rise of Persian literature was so little affected by political changes that its zenith was not attained until after the Mongol invasion. But gradually the results of the war became more and more visible, and it was soon evident that the ancient civilisation of Iran was beginning to deteriorate with the constant additions of foreign elements.

After the death of Genghis Khan, in August, 1226, Persia fell to the share of his fourth son, Tuli, who also died in a short time. Tuli was succeeded by Hulagu, after Mangu had been elected emperor of the Mongols In 1256 Hulagu invaded Iran at the head of a vast army and re-established the authority of the conquerois, for after the death of Genghis Khan the Mongols had made but little progress in Persian territory. could not have chosen as an object for his campaign one better calculated to win for him the sympathy of all Western Asiatics than the destruction of the Assassins. The wasp's nest of Ismailians still hung fast to the cliffs of Alamut, and the daggers of the fanatics continued to threaten all men who awakened their mistrust or anger. The Mongol ruler turned against these scourges of Western Asia, his summons to princes of Iran, bidding them assist with auxiliaries, did not meet with a single refusal. The caliph in Bagdad alone was unwilling to comply with the request, and

this furnished Hulagu with a Scourges welcome pretext for making war of Western on him soon after, and for put-Asia ting an end to the sovereignty

of the Abbassides. Thus, without desiring it, but in entire harmony with the spirit of their faith, the Assassins, even while in the throes of death, were indirectly responsible tor the destruction of Bagdad and the murder of the last orthodox Abbassid callph by the sabres of the Mongols.

The first half of the thirteenth century had not been without its effects on the Assassins also. Without altering its principles to any appreciable extent, the sect

WESTERN ASIA-THE MONGOL PERIOD

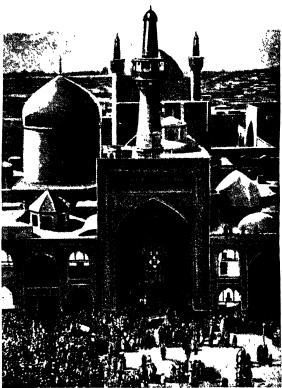
had passed through several external changes, the Syrian branch having won for itself an almost completely independent position. The esoteric doctrines of the Assassins had been known only to the higher orders of the sect, the rest were kept in a state of blind submission by the aid of a mystic and complicated formula of belief. But such a system was no more capable of permanent existence in the case of the Assassins than in that of any other sect. The secret doctrines gradually became

known to the lower orders; and the higher authorities took no pains to avoid the mevitable, in fact, were all the more willing that it should be so, masmuch as the unscrupulousness and contempt for death of their disciples were increased rather than diminished by the general spread of nihilistic

opinions.

Until their mysteries were disclosed, the representatives of the order had always been able to preserve the appearance of being upright adherents of Islam, even better Mohammedans than the orthodox caliphs—The veil of deception, however, became more and more transparent, and the answer to the now openly confessed principles of the Assassins was an outburst of wrath from the entire Mohammedan world. Now, indeed, it might be said of the Ismailians, as of their Ishmaclite namesakes, that the hand of every man was against them as their hands were against every man. It was impossible for them offer permanent resistance - their enemies were far too numerous: a fundamental change in their principles was unavoidable. Thus the Assassins, together with their grand master Jelal ed-din, suddenly began to embrace the orthodox faith. The "Old Man of the Mountain" burnt a mass of writings, alleged to contain the godless esoteric doctrines of the Assassins, in the presence of several orthodox Mohammedans, who had been invited to Alamut as witnesses; he sent off his wife on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where she outshone even the most princely of her fellowpilgrims through her lavish almsgiving and other good works and finally he sought to connect the neighbouring feudal rulers of Azerbijan and Tabaristan with his house by mairiage.

In fact, the Ismulian rulers were developing a dominion which required to rest on something more than systematic murder. Instead of bands of Assassins, Ismailian troops now appeared in the field, and in the year 1214 an army was despatched by Jelal ed-dm to Irak m



THE MOSQUE AT MESHED, THE HOLY CITY OF KHORASSAN

order to assist the caliph in subduing an insubordinate governor.

Nevertheless, when Jelal e4-din died from poison in November, 1221, and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son Ala ed-din, the sect lost no time in openly reverting to its old principles. Ala ed-din, who remained weak in intellect throughout his life, was not the man to tace the dangers that soon arose as a result of this latest development. When, after his murder in 1255, his son Rokn ed-din assumed the

leadership of the order the Mongol hordes bent on the destruction of the Assassins were already approaching.

However bold and unscrupulous the Ismailians had been until this moment, their fall was mute and inglorious. Only a single one of their fortresses held out for any length of time, the others surrendered immediately. At first it ap-The Doom peared as if timely submission of the would save them from the worst: Assassins but Hulagu waited only until the last sign of resistance had disappeared. Then he gave the signal for a general massacre. Almost all the Ismailians of Iran were slaughtered in cold blood, and with them the last grand master of the order, on November 19th, 1256. The Syrian branch of the sect continued to exist for some years, until Beibai, sultan of Egypt, drove the dispirited sectances out of their strongholds in 1271. However, the order was not completely annihilated either in Syria or in Persia. In the fourteenth century, unscrupulous princes frequently employed Ismailian murderers from Syria, and even now some harmless remains of the sect are to be found in Lebanon and in the mountamous regions south of the Caspian Sea.

The destruction of the Assassins was soon followed by the fall of the Abbassides. Hulagu aimed at the subjection of all Western Asrr. He was, no doubt, well please I that the infatuated caliph had refused to supply him troops for the campaign against the Assassins, thereby turnishing the Mongols with an excuse for next turning their arms against him; and no time more favourable than the middle of the thriteenth century could have been chosen for an attack on the spiritual centre of the Islamite world. The decay of the Seljuks had deprived the caliphate of its natural protectors, the callphs themselves contributing not a little towards bringing about this state

Mongols
Attack the
Caliphate

of affairs, for they had once more begun to adopt policies of their own, extending their possessions and increasing their authority in Irak and Western Iran by the employment of mercenaries. So long as they had to do only with vassal princes and atabegs, they were more or less successful in their efforts to augment their own political importance; it would even have been possible for an energetic and clever caliph to have transformed the

spiritual supremacy of the caliphate into a far-reaching temporal dominion.

But, unfortunately, the successors of Nasır, who had always set before himself a fixed policy and had laid the foundations for further successes in reorganising the financial system and army of the caliphate, were men of small abilities. Mustanzır scattered the money that had been saved by Nasir, by electing splendid edifices and establishing various religious foundations. His successor, Mustazim, who came to the throne in 1242, went to the opposite extreme, and reduced his single means of defence, the mercenary army, in order to save expenses. Thus, having robbed himself of his own power, he was helpless at the time of the greatest danger, and, in the usual manner of weaklings, refused to acknowledge that his position was endangered till it was too late.

First Mustazim attacked the Mongols with insufficient forces, then he entered into feeble negotiations with them, thus he allowed the last chances of escape to The city of Bagdad still remained to him; and its excellent strategic position, on both banks of the Tigris Sack in a district cut through by of canals rendered a siege ex-Bagdad tremely difficult. Not did the Mohammedan rulers of the western provinces, once an integral part of the empire, leave their spiritual head entirely in the lurch but when a Mongol army crossed the Tigris near Mossul, and threatened the western side of the city, the caliph lost all hope, and repaired to the camp of Hulagu – His life was spared long enough for him to disclose the places where he had hidden his treasures; on March 21st, 1258, he was executed.

The inhabitants of Bagdad were led out in crowds and massacred in cold blood ; the Mongols plundered and brawled in the streets for forty days. The greater part of the city, together with the priceless library of the caliphs and many of the finest buildings, were destroyed by fire. Single quarters, indeed, were spared. The splendid situation of the city enticed new settlers thither, and to this day Bagdad has in a large measure retained its importance. The success of Hulagu, however, had a ruinous effect on Mohammedan civilisation. Bagdad was the connecting link between the western provinces of Islam and Persia; within its walls the learned men of Syria, Egypt, and Andalusia



SULTANABAD, ONE OF THE LARGEST TOWNS IN THE PERSIAN PROVINCE OF KHORASSAN Khoracsan, in the north-east of Persia, is the largest province, and includes a large portion of the desert land of Persia. If constituted a Persian line of defence against the Mongols, and was the first district to be overluin by them. It has, from its military position, always played an important part in Persian history

had united in common pursuits with the scholars of Persia and Transoxama, so that the city was indeed the centre of the intellectual as well as of the ecclelastical power of the Mohammedan people. But the minderous thrusts dealt by the Mongols struck Oriental civilisation to the very heart. Never since has it arisen to its former lustre, it has lived during the last six hundred years only in the reflection of its former achievements. The poetry of Persia, indeed, continued to flourish for a couple of centuries, but it no longer found an echo in the west, and finally it, too, died away in its loneliness.

After the capture of Bagdad, Hulagu continued his campaign of conquest in the west, first declaring war upon Northern Syria. He stormed Haleb in 1260, compelled Nasir ed-din, the Ayubide, to flee from Damascus, marched through Palestine, and threatened Egypt; but on being severely defeated by Kotuz the Mainelinke regent of the empire, at Am Jalut, not far from Shechem, he was obliged to withdraw his forces from the west. The small Ayubide dynasties in Northern Syria were soon forced to take

one side or the other, and were for the most part annihilated in the repeated conflicts between Mongols and Egyptians. Just as Western Asia became more and more desolate as a result of these devastating struggles, so the political history of the land became less interesting and more cheerless as time went on.

For a long time the history of Western Asia was occupied with the antagonism of two great powers, the Mongol dynasty of the Ilkhans in Persia and Irak, and the Mameluke sultans in Egypt and Syria. The leaden cloud of hopeless stagnation soon settled over the land, though occasionally lighted up by flames of burning villages and homesteads. The work that had been begun by Katur was completed by his successor and murderer, Berbar Syria, together with its Ayubide princes, was brought under Egyptian influence, the power of the Assassins broken, and that of the Christians shaken. The princes of Iconium and Lesser Armenia, who had allied themselves with the Mongols, defended themselves with difficulty against the attacks of the Egyptians. Since the greater part of

Arabia and Mesopotamia also recognised the supremacy of Beibar, Egypt was, in 1277, on the death of this none too scrupulous but energetic sultan, the centre of a powerful empire, which, in spite of all quarrels as to the succession and its constant state of confusion, successfully barred the west to the Mongols.

Mongol chieftains who had Vitality taken possession of Persia were of Iranian soon affected by the influence Culture of Iranian culture no less than by the religious belief of their new environment, and the intellectual life of Iran did not at first suffer to any great extent under the new political conditions, the burning of the centres of learning in Transoxama and the desolation which had been brought to Bagdad had in reality only destroyed the outworks of Iranianism, which still remained sound at the core.

Above all, Farsistan, the heart of Iran, had scarcely been touched by the run and havoc of war, its ruling dynasty still remained on the throne, and in Asia Minor an offshoot of Iranian culture flourished at the court in Iconium. great mystic poet Jelal ed-din Rumi found a secure refuge in Iconium; and his great contemporary Sa'di ended his days in peace at Shiraz in Farsistan was not long before the Mongol rulers became quite as distinguished as patrons of literature and science as the native dynasties had been in former times.

After Hulagu's death, m 1265. Abaka succeeded to the throne. The decay of the Mongol empire, which now set in, leading to bitter struggles between the various princes and to violent onslaughts of fresh tribes from Central Asia, hindered the expansion of the power of the Mongols towards the west. Under the followers of Abaka—who died in 1281—the Iranian-Mongol empire was torn in pieces by quariels as to the succession as well as by other feuds, until, in the year 1295, Ghazan ascended the throne,

End of who adopted Mohammedan-Mongol ism as his religion. Even Expansion more important than his conversion to Islam was Ghazan's capacity as a legislator; his code served as a model for all the later conquerors of Western Asia—above all, for the Osmans, or Ottomans—and in truth was exceedingly well adapted to the mutual requirements of a warlike nomadic people and the stationary agricultural inhabitants

of the conquered territories. From a perusal of these laws, which were indeed sadly needed, we are able to gather much information as to the miserable condition into which Persia had fallen during the Mongol period. The wealthiest district of Faisistan paid in taxes at the time of Ghazan but the eighth part of the sum which it had paid with case

during the Seljuk period.

The burden of taxation had been greatly increased by the evil system of farming out the taxes—a system which Ghazan himself did not abolish—and soon became unbearable. Broad tracts of tertile ground lay bare and deserted; such of the inhabitants as had escaped the sabres of the conquerors, or of the troops of Mongol robbers who rode plundering through the province, fled before the mexorable tax officials, or were driven from their homes, hopelessly in debt to Mongol usurers. The tenth part of all produce of the land, which was set apart for the support of the Mongol warriors, was collected over and over again in a most unsystematic manner, until

finally Ghazan succeeded in 1e-Miserv storing a small degree of order of the by allotting certain fixed dis-Taxpayers tricts to certain bodies of troops.

No good was expected from the increasing dissatisfaction of the Iranian people, as was shown by Ghazan's order commanding the disarmament of the native inhabitants of Farsistan. The general misery had been increased by one of Ghazan's predecessors, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to replace specie by paper money after the Chinese method. Ghazan himself rendered an undoubted service to his subjects by reforming the currency, introducing coins worth their face value and of fixed fineness and weight.

Whether or not the new laws would have produced a fundamental change for the better in Iranian affairs, we cannot say. At any rate, the confusion that tollowed the death of Ghazan and continued until the end of the supremacy of the Ilkhan Mongols prevented any true recovery of the enfeebled Persian people. After the expedition of Genghis Khan into Syria during the years 1300-1303, which ended in failure, nothing more was done in the way of conquest by the Mongol princes of Iran; and in 1323 Bu Zaid, the last Ilkhan who was able

WESTERN ASIA-THE MONGOL PERIOD

to maintain the integrity of his empire, concluded peace with Egypt. Soon afterwards the Mongol empire was divided, at first into two parts, Irak and Persia. At the same time the family of the Mozaffarides obtained for themselves greater independence in Farsistan, their first sultan being Mobariz ed-din, 1313-1358, and the Turkomans founded an The independent state in Kurdistan increasing power of Farsistan showed that the Iranian element was once more regaining strength and preparing for a fresh attack on the Mongols, whose powers were declining rapidly. Perhaps a Persian national state would again have been founded had not a new and still more frightful storm of conquest burst over the land of Iran, destroying all Persian hopes. The victories of Timur completely re-established the waning power of the Mongols.

At the time when Tamerlane's troops were pouring in upon Western Asia and India a complete transformation had taken place in the affairs of Asia Minor, where a new monarchy was developing in the place of the decaying Byzantine empire

and the sultanate of Iconium Timur's The Byzantines, who had Storm of so long been successful in Conquest holding Asia Minor against the Mohammedans, were no longer able to drive the Turks out of their territories, and the Crusaders also, of whom so much had been expected in Constantinople, had likewise succeeded in obtaining temporary victories only over the Seljuks in Asia Minor. It is true that the most serious dangers had been averted with the assistance of the Western Europeans, Nicæa had been recaptured, and the western half of Asia Minor cleared of the Turks. But the hordes of nomads, con-'stantly reinforced by new bands of Turkish immigrants, were no longer to be driven from the steppe lands of the interior of the peninsula.

Had it been possible to strengthen Armenia once more, after the old Roman military frontier had been again established through the rise of the Lesser Armenian state in Cilicia and the Christian kingdoms of Edessa and Antioch, then perhaps the Byzantines might have succeeded in surrounding, and finally in assimilating, the masses of foreigners within their boundaries. But Armenia as well as Georgia was utterly helpless, and formed only the open door through which the

hordes of Turkomans streamed in from the East. The Seljuk empire of Iconium, or Rum, which was only once united under the rule of a capable monarch, Izz ed-din Kilij Arslan (1152-1190), who died in 1192, suffered in general under those evil conditions of disintegration and quarrels between brothers as to the succession which were the usual charac-Armenia the teristic of Seljuk states. Nevertheless, the people of Asia the Mongols Minor were to all appearances better off under the government of the Seljuks than under the Byzantine bureaucracy, for the smaller the Eastern Roman Empire grew the heavier became It was a source of great anxiety to the Byzantines that from certain of the imperial provinces of Asia Minor the inhabitant's emigrated en masse into the Seljuk principalities.

When, in the year 1204, the Byzantine empire was overthrown by the Latins, and teudalism regained the upper hand, the stationary population of Asia Minor had no longer any reason for hoping that they would derive the slightest advantage by offering resistance to the increasing power of the Turks. On the other hand, the Seljuks, who had continued their old manner of hie, wandering about with their flocks and herds, and at the same time always prepared for war, patronised the agriculturists, who had become indispensable to them, and whose interests in no wise conflicted with their own.

The growing power of the Turks was still more increased when Persian-Arabian civilisation began to awaken in the towns, for at the beginning of the Mongol wars scholars from Persia and Arabia sought and found refuge in Asia Minor, where they were gladly received by the Seljuk princes. Thus Ala ed-din Kai Kobad (1219-1236) did all that lay in his power to further the intellectual development of his people. But the Turks of Asia Minor did not entirely escape The Turks
Give Place
now compelled to atom of the Mangale
now compelled to atom of the mangale o to Mongols now compened to atome for having left the iron gates of Armenia and Georgia open behind them. Genghis Khan took the same route along which so many Turks had already passed, marching from Azerbijan to the peninsula; and only the timely submission of the Seljuks whom he encountered saved them from a far greater evil. For a long time the

Scliuks of Asia Minor were the most faithful vassals of the Mongols, and, as such, the natural enemies of the Egyptians, whose sultan, Beibar, wrought havor in the Turkish kingdom of Iconium, advancing far into the interior of the peninsula in 1277. The discipline of the Egyptians was fairly good; but the Mongols who came later under

End of the Seljuk Dominion Abagha could not deny themselves the satisfaction of either massacring or enslaving the inhabitants of Iconium. Thus it seems that it stood written in the book of destiny that in Asia Minor also the Mongols should destroy all that the Turks

had spared.

The destruction of the Seljuk dominion in Asia Minor was the natural result of the Mongol invasions, but the Turks were already too firmly rooted in the peninsula for the Greek empire, temporarily restored in 1261, to derive any benefit from the fall of the Seljuks Another Turkish race immediately came forward in place of During the Mongol wars a the latter horde of Turkomans from Tiansoxania had marched toward the west under the leadership of Suleim in. A portion of this horde, of which the command was taken over after Suleiman's death by his son, Ertogrul, emigrated to Asia Minor. The Seljuk prince Kai Kobad allotted pasturages in the neighbourhood of Angora to the new arrivals, and was not displeased to see that they soon began to increase their lands at the expense of the Byzantmes. Ertogrul's successor, Osman, or Othman, who came to the throne in 1288, continued the conquests, strengthening his forces by the addition of other Turkish tribes, and finally freed himself entirely from the suzerainty of the Seljuk rulers. In honour of Osman, their first independent sovereign, his subjects, consisting of many different tribes, took the name of Osmanli, or Ottomans.

Shortly before Osman's death, in 1326, Brussa was captured, and a few years later was selected to be the capital of the new empire by his successor, Orchan. This new state, in which the entire military and destructive power of the nomadic. Turks once more found a firm support, and which had succeeded to the civilised kingdom of the Seljuks, was naturally a serious menace to the culture of Asia Minor. It was only with the assistance of

Persian civilisation that the Seljuks had been tamed, but at this time whatever culture there may have been left succumbed completely to the blows dealt by the Ottomans. With this the victory of nomadism was assured for centuries. During the reigns of Orchan and his successors a number of the small Turkish principalities in Asia Minor were overthrown, and the European possessions of the Byzantines were also attacked. Murad I. captured Adrianople in Europe, as well as Angora, Kutahiah, and various other towns in Asia Minor. His successor, Bajazet I, conquered the whole of Asia Minor with the exception of the principality of Kastamuni and the imperial state Trebizond, and was on the point of continuing his victorious campaign to Constantinople when the invasion of Timur began, hindering for the time being the rise of the Ottoman empire

A great change, too, had taken place in the balance of power in Western Asia, which for the last century had been determined by the mutual antagonism of the Mongol empire in Persia and the kingdom

fall of the Mamclukes in Egypt. The empire of the Mongols had fallen, in North-western Iran only was a portion of its old power retained, and after the downfall of the Seljuk states and the victorious invasion of the Ottomans, the influence of the Mongols had naturally come to an end in Asia Minor also.

It was not long before things came to such a pass in Egypt and Western Asia that all development of power was confined exclusively to the newly arrived hordes of barbarians, while the original native populations, the old representatives of civilisation and industry, sank to a position of feebleness and decay. Again a wave of semi-barbarous nomads swept over the unfortunate land; and, to make matters worse, the appearance of the new conqueror was preceded by the plague, or black death, which spread over Western Asia and Europe, and raged longest in the hot valley of the Nile.

The invasions of Timur were nowhere so destructive as in Western Asia, in the provinces that were just beginning to recover from the effects of the first Mongol storm. In the year 1380 Timur appeared at the head of his army in Khorassan, after he had conquered Transoxania and Khiva. He marched along the old Mongol and Turkish

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routes south of the Elburz Mountains to Azerbijan, Armenia, and Georgia. Faisistan - still ruled by the Mozaffarides—was conquered, Ispahan stormed, and a pyramid of 70,000 skulls erected, an example of what Timur's conquests meant for Western Asia. After the national dynasty of Farsistan had ended on the death of Shah Mansur, in 1392, the Ilkhan, Ahmed ibn Owais, who had maintained his position in Irak after the loss of Azerbijan, was driven out of Bagdad.

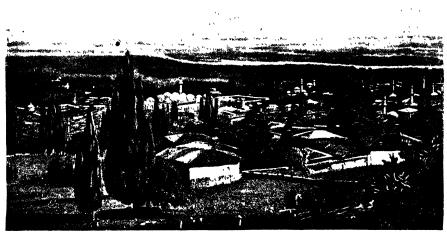
The defence of the threatened provinces of the west fell to the Ottomans and the Egyptians, who were unfortunately unable to agree with one another or to engage in common undertakings. The Ottoman sultan Bajazet II, was, however, at least able to support the Armenians and Georgians, and assist the Ilkhan in Bagdad On the other hand, Berkuk, sultan of Fgypt who had more reason to tremble before his own Mamelukes than before the Mongols, evacuated Syria after much boasting and little fighting, and left his Syrian subjects to be the help-

Timur
Devastates
Asia Minor
Asia Minor
defeated Bajazet, taking him captive
Asia Minor had already suffered greatly
from the Ottomans; now it was once more
plundered and its inhabitants massacred.
Even the last of the wealthy seaports,
Smyrna which had not yet fallen into the
hands of the Turks, was completely

destroyed. The Ottoman empire became a Mongol province, and Egypt itself was saved from the sword of Timui only by the immediate submission of its ruler.

The death of the dreaded conqueror, in 1405, was not only followed by a halt in the advance of the Mongols, but was the signal for the dissolution of Timur's Timur's empire. In Irak, the Empire Ilkhan, Ahmed, who died in Breaks up 1410, returned to the seat of government; in Kurdistan, Kara Yusuf, the ruler of the Turkomans of the Black Ram, captured Bagdad and put an end to the old Mongol dynasty, which dated back to Genghis Khan, the Egyptians reasserted their influence in Syria, and the Ottomans were restored to their independence in Asia Minoi

Persia alone remained to Shah Roch the successor of Timur, who carried on successful wars with the hordes of Turkomans of the Black and the White Ram in Kurdistan His efforts to restore his devastated country to prosperity, and to assemble about his throne the few remaining scholars and poets of Iran, were a pleasing contrast to the rule of blood of Timus But the intellectual no less than the economic power of the country was in a hopeless state of decline The barren spirit of the Turkish people finally became supreme, the literature of Iran being replaced by bombast, while mechanical verses in the form of epistles supplanted the true poetry of former times



BRUSSA, THE CAPITAL OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE IN ASIA MINOR



TYPES OF THE VARIED PEOPLES OF TURKEY IN ASIA

WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET



• VIII TURKEY IN ASIA

THE TURKS IN WESTERN ASIA FOUR CENTURIES OF OTTOMAN SUPREMACY

ALTHOUGH some small signs of progress were still visible in Persia and in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia had reached the lowest ebb of wretchedsuffering one under miserable government of the Egyptian Mameluke emirs, and the other filled with hordes of nomads, who, after their old custom, looked upon a civilised country as existing only for plunder. These Turkoman nomads were divided into two main clans—the Kara Komlo, or the Black Ram, and the Ak Komlo, or the White Ram, so called after their war standards had gradually succeeded in taking possession of a large part of Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Azerbijan, and Eastern Asia Minor. All the lawless and unsettled hordes of Western Asia assembled under the banner of the Turkoman chieftains, united only in the hope of obtaining spoils; and when Kara Yusut, the leader of the Kara Komlo, prepared for war against

The Lost Leader of the Nomads Shah Roch, he was joined by innumerable bands of predatory nomads, all eager for an opportunity of advancing into

the rich land of Persia

Kara Yusuf died suddenly while on the march, and on the same day his vast army dispersed in all directions. The corpse of the leader, naked and despoiled, the ears cut off for the sake of their golden pendants, lay unburied on the trodden soil of the deserted camp. It was fortunate for Western Asia that the black horde soon became the deadly enemies of the Ak Koinlo, and that the two clans began to destroy one another; but before the desired end was attained the circle of devastation had increased to an alarming extent. The Kara Koinlo conquered Mesopotamia, and even took possession of Bagdad, but were finally defeated by the Ak Koinlo under Uzun Hassan, who temporarily ruled over the greater part of Persia, and destroyed the last remains of Timur's empire in 1467. Persia remained in the hands of Uzun Hassan and his successors for about twenty

years, until at last, after a long period of servitude, the Iranian people began once more to develop a national spirit, and a domestic dynasty arose to power.

Since Egypt was able to maintain itself through the exploitation of merchants, in spite of its abominable government by the Mamelukes, and since the feeble empire of Trebizond in nor-Twilight thern Asia Minor managed of Bagdad's to cling tenaciously to life-Splendour only for the reason that a small portion of Asiatic trade found its way to the Black Sea through Northern Persia and Armenia - it was at least to be hoped that, after order had been somewhat restored in Western Asia, the celebrated ancient commercial route from the Persian Gulf through Basra and Bagdad to Syria would again come into use; that, as a result of this, agriculture and manufactures would also begin to reawaken in Irak, and, finally, that new life would be infused from the natural centre and heart of Western Asia into the other provinces. But Bagdad's former splendour did not ıeturn. The city still remained the greatest in the region of marshes that to-day, as before the beginning of ancient Babylonian civilisation, extends between the Euphrates and the Tigris. It still harboured many merchants and contained numerous bazaars, but richly laden caravans no longer made their way thither from India; no ships brought the wares of the Farthest East to the former emporium of Western Asia, and no long trains of merchants journeyed from Bagdad to the west, distributing their wares among the peoples of Europe. The caravans of Persian pilgrims that each year crossed the

Europe
Deals the
Final Blow
of Western Asia was dealt by the nations of Europe, whose early navigators had discovered the new ocean route to India, thus leaving the overland roads through Persia in hopeless desolation.

During the time when the sultans of Egypt were filling then treasuries with tolls extorted from merchants of all nations, and endeavouring to satisfy the constant demands of their Mainclukes with gold obtained from new monopolies and taxes,

Discovery of the Route to India

the pioneers of Portuguese maritime trade were cautiously feeling their way along the coast of Africa, until finally the

Cape of Good Hope was discovered, and the ships of Vasco da Gama sailed into the ports of India. The warlike merchants of Portugal took good care that their discovery should be rewarded by a monopoly of the Eastern trade. Their men-ofwar blocked up the commercial route through the Red Sea in the year 1507. and soon afterwards Ormuz, the most important intermediate trading station on the Persian Gulf, fell into the hands of the Portuguese Albuquerque. Ten years later the Mamelukes of Egypt, deprived of their artificial means of support, succumbed to the attacks of the Ottomans

That warlike people did not immediately recover from the crushing deteat inflicted on them by Timui near Angora; moreover, the empire was torn asunder by struggles as to the succession. The attention of the Ottoman rulers was chiefly directed to European affairs, and thus for the time being the Turkish principalities,

still existing ın Asıa Minor, were enabled to retam almost ındecomplete. Not pendence. until the year 1424, during the reign of the sultan Murad, did Ottomans reassert their influence throughout the penin-At this sula. time the military organisation of the Ottomans

of perfection; the Turkish cavalry was supplemented, after the Egyptian example. by enslaved or impressed Christians, who received a thorough military training and were incorporated into the standing army of infantry, the Jamssary guard. In later

years this army became as great a menace to the safety of the sultan as the Mamelukes had been to the ruler of Egypt; but for the time with which we are dealing they answered every purpose. A new era began for the Ottomans when the last remains of the Byzantine empire disappeared with the capture of Constantinople in 1453; and the Turks succeeded to the inheritance of this vast empire as well as to the claim to supremacy secured to them by the possession of the gigantic city on the Bosphorus

That the Ottoman sultans invaded even Apulia because it had once formed a part of the Byzantine empire and was therefore looked upon by them as theirs by right of conquest, was a certain proof that it would not be long before their covetous eves would be turned toward the kingdom of the Mamelukes in Egypt The two nations had been hostile to one another as early as the time when the hordes of Timui were threatening Ottoman

Advance in

without discrimination Asia Minor whole of Western Asia, and as years passed the feeling of

enmity increased rather than diminished The Egyptian sultans clearly recognised that the small Turkish states in Asia Minor, which had hitherto withstood the Ottomans, formed then best wall of defence against the danger that was threatening

them from the north Especially important was the kingdom of Karaman, in peninsula, for which Otto-



man sultan Mohammed finally succeeded in driving Uzun Hassan, the Turkoman ruler of Persia, out of Asia Minor, in 1473, Karaman fell to the share of the Turks, no attempt being made by Egypt to dispute the possession of the land with them; in



MOUNT ARARAT, THE MOST FAMOUS OF ARMENIA'S MANY MOUNTAINS

fact, Kaif Bey, then sultan of Egypt, instead of taking an active part in the stringgle, did nothing and was content to imagine that the power of the Ottomans was being weakened by their wars with the Turkomans.

In later times also the Egyptians were unable to support the small states of In the meanwhile the Asia Minor Ottomans had engaged in a The Final successful struggle with the Contest newly-awakened kingdom of with Egypt Persia, in order to render secure their eastern, frontier The final contest with Egypt now became only a question of time, masmuch as there was no lack of excuses for a war in view of the troubles over the boundary question in south-eastern Asia Minor. The wretched imancial condition of Egypt had not only prevented the sultan Kansuveh Alguri, who ascended the throne in 1501, from entering into an alliance with Persia, but had put a stop to all proper preparations for meeting the threatening danger. When Kansuveh finally succeeded in concentrating his forces in the North of Syria, the Ottoman sultan, Selim I., had already assembled a superior army on the frontier; deceiving the Egyptians by pretending to enter into serious negotiations with them,

he crossed the Chician passes unhindered in 1516. The decisive battle was fought on the plain of Dabik to the north of Haleb, and in spite of the bravery of the Mamelukes, the Egyptians were usterly defeated. Kansuveh tell and the remnants of his troops retreated to Egypt Syria tell into the hands of the Offomans almost without a stringgle indeed, Selim was welcomed with joy in many provinces as a liberator from the Mameluke yoke.

During the following years Fgypt also was conquered, an end soon being put to the courageous but hopeless resistance of Tuman Bey, the newly-chosen Mameluke sultan; Syria and Egypt henceforth became provinces of the Ottoman empire.

Selim also carried the Abbassid Ottoman caliph off with him to Con-Supremacy stantinople. The latter was the Achieved last representative of a long line of spiritual governors, who, although possessed of only the shadow of temporal power, had led a very comfortable life of contemplation and ease in the valley of the Nile. The Ottoman sultans kept up the faire of having an Abbassid caliph for some years, until they finally did away with this unnecessary arrangement and They took the dignity upon themselves.

had all the more right to do this, because, together with Egypt, the sacred cities of Arabia had also fallen into their power. The sceptre of the caliphs regained its old authority in the hands of the dreaded Ottoman fulers; the Persians alone were able to shield themselves from the consequences of this event by

openly declaring for the Shute Ottoman doctrines. Syria had neither gained nor lost by becoming Empire a part of the Ottoman empire, but Egypt, already reduced by the turn taken in commercial affairs, not to speak of the fact that the greater part of her diminished income was now sent to Constantmople, became more and more desolate. The interests of the Ottoman sultans thereafter remained bound up chiefly in European affairs, at first they succeeded in forcing back the defenders of Occidental civilisation, but in later times they were desperately engaged in defending themselves from the counter-assaults of the Christian nations. As time passed, also, war became the main interest of the Ottomans; the idea of endeavouring to alleviate the misery of the conquered races of their vast empire scarcely entered their minds. It was only in respect to the art of warfare that they learned anything from the Europeans for example, then artillery was admirably organised after European methods at a very early period. But in other respects the unimaginative, barren mind of the Ottoman held fast to old customs and conceptions of life with indomitable tenacity, every attempt towards improvement or progress was Thus, Turkish Western Asia crushed continued to remain in the same hopeless condition into which it had been plunged years before by Timui's campaigns. Wherever a sign of prosperity became visible the Turkish system of government took good care that poverty and misery should be restored as soon as possible.

Evils of Ottoman Misrule

Misrule

Misrule

external aid, the Ottoman provinces of Western Asia continued to exist only as aird, hopeless wastes.

Evil enough has been the destiny of Armenia, the western neighbour of Persia. Never, since the short-lived efforts of Tigranes to establish a great empire, has Armenia been either independent or united. It is true that the mountainous character of the country has to a certain extent protected it from attacks from without, but it has also favoured the division of the land into small and defiant tribal kingdoms, whose constant feuds have presented foreign Powers with welcome opportunities for interfering with Armenian affairs.

The conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity, and the remarkable tenacity with which they held fast to their belief. converted Armenia into a bulwark of the Byzantine empire, and at the same time a favourite object for all attacks made with the object of weakening the Eastern Roman Empire and the power of the Christians. As long as the Byzantines were able to hold the line of the Taurus Mountains it was necessary for Armenians and Georgians to defend a portion of their frontiers only; and at that time the Armenians, who were still a warlike race, had little difficulty in maintaining their position in spite of their lack of unity. Not until the downfall of the Abbassid caliphs, followed by the

invasion of Azerbijan and the Armenia a lower country of the Kur by Plundering the Turks, who not only con-Ground stantly harassed the Armemans but opened up through their country a way to Asia Minor, did the days of complete destruction begin. Azerbijan now became the layourite headquarters of the nomads and Armema their chief plundering ground and highway to the west. The Seljuks were followed by the Mongols under Hulagu, and the latter by the armies of Timur. In later times the unfortunate land was torn by the struggles between Turkomans, Ottomans, and Per-

Already during the time of the Seljuks multitudes of Armenians had emigrated southward to Cilicia. After the victories of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas, Cilicia was evacuated by the Mohammedans; its rough mountain valleys and ravines offered a welcome place of refuge to the feudal nobility of Armenia. But this state of "Lesser Armenia," an independent principality subsequent to 1080, and a kingdom under Christian rulers after 1108, was in itself a land of roads to the west, for the possession of which many a sanguinary contest was fought. Sometimes the Byzantines or the Crusaders, and again the Egyptians,

THE TURKS IN WESTERN ASIA

the Mongols, or the sultan of Iconium sought to render their influence supreme. Finally, in 1350, the Egyptian Mamelukes conquered Armenia, then in close union with the Christian kingdom of Cyprus, and put an end to the Lesser Armenian state. The emigration from Armenia itself still continued, however, when, after the Mongol period, the Turkomans of the Black and the White Ram founded then kingdom in the Armenian-Kurdish mountain country; and the place of the retreating population was soon taken by Kurds and Turkish tribes The Persian-Ottoman wars, of which the bulk of the expenses was paid by the Christian Armenians and Georgians, completed the evil; scarcely 1 000 000 of the original inhabitants were now left in their native The majority had become country

serious attempt to improve the condition of its inhabitants. And this is also true of the rest of Turkish Western Asia, of which the history for the last 400 years has been on the whole a period of complete stagnation. Nor could it well have been otherwise, according to the principles of Ottoman administration. Asia Minor. however, has always been better off than the other Western Asian pro-Centuries of VINCES It is true that, with the exception of a few rem-Stagnation nants left in the cities of the coast, the ancient Roman-Byzantine civilisation wholly disappeared; but as an offset to this a healthy peasant and soldier population speaking the Turkish language developed in the heart of the peninsula With this population, thanks to the years of Schuk rule the greater portion of the



ERZEROUM, THE CAPITAL OF TURKISH ARMENIA

The mountainous character of the Armenian country, while protecting it from external attacks, has also favoured its division into tribal kingdoms, and it has nevel, since the days of Tigranes, been independent or united

scattered over the provinces of Western Asia, some indeed penetrating as far as Eastern Europe

During this period of trial and mistortune the character of the Armenian people underwent a fundamental change. Once warlike and lovers of liberty, teared on account of their exceptional bravery, they now became merchants and money-dealers; and it was with dissimulation and decent, the

Character weapons of the oppressed, that they struggled for their existence. But the part lately occupied by Armenia in the "Eastern Question" of to-day belongs properly to European history, and is dealt with in another volume.

The Ottoman government was not only unable to prevent the decay of Armenia. but, moreover, never made any really

original inhabitants have amalgamated. The old Phrygians and Cappadocians. Bithynians and Galatians now appear in history as "Turks," however small the infusion of Turkish blood may often be, to Ottomans derive most of their power, and here will they be able longest to withstand the advance of European civilisation.

An entirely different picture is presented by Syria, only temporarily awakened from her lethargy by the conquest of Selim I. Here an extensive immigration of Turks did not take place; and the Mohammedans who had dwelt there before the advance of the Ottomans were confronted by a large population of other confessions, especially Christians, who were a serious menace to the Turkish government, masmuch as the nations of Europe had taken a certain interest in the affairs of Syria

ever since the Crusades, and had ever striven to protect the Christians who dwelt there. Far from the centre of the empire, encompassed by hostile neighbours, and entrusted with the welfare of the unstable inhabitants of their own provinces, the governors of Syria and Meso-Independent potamia led a practically independent existence, although Governors it is true that the Damochan sword of imperial distayoni was always suspended above them. They sometimes even went so far as to make war on their own initiative, and such of them as had powerful friends at the court in Constantinople, and were ready to offer bribes at the right moment, were able not only to retain their positions, but often to pursue

then own policy un-, molested. The pashas of the smaller districts, however possessed far less authority especially ! in Syria, whose heidici the mountage tubes of Lebanou nor the Arabs steppes were willing to subject to the The Turkisl Noke jedou v between the pishes of Fgypt and Dama cus formed an absurd collegue to the eld stroggles between the Lgyptians and the Western Asian peoples, for the possession of Syria

to a time it seemed as it the mountain tibe of the Druess wound succeed in establishing an independent kingdom in Northern Syria. The Drues were one of those remarkable races of refugees that are formed out of various elements in almost all lands of high mountains, and originally developed from a colony of Ismailian immigrants who wandered into the rayines of Lebanon about the year rozo during the period of confusion that

The Druses of the course of time they were joined by the persecuted of various other nations. The Druses were distinguished from the Christian Maronites, the descendants of monotheristic refugees who had long been their neighbours, by their peculial religion—a combination of

Ismailite, Christian, and Zoroastrian doctrines. They had no relation what-soever to the remnants of the Assassins

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Druses greatly increased in number and influence; and it was only then division into two hostile groups, the Yemenites and the Kases, or Kaistes, after the manner of the ancient Arabians, that enabled the Turks once more to reassert their influence in the mountains of Lebanon. An Ottoman army was despatched against them in 1585, but, in spite of fire and sword and all possible attocities, the success of the Turks was temporary only.

In 1599 Fakhr ed-din, a man of great ability, assumed the leader-hip of the



For a time it seemed as MUSCAT, AN INDEPENDENT SULTANATE OF ARABIA if the mountain time of On the old overland route between India and Mesopotamia there arose, after the Ottoman conquest, the independent sultanate of Muscat in South-eastern Arabia

Kases, subjected or expelled the Yemenites. and took possession of a portion of the Syrian coast. Interest was aroused in Europe, and Ferdmand I. of Tuscany entered into an alliance with Fakhi ed-din and planned a great league between the Pope, Spain, Tuscany and the Druses for the reconquest of Jerusalem. But the Druses could not exist without constant support from Europe and the bribing of influential personages at the Ottoman court, who were able to prevent any active steps being taken against them; as soon as they were deprived of these two pillars of support their kingdom came to an abrupt end. In 1633 a Turkish fleet blockaded the coast, and an army advanced into the mountains; the next year Fakhr ed-din surrendered, and soon afterward was

beheaded in Constantinople. In comparison with this attempt to establish a national government, the numerous rebellions of Turkish pashas, of which the recent history of Syria is chiefly composed, scarcely deserve mention. Mehemet Alı, who sought to renew the ancient claims of Egypt upon Syria, accomplished but little of permanent good during his No Syrian National temporary period of rule, Spirit which lasted from 1833 to 1840. The fate of Syria continued to be unfortunate until the present day; the influence of European civilisation has finally begun to reach the districts of the Mediterranean coast, and progress is now noticeable, especially in the economic conditions of Palestine. But the rise of a national spirit is not to be thought of In the middle of the nineteenth century, from May to October, 1860, the Druses began to massacre the Maronites, and thereby gave the French occasion to renew their old claims to the protection of the Syrian Christians During the most recent times the majority of the Druses have migrated to the Hauran, where they live still more independently of the Turkish pashas.

Irak and Arabia, once centres of the Mohammedan world, have continued to sink lower and lower, until to-day little remains to either of its former prosperity and importance. Itak had always been a semi-artificial state, chiefly dependent on a vast system of canals and the commercial route from India and Persia to the west for its wealth and power. But the constantly recutting invasions of hostile races, combined with the change in the routes taken by the world's commerce, transformed the ancient plain of Babylon once more into a desolate, poisonous land of swamps and marshes, which the Turkish pashas, of all men, least understood how to restore to welfare.

Modern
Insignificance of Arabia

Plane of culture. It was left to itself; and its degeneration into small, mutually the caliphs. Only in Mecca and Medina the Abbassides, the Fatenides, and all other powers who laid claim to the leadership of the Mohammedan religious world sought to retain their

influence. The pilgrimages, in consequence, were often warlike expeditions.

Not long after 966, when the Egyptian Fatemides obtained the place of honour in the sacred cities, an Alidic family succeeded in putting an end to the republican-anarchic state of affairs in the city of pilgrims, and established the Grand Sherifat of Mecca, which from this time forth possessed sometimes more, sometimes less power in Western Arabia. The ablest of the Grand Sherts was (1200), whose descendants Oatadah reigned over their little kingdom until the time of the Wahabis in the eighteenth century. Various influences were at all times centied in Mecca, even from Yemen claims were constantly being made to the sovereighty of the city. When the Ottomans conquered Egypt, Yemen could be subdued only by force of arms. The old commercial significance of Yemen was lost after the country was conquered by the Ottomans. As an offset to this the independent sultanate of Muscat arose in South-eastern Arabia on the ancient commercial route between

Reform
By Fire
and Sword

India and Irak, and, after the
Portuguese had been driven
out, developed into a firmly
constituted state, setting firm

foot in Persia and finally also in Zanzibar. But in the central provinces of Arabia a storm arose in the middle of the eighteenth century that calls to the mind the early warlike period of Mohammedanism. The reforming sect of the Wahabis, founded by Mohammed abd-el Wahab, about 1745, expressed then views with all due emphasis of fire and sword, and finally succeeded in conquering Mecca itself in 1803. A striking parallel to Mahomet was presented by this reformer. The doctrines of the Wahabis were a protest on the part of the old Arabs against the caricature of the original belief which had gradually developed out of the simple teachings of Mahomet as well as against the degeneracy and luxury of the inhabitants of Mecca. That city did not remain long in he possession of the Wahabis; for in the year 1818 the Egyptian Viceroy, Mehemet Ali, took advantage of the confusion that reigned in Arabia and occupied Hedjaz. However, the plans of this ambitious prince eventually came to nothing, and Western Arabia was once more placed under the direct government of the Turks.



WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET



IX MODERN **PERSIA**

TIMES PERSIA MODERN

THE SURVIVAL OF AN ANCIENT NATIONALITY

THE fate of Persia was more fortunate than that of Egypt, for the people of Iran showed that in spite of all the misfortunes to which they had been subjected there was at least enough vitality left in them for the formation and maintenance of a national government of their own.

In Azerbijan that is to say, in a region that, together with the neighbouring provinces of the Elbruz Mountains, held longest and most tenaciously to its Iranian character - arose the national dynasty of the Sefids, who, it must be confessed, were greatly indebted for both their influence and power to the mixture of Turkish blood that ran in their veins, the Iranians were, indeed, compelled to make the best of the Turkish elements that were now meradicably fixed in the heart of Persia. At the same time, however as had now become the rule in Persia -- the new dynastic movement centred in a religious question which was very closely connected with the national feeling.

The Old Religious Question

Turks had become orthodox Mohammedans or adherents of the Sunnitic doctrines almost with-

out exception, the simpler Arabian spirit of the Sunnitic teachings appealing far more to their nomadic temperament than the imaginative symbolical treatment of Islam of the Shutes. All things that had to do with the latter originated with the Iranians. The house of Alı always succeeded in finding adherents in Persia; an Alidic dynasty had long been able to maintain itself even in the mountain valleys of Tabarıstan.

Thus Ismail el-Safi, the tounder of the Sefid dynasty, "the Sofies," was able to unfurl the banner of the Shutes, together with the national standard, without arousing the enmity of the Turks; for he was descended on his mother's side from Uzun Hassan, the sultan of the Turkomans of the White Ram, and, indeed, his most faithful followers were Shirtic Turks. Ismail experienced but little difficulty in establishing himself in Ghilan, and in a com-

paratively short time succeeded not only in depriving the descendants of Hassan of their inheritance, but in extending his dominion from Armenia and Irak as far as Transoxania, in 1507. The new Persian Government at once aroused the hostility of the Ottomans, the more so for

Moslem Sects at War

the reason that the doctrines of the Shutes had become the national religion of Iran, and were in open opposition to the Sunnitic confession of the vast majority of the Turks. The Ottoman sultan, Selim, was not slow to follow the time-honoured traditions of his race, masmuch as he

immediately made arrangements tor a persecution of the Shutes in his empire on a great scale, cutting down without mercy all he could capture or these natural allies of the Persians. Ismail, who thereupon fell upon the eastern Ottoman provinces, was forced to retreat before the superior forces of Selim, and was thoroughly defeated at Tebriz in 1514, the result was the loss of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Western Ismail's son, Tamasp, who Armenia reigned from 1524 to 1576, was obliged to abandon Irak and Azerbijan to the Ottomans in 1534; not until the reign of

frontier extended farther to the west. Although the adoption of Shiitic doctimes played a great part in the reawakening of the Iranian national spirit, it was at the same time an insurmountable obstacle to complete unity. Ever since the time of the Ghaznavides, the Afghans had been fanatical Sunnites, and, as a

Shah Abbas I., 1586–1629, was the Persian

result, were far more sympa-Perpetual thetically inclined towards the Division Turks than towards their Shiite in Iran relatives. The unfortunate state of affairs that had reigned in Iran ever since the fall of the Sassanidæ was still visible in this religious division. However, the Iranian people were well able to control the Turks, at least so long as the latter did not receive fresh additions from the north-east. The Kısılbashes, a tribe of

Turks who had adopted the Shiftic faith together with the Persian language, were the first example of the coming amalgamation. It is true that these Turks considered themselves to be the true masters of the land, and it was not until Abbas I, had succeeded in surrounding himself with a circle of unconditionally faithful adherents and in esta-

faithful adherents, and in esta-Nomadic blishing a standing army of Immigration Persian infantry and cavalry, Stopped that the supremacy of the Iranianised Turks was overcome At all events, the Selids performed the great service of closing the gates of Khorassan, thereby checking the advance of the Central Asiatic Turks towards Eastern Iran. The military importance of Khorassan again caused this province to play a very independent part in Persian history, the Scfid, Abbas, reigned there independently for many years, even during the lifetime of his father the shah of Persia, until finally the rest of Iran fell to him as an inheritance

During this comparatively prosperous period of Selid rule, the economic condition of Persia gradually improved. Abbas sought to infuse new life into industry by inducing Armenians to immigrate into his provinces, and to further commerce through the construction of new roads and bridges. The discovery of the ocean route to India had affected the commercial position of Persia no less than that of Egypt Iran was now scarcely taken into consideration as a commercial route from India to the west; still, the Persians of the southern coast were able to establish direct commercial relations with the maintime nations of Europe, while in the north trade began to develop with Russia over the Caucasian passes Traffic with Russia and the Caspian Sea was also furthered by the bitter hostility between Persia and the Ottoman Empire, which led to the blocking up of all the

Persia an Ally against the Turks
the Turks
the Turks

European envoys appeared more and more frequently in Iran as time went on, Abbas having already endeavoured to form a great contederation of nations against the Ottomans. The English in particular sought and from the Persians during their attempts to take possession of India and of East Indian trade; and thus it came

about that Persian troops, in combination with an English fleet, conquered Ormuz, still a flourishing province, drove out the Portuguese, and transformed the land into a wilderness. But the Persians were sadly disappointed in their hopes of a great development of Iranian-English commerce. The port of Bender Abbas, founded by Shah Abbas, never attained to any great importance.

The chief article of export from Persia at that time was silk no longer the silk of China, carried by caravans along the celebrated routes of Central Asia Transoxania to Iran, but a prod Persia itself, as early as the pr Sassanidæan rule the silkworm h imported from China to Iran, براتي west. But Persia only tempoi tained her supremacy in silker as soon as the Byzantines acquainted with the trade the stripped all competitors, Greek sit ang the place of Persian In the ϵ y of Fatima, daughter of Melekshah (1072) 1092), who married the caliph Moktadi. Billah in 1077, were included 900 camels laden with Greek silk But the Persia's fall of the Byzantine empire, Silk and the decay of its economic Trade prosperity following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, caused Persian silk once more to become an important article of the world's conmerce

But now that Persia had once more risen to prosperity after centuries of devastation and decay, the land Lecame a tempting goal for nomadic robber expeditions. Shah Abbas attempted to adapt the excellent military system of the Turks to Persian requirements, and to form the nucleus of a national army by the creation of a standing force of mantry, but his weak successors added nothing in the way of improvement to these insufficient beginnings; and finally the Selids submitted almost without a struggle to the attacks of new opponents.

These new enemies were the Alghans, the Eastern Sunnitic branch of the Iranians, who had managed to retain a large amount of independence owing to their geographical situation between Persia and the powerful empire of the Great Mogul and the successors of Timur in India. Finally, it became necessary for the Persians to send an army to Kandahai in order to re-establish the influence of the Shah and to strengthen the Indian frontier.



ONLY PEOPLE OF WESTERN ASIA PRESERVING THEIR ANCIENT NATIONALITY
1 E 1985

The unscruptious conduct of the Persian troops drove the Afghans into rebellion; and since the latter took up arms also as champions of the Sunnitic faith, numerous Turkish and Kurdish tribes followed their example and rose against the Shutie rulers of Persia. At the same time another horde of Turks burst into Khorassan.

Mahmud, the leader of the Afghans Afghans, boldly advanced on Ispahan with a small army, Rule Persia deteated the Persians, and after long siege entered the capital in triumph; Hosam, the last independent ruler of the Sefid dynasty abdicated in favour of Mahmud in the thirty-second year of his reign (1722).

Apparently the Iranian element had now won a complete victory, and had shaken off the last remains of Turkish influence, which the Sefids had still been obliged to tolerate. Nevertheless, the differences in religion rendered it impossible for a true reconciliation to take place between East and West. When Mahmud, who had at first distinguished himself by showing a great moderation, finally lost his head completely in his endangered position at Ispalian, and endeavoured to render his throne secure by senseless massacres, as well as by filling the ranks of his weak army with semi-barbarous Kurds, all hopes of prosperity under Afghan rule disappeared. Moreover, the kingdom was unprotected from external foes. The Russians, under Peter the Great. occupied the passes of the Caucasus at Derbent without encountering opposition: and the Turks were prevented from advancing into the interior of Persia only by the heroic resistance of the inhabitants of Tebriz. In fact, a division of Northern and Western Persia between the Russians and Turks had already been agreed upon. Fortunately for Ashraf, the successor of Mahmud, the war against the Sunnitic Afghans was as little popular with the Turkish people and Ottoman army as was the alliance with Ascendency the Christian Russians. Ashraf in Persia made the most of these circumstances; and, after winning a small victory near Ispahan, showed a most generous spirit of reconciliation, and consequently was enabled to come to fair terms of peace. The western provinces, however, were lost, and the result of the war was that the Persians were obliged to recognise the spiritual supremacy of the Ottoman sultan.

The new Afghan dynasty did not remain long at the head of affairs Sefid prince Tamasp occupied Masenderan, and his troops, commanded by the Kisilbash Turk Nadir, finally routed the Aighans in 1730. It was not the Send prince who ascended the throne of Persia, but his general, in whom he had evidently placed too much confidence. It appeared, in fact, that Persia was incapable of an independent existence without the Turks. Nadir, after several successful campaigns against the Ottomans, advanced his frontiers further to the west; he also completely overthrew the power of the Afghans, and on doing away with the last remains of the Sefids in 1736 felt himself called upon to renounce the doctrines of the Shiites and to become a convert to orthodoxy. The dissatisfaction aroused by this step did not appear immediately, the energy of the shah, and the bulliance of his victorious campaigns against the descendants of Timur in India, silenced all opposition. Owing to his defeat of the Afghans Nadii was enabled to occupy the Indian passes,

and he well knew how to make A Reign use of the advantages gained οř thereby The empire of the Prosperity Moguls under Mohammed Shah (1719-48) was thoroughly plundered in 1738 39, and the Indus became the future Persian boundary, laden with booty, the army returned home large amount of money now in circulation, coupled with a general reduction in the taxes, although a cause of great joy to the common people, was naturally of no lasting benefit to the economic affairs of the land. But at least the army, which had been splendidly trained by Nadii, lost none of its efficiency. The subjugation of the Transoxanian Turks and the Khivans soon proved that Persia was able to hold the gates of Khorassan as well as to undertake expeditions against the nomadic tribes of the north.

Unfortunately, Nadir, like so many of his predecessors in the Orient, became transformed from a clever and energetic ruler into a mistrustful, bloodthirsty despot, who was led to commit unspeakably stupid atrocities out of anxiety for his treasures and suspicion that the Shiites desired to deprive him of his throne. His efforts to increase the national revenues and to commerce were praiseworthy, however unpractical; for example, he

PERSIA IN MODERN TIMES

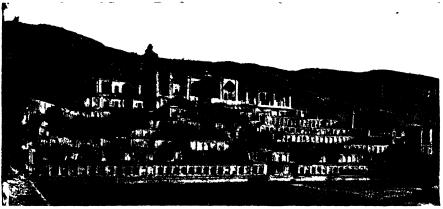
ordered wood for the construction of a fleet on the Persian Gult to be sent all the way from the Elbruz Mountains. Nevertheless, he showed in all his attempts to improve the economic condition of his state knowledge of what constitutes the true wealth of a land—a knowledge that is rarely found among Oriental rulers.

is rarely found among Oriental rulers.

After the murder of Nadir on June 20th, 1747, a new period of adversity began. The Afghan Ahmed Khan immediately proclaimed his independence in Kandahar, while Persia itself was given over to quarrels as to the succession. At last the successors of Nadir were able to hold Khorassan alone. The confusion continued until Kerim Khan, a member of the nomadic Persian tribe of Zend, took possession of the throne in 1751, and came

descendants of Nadir, was once more conquered, and the unfortunate province of Georgia, which had placed itself under Russian protection, was reduced to the utmost state of desolation. A Russian army shortly appeared and threatened Azerbijan; but the death of the Empress Catherine and the accession of her successor Paul averted a conflict that would in all probability have been fatal to the fortunes of Aga Mohammed

It was then that the first suspicion may have dawned in Persia of what the vast, constantly advancing power of Russia signified for Western Asia — Twice Persia endeavoured to drive back the champions of Western civilisation and Christianity beyond the Caucasus; but each time her efforts were of no avail. Under the terms



RUINS OF AN ANCIENT ROYAL PALACE OF SHIRAZ, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF PERSIA

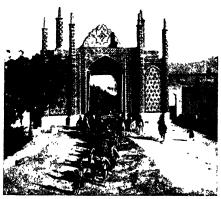
forward as a champion of Iran against the Turks.

After his death, in 1779, the land fell once more into complete decay, until, in 1794, Aga Mohammed Khan, the leader of the Shiite Turkish tribes of the Kajars in Masenderan, succeeded after a severe struggle in founding the dynasty which occupies the throne of Persia to-day. The transference of the capital to Teheran was of itself an indication that the kingdom was again ruled by Turks, for Teheran is situated nearer to the pasturages of the Turkish clans of the north-west and north than is either Ispahan or Shiraz [see illustration at the top of page ro89], the residence of Kerim Khan, who characteristically chose the ancient Persis for his seat of government. Khorassan, the headquarters of the

of the peace of October 24th, 1813, the majority of the Persian provinces of the Caucasus fell into Russian hands, and after a second war, Persian Armenia, together with the capital Erivan, were evacuated by Persia, under a treaty concluded on February 23rd, 1828.

Throughout the later wars carried on by Russia against the tribes of the Caucasus, Persia has remained mactive. During the course of the nineteenth century Russian armies also advanced to the east of the Caspian Sea, and into Transoxania, where one province after another was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the conquering Europeans. Finally, the last tribes of free Turkomans of Akhal-tekke and Merv submitted to the superior arms and Alscipline of their opponents. There is no longer any danger

to be expected from the nomads of Central Asia, it is the civilisation of Europe that now knocks for admittance at the gates of Khorassan. Thus, the old conditions are reversed. Culture once flourished in Iran and again and again overcame the might of the intruding barbarians. To-day Persia heiself is in a condition of semi-barbarism; the dangerous task of assuming the manners and



THE NORTH GATE AT TEHERAN
Teheran was made the capital of Persia in 1794, following

Ispahan, of which a view is given at the top of page 1989 customs of the superior races of Finone

customs of the superior races of Furope without being devoured by them during the process now lies before her

The relations between Persia and Russia began to create a certain interest in Persian affairs in the minds of British Indian statesmen at the opening of the nincteenth century The alliance between Napoleon and the Tsar at the Treaty of Filsit called attention to the possibility of an overland invasion of India - Diplomatic relations first opened in 1801, were renewed, but interest lapsed when the tear of Napoleon disappeared. In India indeed, the Government has ever viewed the continuous approach of the Russian zhadow with apprehension, in Great Britain uts of extreme alarm generally alternate with fits of extreme negligence serious effort was made to counteract, the pressure of Russia on Persia, which, witheut British support, found itself driven into the arms of the Slavonic Power

With surreptitions encouragement from Russia, or at least with a rash expectation of Russian support, Mehemet Shah, in

1836, dreamed of a restored Mohammedan empire extended over Hindustan, and with that ultimate end in view attempted to recover the Persian suzerainty in Alghanistan. Russia, however, had no intention of embroiling herself, and Persia was forced to retire. A similar move, though doubtless with a less ambitious aim, was frustrated in 1850–7, during the reign of Nasir ed-dim (1848–1898), the shah whose visits to Europe in 1873 and 1878 excited much public curiosity.

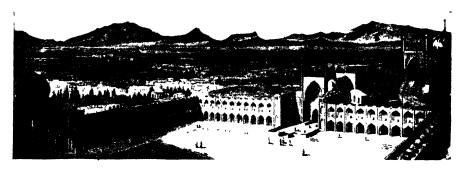
For the last fifty years there has been a continuous rivalry between Russia and Great Britain, the former Power exercising a persistent and the latter an intermittent pressure to obtain commercial and railway concessions and counterconcessions, the dominating fact being the consciousness of both that if ever Russia achieves access to and possession of a naval base in the Persian Gulf, Indian waters will cease in effect to be exclusively British waters. Of recent years, the



THE FAMOUS DIAMOND GATE OF TEHERAN

international position has been somewhat further complicated by signs that the Germans also are taking an interest in Persian railway schemes. Between Russia and Great Britain, however, the antagonism has been at least modified for the time by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which has apportioned definite spheres of influence to the two Powers.

HEINRICH SCHURIZ LEONARD W. KING



WESTERN ASIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY ANGUS HAMILTON

PRIOR to the arrival of Germany in Asia Minor and Russia in Central Asia Great Britain may be said to have dominated the Middle East. With the infention of preserving Persia from the unfortunate influence of Russia, the British Government in the past had followed on occasion an unusually energetic pelicy. Britain's operations in respect of Herat, however, had succeeded merely by impressing Persia with a feeling of briteiness against her, equalled only by the dread with which that Power regarded Russia.

Before Germany had began to sap the position of Great Britain at Constantinople, and Russia to impress the Shah with the power of her sword, the British Government was content to exercise jurisdiction over the Peisian Gulf, the coasts of Arabia, and, in fact, the whole of Southern Persia. Mohammera and Bushire, as well as the island of Kharak were in Britain's possession in 1857. An earlier depot, seving as a military and naval station, was the island of Kishim where Britain had settled first in 1820, and on which the Admiralty maintained coal yards.

In the Persian capital British influence was no less assured - Agam, at Bagdad, across the border Britain had British laid the foundations of a posi-Influence tion which reached its height in in Persia the middle of the last cen-From Bagdad, and throughout Mesopotamia to the shores of the Guli. respect was readily accorded to British authority by the semi-independent, wholly lawless, and usually piratical sheiklis who exercised despotic dominion over the Indeed, if the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed successive conflicts between Portuguese, Dutch, French and British pioneers of East Indian adventure, at the dawn of the nineteenth century the influence and trade of Great Britain were unquestionably pre-eminent because foreign trade was safished to rely upon British protection. Although the situation created at Teheran

Landmark
in Persia's
Evolution

by the troubles on the
Atghan frontier in 1885 was
most unfortunate, the damaging effects attaching to it were

soon climinate I by the personal influence of Su-Ronald Thomson Britain's progressive and enlightened Minister in the Persian Not only had Sir Ronald capital Thomson won the entire confidence of the Shah, but he pushed British interests to a foremost place by advocating most strongly the opening of the Karun river, the construction of a road between Teheran and Alivaz, as well as the provision of a service of steamers on the Karum-Sir Hemry Drummond Wolff, who went to Persia in 1887, carried the effects of his predecessor several stages further, and in 1888 the Karun river was open to international navigation as far as Ahvaz

The year 1888 became a landmark in the economic evolution of Persa. Not only was the Karim river free I to commerce, but on June 25th the first railway was opened under the auspices of a Edgian company. This little line, with a length of five and a half miles, the first and last of its kind in Persa, ran from the capital to the mosque Shah Ab-dul-Azim. Since 1893 two branches, two and a half miles in length, have been added, but the lines, together with the Teheran tramway, built in 1889, long, ago passed

into the hands of a Russian company Although failure was not contemplated by the pioneers in the Persian field of concessions, the Imperial Bank of Persia represents the sole instance of success. Issued on January 30th, 1889, to Baron

Julius de Reuter, in exchange The for a concession granted in Gamble of Concessions 1872, which leased for seventy years all possible forms of comdevelopment in Persia, the charter for the formation of a Persian state bank carried with it the exclusive right of issuing bank-notes as well as the control of a variety of mines and mineral deposits Although the concession of 1872 had not materialised, and Baron de Reuter had paid to the Shah no less than £40,000 deposit, which was lost when the concession was cancelled, Russia was known to be much annoyed at the

character of Baron de Reuter's latest

concession. Early in the following month. therefore, Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian Minister in Teheran, obtained a pre-emption over all railway concessions in Persia for the following five years as well as the right to establish a Russian Consul-General at Meshed. Eight months later, on October 23rd. the Imperial Bank of Persia, having bought out for £20,000 the recently established New Oriental Banking Corporation, opened its doors. In November, 1890, however, the Russian Government succeeded in having the terms of its secret railway agreement with Persia extended until the year 1900.

of the rights over the mineral wealth of Persia, the Imperial Bank of Persia ceded to the Persian Bank Mining Rights Corporation, in 1890, its powers in respect of mineral deposits. In the following year, too, the Imperial Tobacco Corporation developed from the concession of a tobacco monopoly which had been granted to British capitalists in 1890. Unhappily, the fates of these two companies were disastrous. The former

went into liquidation in 1894. The latter, on account of local differences and disturbances, which reached a head on January 4th, 1892, suffered the cancellation of its concession in the following April. At the same time it received from the Persian Treasury an indemnity of £500,000, met by a loan of £500,000 at six per cent, on the security of the customs of the Persian Gulf from the Imperial Bank of Persia. Similar mistortune attended a concession for the monopoly of lotteries, which, granted to a Persian subject and Disastrous ceded to a British syndicate for

Monopolies ing a direct loss of the purchase money upon the promoters With the retirement of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, for reasons of health, in 1890, and the arrival of his successor, Sir Frank Lascelles, in the autumn of 1891, a new era may be said to have been inaugurated Save for the activity of the Imperial

₹40,000, was withdrawn, inflict-

Bank of Persia in developing a system of carriageable roads, for the next nine years British enterprise stood still. On the other hand, the interests and prestige of Russia in-Enhanced by creased the diplomatic skill of the Russian Minister in Teheran and the efforts of Russian Consul-General at Meshed, a steady development had marked Russian commercial relations with North-east Persia. sian interests were further promoted in 1895 announcement the of a tariff, designed for the express purpose of stopping the Indo-Transcaspian trade that made Khorassan its centre of Unfortu-

NASIR ED-DIN, SHAH OF PERSIA Nasir ed-din, who was assassinated in 1896, appreciated the value of an understanding with Great Britain, and during his rule Russia obtained no great success at British expense

distribution. nately, the system of rebates offered by Russian railways to goods of Russian manufacture that were destined for the Persian markets, and the granting of subsidies to manufacturers who were interested in the Russo-Persian trade, had already brought about the practical extinction of Indian trade with Khorassan. With a view to meeting Russian competition, therefore, the Indian Government

WESTERN ASIA IN OUR OWN TIME

decided in 1896 to open up a trade route between Quetta and Seistan. The action of Russia in North-east Persia had aroused the attention of the Government of India as early as 1890, but action was impossible since the Amir of Afghanistan occupied a portion of the region through which the suggested route would pass. By the terms of the Durand Agreement of 1893 this obstacle was removed, and

between 1894 and 1896 boundary commissions a delimitated the Afghan-Baluch and the Perso-Baluch borders, upon completion of which the new route was opened. While Russia and India

were competing for the trade of Khorassan, Nasii ed-din was assassmated on May 1st, 1896 late Shah appreciated the value of an understanding with Great Britain and in spite of the political advantages which described the Russian position, Russia had obtained under his rule no very conspicuous success at Britain's expense—With SHAH MUZAFFAR ED-DIN Muzaffar ed-din, who reigned from 1896 to his successor, Muzaffar January, 1907, was subject for many years to the control of Russia, who secured the sole right of issuing loans to the Persian Government ed-din, who had been compelled to seek the financial assistance of the Imperial Bank of Persia in order to travel from Tabriz where he was crowned and where he had resided as Governor-General of Azerbijan, to take his seat on the throne, matters were different, since for many years he had been subject to Russian control.

Among the difficulties confronting the new Shah at his accession was an entire absence of money. A loan was sought, but, although the sum wanted was only a million sterling, the British Government did not follow the advice of Sir

Mortimer Durand, then British British Minister at Teheran, and negotiations British capitalists demanded the right of placing their own agents in charge of those custom houses whose receipts were offered as security. Although, in regard to a sum of £50,000

this point was conceded to the Imperial

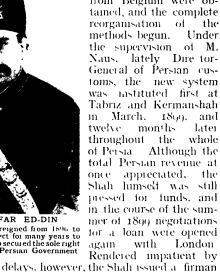
Bank of Persia, it was declined where it

Aid Refused guarantee the amount. In the

had reference to the larger sum. As a consequence the proposals fell through, to the bitter disappointment of the Shah, who, abandoning a contemplated visit to Europe, formed a most unfortunate impression of the British Government.

Compelled by stress of financial difficulties to find methods for improving the revenue, the retorm of the customs department was decided upon in 1898.

The services of a number of custom house officials from Belgium were obreorganisation of m March, twelve mon¹hs throughout the of Persia total Persian revenue at once appreciated, the Shah himself was still pressed for funds, and in the course of the summer of 1899 negotiations agam with London



Banque des Prêts, now called the Banque d'Escompte de Perse, to float a loan, when it became known that British capitalists were willing to advance £1,250,000 A British at five per cent, to be issued at 82. This offer came too late This offer came too late Offer Too Late for acceptance, and, on January 30th, 1900, the Russian Government officially announced the issue of a loan for £2,400,000. Secured upon the custom receipts of the whole of Persia, with the exception of those for the Persian Gulf, it was guaranteed, bore interest

in September which authorised the Russian

Although Russia waived the right of control over the Persian customs, upon which British capitalists had insisted, she made it a condition that the balance of the British loan of 1892 should be paid off, and the indebtedness of the Persian Treasury to the Imperial Bank of Persia and the International Bank of Commerce

at five per cent, and was usued at 85.

Persia should contract no other loan with a foreign government for ten years loan nominally was for 1,2,400,000 but Persia had so many obligations that she had but little more than a million sterling to her credit when they had been satisfied Within a few months a further loan was On October 27th, reguned. Persian 1901, Persia received from the Dependence Russian Government, a further on Russia million and a half sterling, on the understanding that the tariff of the Persian customs should be revised in tayour of Kussia and that the period during which Persia should contract no further loan from Powers other than Russia should be increased to 1912. while the Railway Agreement was extended to 1905

liquidated. It was stipulated, too, that

While Russia -by means of the secret railway agreement and the loan agreement and through the advantages accruing to her under the 1901 Russo-Persian tariff revision and from the reorganisation of the Persian customs established a political, as well as an economic, supremacy over Northern Persia, Germany followed in Asia Minor a policy inspired by an identical purpose. Committed to commercial expansion as an economic necessity, she conceived the plan of developing Asia Minor by an elaborate system of railways which should connect her own commercial centres with new but none the less profitable, markets. Hitherto, no attempt had been made to exploit the commercial capacity of Turkey-in-Asia. For many years only two railways of importance were in existence, the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, for which a concession had been granted in 1856 to an English company, and the Smyrna-Kassaba Railway, which dated from 1863. In 1871, the Ottoman Government had constructed some fifty-six miles of railway between Haidar Pasha and Ismid, which in 1880 had been leased to an English Germany company for a term of twenty

Develops
Asia Minor
If the arrangement were terminated before the expiry of that period. In 1888, ten years before the German Emperor made his dramatic pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Germany secured two Imperial Irades which conveyed to an agent of the Deutsche Bank powers over the Haidar Pasha-Ismid line, and a ninety-nine years' concession for its extension to Angora,

with a retrospective guarantee of 10,300 francs per kilometre, and a prospective guarantee of 15,000 francs per kilometre.

The Ottoman Company of Anatolian Railways, financed by German capital, now blossomed into existence, and by 1892 work had been completed. In the tollowing year another Irade granted to the company the right to construct a branch from Eski Shehir to Konia, which was completed in 1896, as well as powers to extend the line from Angora to Kaisanych, with authority to carry it viâ Sivas, Diarbekir, and the Tigris valley to Bagdad The irritation aroused in Russia by the announcement of a German failway. in the northern part of Asia Minor was sufficient to cause the Angora-Bagdad project to be abandoned in favour of the Koma-Bagdad route, in respect of which a preliminary concession was signed in 1800 between the representatives of the Porte and the Anatolian Company A little later, on January 16th, 1902, an Imperial Irade, approving the final details of the earlier proposals was issued, but not before the Porte had conceded to Russia, in the terms of the

The Bagdad Railway out the Asiatic provinces of the Black Sea Basin Agreement of 1900, priority of rights throughout the Asiatic provinces of Turkey that drain into the Black Sea in respect of the construction of railways

With a view to eliciting the co-operation of foreign capital in the development of the powers granted by the conventions of 1899 and 1902 to the Anatolian Railway Company, the Imperial Ottoman Bag-Railway Company came existence. Signed on March 5th, 1903, the third and last convention modified in certain aspects the terms of the previous agreements None the less, it gave to a German corporation a right of way across Asia Minor from the Bosphorus to Basra on the waters of the Persian Gulf. With the intention of making the project an international one, overtures were made in the spring of 1903 to British, as well as to French, capitalists. Although the scheme was regarded quite benevolently by the French, the view held in Great Britain by no means encouraged British participation. Although marked inequality existed between the conditions governing British capital and those put forward on behalf of German capital, financial points were not the only ones over which it became impossible to agree. In detail,

WESTERN ASIA IN OUR OWN TIME

the proposals did not appeal to the British Government, to whose guarantee London financial houses were looking before embarking upon so large and so precarious a venture. As a consequence, British assistance was not forthcoming. With the collapse of the negotiations for British co-operation, those with the French group similarly fell through. Germany, left to finance the great concession, has not yet attempted the task, save for the section from Koma to Eregli, a distance of sixty-two kilometres.

Under the influences which had already appeared in the Near East, as in the Middle East, the position of Great Britain in Western Asia was directly challenged by Russia from Central Asia and Northern Persia, by Germany from Asia Minor, and by a combination of France, Russia, and Germany from Southern Persia, the situation thus precipitated necessarily affecting British prestige in the Persian Gulf Ostensibly there was no connection between the action of Germany in Asia Minor and the action of Russia in Northern Persia, but active wire-pulling from

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Great Britain.

Persia and Turkey possess sovereign rights on their respective shores, but expression was seldom given to them prior to the advent of Germany at Constantinople, of France at Muscat, and of Russia at Teheran. At the same time, while true to the traditional policy of maintaining the peace of the region for international interests. Great Britain has persistently encouraged the extension of Persian, as of Turkish, authority over the littoral of By the reiterated statement that she would not permit any but these Powers to exercise territorial rights there. considerable umbrage has been give in Constantinople and Teheran. The attitude, moreover, has run counter to the ambitions of Russia, who has expressed a longing for a naval base in Southern Persia, and to the aspirations of Germany, who, in recent years, earmarked either Basra or Kowyet as a possible terminus for the Bagdad railway.

France, by virtue of a treaty with the Sultan of Muscat, since 1862 had been conceded equality of treatment with Great

Britain, and thus occupied a position which it was impossible to oppose. It was not until 1894, however, that the terms of this agreement were brought into force, and then it was more with the intention of assisting the descent of Russia to the Gulf than for her own purposes that France established a consul at Muscat.

Since that day German and **Politics** Russian naval squadrons have of the Persian Gulf Visited the ports in the Gulf , protection has been offered and accepted by certain of the sheikhs, and the Gult in some degree has ceased to be the exclusive British zone that it was when the Indian Government furnished naval and military expeditions for the purpose of suppressing piracy or the operations of some troublesome chief Trade, too, in some districts, followed the flag of Germany or that of Russia, while it is safe to say that the plots and counterplots of which so much has been heard were the work of the political agents, who, under the guise of consuls, began with the close of last century to represent the interests of France, Russia, and Germany in the region of the Persian Gulf, ever a centre of intrigue

During this period it was not only in Northern and Southern Persia that ques tions with Russia were arising. After experiencing the advantages to be gained by encroachment upon Khorassan, it was hardly to be expected that the prospect of political difficulties with India would check the development of Russian policy ın Eastern Persia. Accordingly, when Russia found that the facilities offered by Nushki-Nasratabad route offset in great measure the penalties imposed upon Indian trade by the frontier regulations of 1805 and the Russo-Persian tariff of 1901, she contrived, in 1502, with the aid of the Belgian customs, to throw additional obstacles in the way of those caravans from India which entered Persia. Besides a bureau of the Belgian cus-

Spoils Indian Seistan a Russian consul was detailed to Nasratabad, their mutual efforts being supported by a quarantine cordon, improperly brought into existence, to check the spread of Indian plague, as well as Indian trade. Under the stress of these devices, Indo-Persian trade was thrown into confu ion, which was not materially reduced by the announcement that the Government of India proposed

to extend to Nushki the railway then terminating at Quetta.

Remonstrances addressed to Teheran seemed hardly to reach Seistan moment the special measures designed by Russia for the discomfiture of Anglo-Indian interests in a region offering equal conveniences to Russia or India—according to the forward or defensive movements with which it might be concerned—were largely successful. Moreover, affairs in Seistan were already rather unsettled, since a question concerning the waters of the Helmund river had arisen between the Afghans and the Persians. By the early autumn of 1902 the controversy had begun to assume alarming dimensions, when, by the terms of Article 6 of the

Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1857, it was submitted to the arbitration of Great Britain By virtue of this, early in January of 1903, imposing mission arrived on the scene, where, although experiencing the hostility of the Persians and arousing the indignation of the Russians it remained for three years intent upon the demarcation of the Perso-Atghan boundary and the appropriation of the Helmund waters between the respective peoples of the border region. Although a check was placed upon Russian activity in Seistan by the presence of the McMahon mission, the outbreak of war between Russia and

Japan in 1904 was no less instrumental in bringing about material depreciation in the gravity of the situation. At the same time due recognition must be paid to the revival of official Indian interest in Persia. lated by Lord Curzon, the Government of India since 1899 had gradually increased the number of consuls and vice-consuls while providing imposing mounted escorts to all consulates. Similarly, military officers were attached to Meshed and Teheran, the Gulf postal and telegraphic services were improved, while the medical officers appointed to the Gulf ports took over the duties of plague inspection.

Under an increasing interest the position of Great Britain regained something of its earlier importance, and, in spite of the nature of the Russian loan agreement, the Shah borrowed, in 1903, from the Government of India. Although the result of the campaign necessarily exercised a modifying influence upon the development of Russian policy in Western Asia, Russia has not ceased to be a power of great importance in Persia. The conclusion of peace with Japan in August of 1905, however, gave rise to a wish for the readjustment of relations with Great Britain, and after many attempts negotiations were set in foot with this end in view. In the meantime changes which had taken place in Russia through the granting of a form

of parliamentary liberty by the Tsar to the people had stimulated the imitative zeal of the Persians, who, in the spring of 1906, compelled Muzaffar ed-din to agree to the creation of a Mejlis or national assembly. The constitution was dated January 1st, 1907, but before the Persian Parliament, had had time to become accustomed to its existence the Shah died.

With the accession of Mohammed Ali Shah, on January 8th, the influence of the negotiations then in progress between Great Britain and Russia so governed the situation in the Middle East that, in order, to facilitate the position of the new ruleist the Russian and British

Governments offered him a loan of 4400,000 in order to relieve his more pressing necessities. Although the Shah and his responsible Ministers were in favour of accepting the terms, which sought merely the usual hen on the customs, the Mejlis scouted the proposals, thereby inaugurating the quarrel between the monarch and his parliament.

Beginning with the exclusion of the members of the Mejlis from the ceremonies of the coronation, which took place on January 19th, as from the general durbar, which was held on January 20th, Mohammed Ali Shah throughout his reign



THE DEPOSED SHAH OF PERSIA

Mohammed Ali Shah, who succeeded in January, 1007, and was driven to abdicate, July, 1009

treated the Nationalist movement with contempt, although unexpected boldness in the attitude of the Nationalist leaders compelled him upon occasion to yield with discretion. None the less, the first demands were a little startling, and embraced, in addition to a number of tar-reaching reforms, the recall of several important officials from centres of provincial government, where their malpractices had inflamed the neighbouring populations, and the dismissal of M Naus, the head of the Belgian customs.

Accustomed to an atmosphere of autocratic government the Shah expressed reluctance to conform with these demands, particularly as the reactionaries were able to present the efforts of the reformers in a light that was not conducive to their ultimate success Accordingly, the Shah became the centre of a number of intrigues, behind some of which could be traced the influence of Russia. Distinct progress was made, however, although the assassination of the Prime Minister, Amin-es-Sultan, in August, 1907, threw back the cause of the reformers, creating an animus against them in the Unrest mind of the Shah that gave rise, at the end of 1907, to an Persia coup d'état The attempted struggle between the people of the capital and their ruler was not the only difficulty against which Persia had to contend at the dawn of 1908 Inspired by sympathy with the plans of the reformers, wide areas in many parts of the kingdom exhibited signs of suppressed revolt, the existence of these disorders encouraging a corresponding spirit among the Kurdish tribes on the Turkish side and the Turkomans on the Russo-Afghan

side of the frontier. While the operations of the Turkomans were confined to raids in the vicinity of Meshed, the movement among the Kurds on the western border threatened to be attended by serious complications. Hitherto, unless threatened with extreme measures by the reformers, no attention was paid to their demands, and the Shah rode roughshod over the most delicate situations without any expression of concern

The continuation of the state of affairs which distinguished the first twelve months of Mohammed Ah's reign brought Persia to the edge of revolution. Crisis succeeded crisis, and while each outburst threatened to precipitate the downfall both of the Shah and of his Parhament the situation at best may be said to have represented a truce with Fate which, so soon as it was broken, afforded the world the spectacle of a Persian débâcle.

Negotiations for the readjustment of the points of disagreement between Russia and Great Britain in Asia were begun in 1905, and concluded in the autumn of 1907. By the Treaty treaty then disclosed. British and of **1907** Russian interests in Persia were divided by a line which, in the case of the British sphere, ran from the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Bujand, Kerman and Bender Abbas, and, in the case of the Russian sphere, passed from Kasi-i-Shirin through Ispahan, Yezd, Kakhk to terminate at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers accordance with this airangement the area allotted to Great Britain and Russia became a neutral zone, open to the commercial activities of any Power.

ANGUS HAMILION

RECENT EVENTS IN PERSIA

EVENTS of the six years following 1907 only brought increasing ruin and decay to Persia. Shah Mahommed Ali got 11d of the troublesome Melliss in the summer of 1908 by a coup d'état, and promised numerous reforms in the government of Persia. Not one of his promises was ever fulfilled, anarchy became the order of the day in many provinces, and the Shah's treasury was empty. Under pressure from Russia and Great Britain, Mahommed Ali decided, too late, to restore the constitution and amnesty all political prisoners.

The revolutionary tribesman a cepted the restored constitution, but had no desire to retain the Shah.

In July, 1909, Mahommed Ali fled before the advancing troops of the revolutionaries and took refuge in the Russian Legation at Teheran. His flight was accepted as an act of abdication, and a National Council formally deposed Mohammed Ali and declared his eleven-year-old son, Ahmed Mirza, to be Shah. Mohammed Ali departed to the Climea, but his followers kept up spasmodic

hostilities with the Government, and the ex-Shah hint-elf made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Persia from the Russian frontier in 1911

An effort made by the Persian Government to bring, at least, financial order out of the hopeless chaos at the treasury in Teheran, by the engagement of Mr. Schuster, an American financial expert, was frustrated by friction with the Russian Government, which led to Mr. Schuster's retirement. So things went from bad to worse.

Southern Persia in 1913 was "a country in the throes of dissolution," in Lord Curzon's words "a country given up to rapine and brigandage, where trade is at a standstill, where arimed bands rove about the country doing as they please, a country where the central Government is ampotent and local Government ignored."

In the North, Russian companies obtained concessions for railways, and by the Russo-German Convention of 1911, Russia stood pledged to secure equal facilities for Germany in the matter of international traffic on the Khanikin-Teheran and Khanikin-Baghdad lines.

The Persian Government, under the conditions of a loan of £400,000 advanced jointly by the Russian and British Governments, agreed to accept the Anglo-Russian regime, and the presence of Russian troops in the North guaranteed the restriction of any activities the Mejliss might display.

Thus Persian independence crumbles away, and it the British and Russian torces afford some soft of protection to foreigners in the country, they also pro nise that the existence of Persia as a sovereign state is over

FND OF VOLUME V.

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